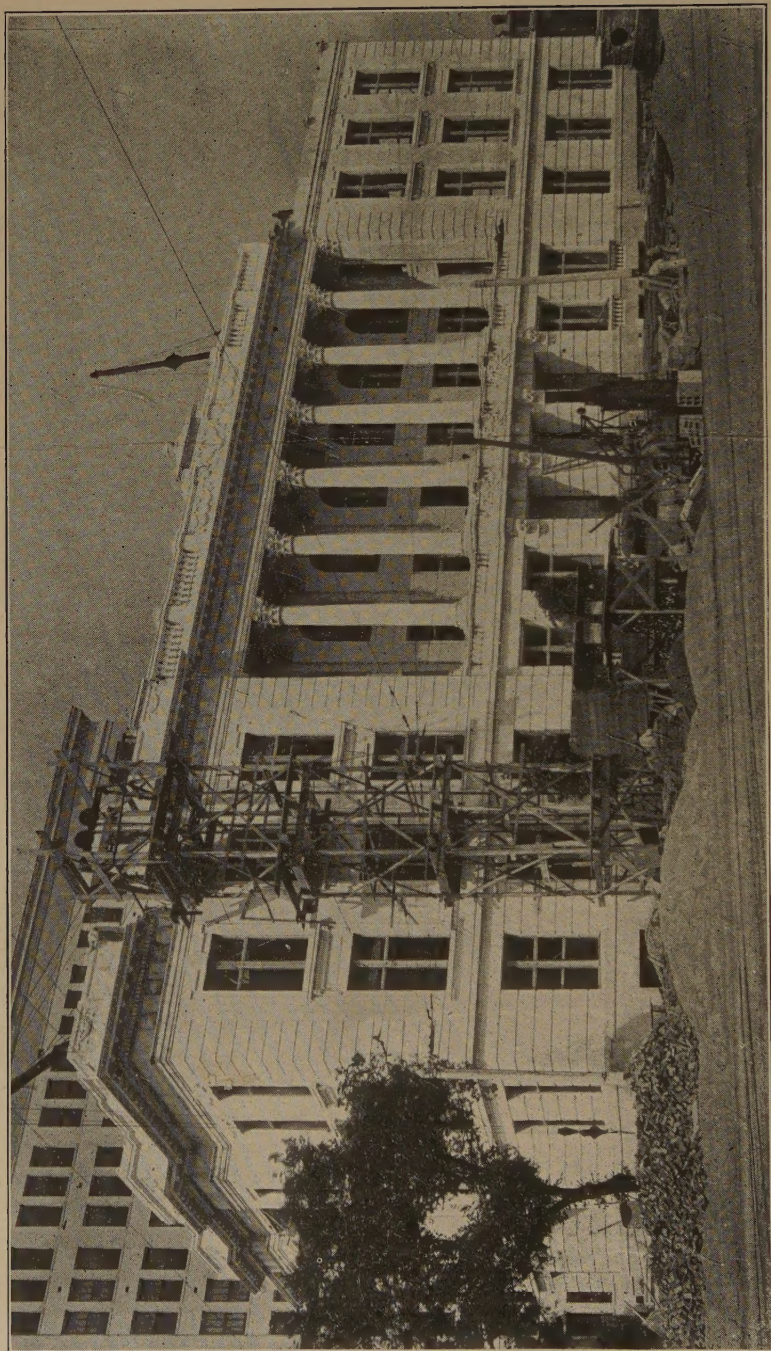




HISTORICAL AND MEMORIAL BUILDING AS IT APPEARED AUGUST 1, 1912.

COLLECTIONS

(Previous Volumes, "TRANSACTIONS.")

OF THE

KANSAS

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1911-1912.

EMBRACING

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS; SOME REVIEW OF FIFTY YEARS; THE
WITHDRAWAL OF THE METHODIST CHURCH, SOUTH, FROM KANSAS;
BLIZZARDS, EARTHQUAKES AND RAINFALL; THE KANSAS SCHOOL
FUND; THE ROUTE OF CORONADO; CROSSING THE PLAINS; THE
SOLDIER IN KANSAS; FIRST KANSAS AT WILSON'S CREEK;
A BEECHER ISLAND DIARY; AN INDIAN FIGHT IN FORD
COUNTY; FIRST CAPITAL OF TERRITORY; LOST
TOWNS AND NAMES; PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

Edited by GEO. W. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

VOL. XII.

STATE PRINTING OFFICE,
TOPEKA, 1912.

NOTE.

The word "Transactions" on the title page of this series has been changed to "Collections," to conform with the character of the publication. Originally the transactions of the Society, business and otherwise, were published in the same volume with historical papers, but each feature has assumed such importance as to require a separate volume. The "Transactions" of the Society are now all contained in biennial reports, the last being the seventeenth, while the "Collections" are the same series as "Transactions."

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 (Born October 10, 1910.)
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 Loomis, Nelson H., Omaha, Neb.
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 Lowe, P. G., Leavenworth.
 Lower, George Levi, Republic City.
 (Born October 12, 1902.)
 Lower, Mrs. Mamie L., Republic City.
 Lower, William S., Republic City.
 McDonald, W. S., Fort Scott.
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 (Born August 1, 1907.)
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 Whiting, T. W., Council Grove.

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Winona—M. B. Williams.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

EVERY two years it is a great pleasure to prepare a volume of Kansas Historical Collections. And it is an inexpressible satisfaction to acknowledge the interest and help which seems to come to us from all sides while we are thus engaged. With each volume we discover something new, and at the end a suggestion, sometimes more than one, comes which is of value in making the succeeding volume. The friends of Kansas history, the friends of this Society, have been prompt and liberal. The death of Miss Zu Adams caused a reorganization of the working force. This volume has been most fortunate in reaching her standard of excellence. Miss Clara Francis is now librarian, and is also mainly responsible as active editor of this volume. Too much can not be said of her scholarship and interest in historical work. George A. Root is a thorough and competent genealogist, and Mrs. Frank P. Montgomery is a most efficient person to handle the archives department. Miss Ruth Cowgill and Miss Helen McFarland, graduate librarians, are very efficient helpers. Mrs. Mary Embree, treasurer of the Society, is of great value in the work; and William E. Bacon is very ready in handling the newspaper department.

These employees are very much handicapped by the crowded condition of our quarters. In the new building, in another year or so, we will have a place for everything and everything will be in its place. We will then be very proud to hand our guests into a private room for study, instead of placing them, as now, before a three by six table, about which three or four people are already gathered.

SECRETARY.

ADDENDA.

Page 137.—Not a little research has been put into the matter of early births in Kansas. In the Fifteenth Biennial Report of this Society, page 35, will be found a list of births in Kansas, dating from August 22, 1828. In that list appears the name of Mrs. Susanna Adams Dillon, who was the first child born at the Shawnee mission, the date of her birth being January 12, 1830. The finding of the Thomas Johnson Bible is of much interest, since it establishes beyond question the birth dates of the Johnson children born at the Shawnee mission. The following account of the Bible is from the *Wyandotte Daily Cricket* of July 30, 1912:

"Col. E. F. Heisler, who knows all there is to know about the early history of Wyandotte county, and Kansas, for that matter, has dug up the first Bible ever used in this county. Mr. Heisler found the big family book in possession of Wm. Johnson, the only surviving member of the family of Thomas Johnson, who founded the Shawnee Methodist mission in 1829 or 1830, in Wyandotte county. A good many people persist in saying that the mission was founded in Johnson county. That makes Mr. Heisler sore. . . .

"The Bible is a big volume of the old family size, and contains many interesting things. It records that Thomas Johnson and Sarah T. Davis were married in Missouri in 1830. Their honeymoon trip was on horseback to Johnson [Wyandotte] county. . . . The births, marriages and deaths of the whole Johnson family, the first Wyandotte settlers, are chronicled in the book. . . ."

The earliest recorded births in the Johnson Bible are:

Thomas Johnson, born July 11, 1802 (assassinated January 2, 1865).

Sarah Title [Davis] Johnson, born June 22, 1810.

Alexander McAllister Johnson, born July 18, 1831 (died Aug. 15, 1831).

Alexander Soule Johnson, born July 11, 1832 (died December 9, 1904).

Sarah Elizabeth Johnson, born August 11, 1834 (died June 8, 1840).

Eliza Shallcroys Johnson, born April 20, 1836 (died July 5, 1865).

Mary Cummins Johnson, born January 15, 1838 (died March 19, 1838).

William Thomas Johnson, born June 22, 1839 (died April 2, 1840).

Andrew Monroe Johnson, born August 16, 1841.

William McKendra Johnson, born July 6, 1845.

Mr. Henry Shindler writes us from Fort Leavenworth that he finds that Col. S. W. Kearny and Col. Clifton Wharton, commanders of that post prior to 1850, had children born there. Also, he had every reason to believe that a child was born at Fort Leavenworth in 1827 or 1828, the daughter of an officer who was there with Colonel Leavenworth; her name he has not yet been able to ascertain positively.

Page 138.—There has been some misunderstanding as to the exact location of the Shawnee Methodist mission founded by Rev. Thomas Johnson in 1830. The locations of the mission and the manual-labor school were given in volume 9 of *Kansas Historical Collections*, page 169, note 17. We now publish a letter from Mr. William Johnson, a son

of Rev. Thomas Johnson, which is added proof and corroborates the statement of Rev. Joab Spencer cited above. The site of the manual-labor school is the southwest quarter of section 3, township 12, range 25, Johnson county, while the old mission site is near the town of Turner, Wyandotte county.

"ROSEDALE, KAN., July 29, 1912.

"*Geo. W. Martin, Topeka, Kan.:*

"FRIEND MARTIN—In compliance with request from you some time since to locate the site of the old Methodist mission, founded by my father in 1829 [1830]: In company with Mr. Heisler, editor of the Kansas City, Kan., *Sun*, Col. Edward Haren and Mr. Luke Babcock, we made the trip. We had no trouble in finding the spot. Mr. Babcock has lived continually in this spot since 1857, and a great portion of that time patronized a blacksmith shop located on this same ground. I visited the place some thirty years ago with Mr. Steve Perkins (now dead), who lived on adjoining land. The location coincides with my recollections of the place at that time; the timber was still standing and the old foundations could be traced. It is now a wheat field. This place, so far as I know, was the beginning of civilization in Kansas, and I think should be marked in a suitable manner.

"Location of Methodist Mission.—Founded in 1829 [1830] by Rev. Thomas Johnson, on land owned at this time by G. Partumer, northeast quarter of southwest quarter, 24-11-24, Wyandotte county, Kansas, 185 steps north of Partumer's southline. A line drawn from the Glasscock sanitarium, running between the Turner elevator and its smoke stack, would pass over the site, marked by a pile of rocks with an iron rod driven down in the center. This rod is about three-quarter inch thick and about five feet long, about three feet in the ground.

"Hoping this will prove satisfactory to you, I remain yours, etc.,
WM. JOHNSON."

Page 149, note 10.—Regarding the ordination of Rev. A. W. Pitzer to the Presbyterian ministry on January 15, 1858, the statement is made that this was "the first ordination of a minister of that order, and possibly of any other, west of the Missouri river." Comparison with the statement made on page 184, note 4, relative to the ordination of Rev. J. G. Pratt to the Baptist ministry, at the Delaware Baptist mission on November 19, 1843, shows that Mr. Pratt's ordination preceded that of Mr. Pitzer by fifteen years.

Page 201, note 30.—Mrs. Sarah Gilmore Thacher, wife of Solon Otis Thacher, died at her home in Lawrence, July 8, 1912.

Page 257.—Passing mention is made of Jedediah S. Smith's California expedition of 1826. Even in those days news traveled far, as the contents of the following letter shows:

"PORTLAND, ORE., July 29, 1912.

"*Mr. Geo. W. Martin, Sec. Kansas Historical Society, Topeka:*

"DEAR MARTIN—Accept my thanks for the advance pages of the Kansas Historical Society's Annual. In this connection I want to ask if you have any of the leaflets left over containing description of the gavel. You sent me several copies, for which I thank you, but would like a few more if you have any to spare.

"I noticed in the advance pages, already alluded to, reference to Jedediah Smith, trapper. In that connection the following may be of interest:

"Jan. 27, 1827.—News at the Islands that Jedediah Smith has crossed the Rocky Mountains and arrived at San Gabriel; had left and gone to the Columbia river; that posts have been established all

the way from St. Louis to the Columbia. This news brought by the brig Waverly, fifteen days from Santa Barbara; cargo, horses, sheep and a calf.'

"This was copied by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye from manuscript diary of Capt. Stephen Reynolds, an old sandal wood merchant of early days in Honolulu. Each day he kept a record of Honolulu happenings. Mrs. Dye, who lives in Oregon City, was in Honolulu about two years ago, searching for items to be used in her forthcoming book, which will soon be in press, found the reference to Smith as indicated and sent it to me. Yours truly, GEO. H. HIMES."

Page 259. — "The Melancholy Fate of Jedediah S. Smith":

"Of all the tragedies of the Santa Fe trail the most deplorable is that in which this christian hero of the wilderness met an untimely death on the banks of the thirsty Cimarron. In the spring of 1831 Smith, Jackson and Sublette, having sold their business in the mountains to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, entered the Santa Fe trade. With a large and costly expedition of some twenty wagons and eighty men, said to have been the finest outfit ever yet sent to Santa Fe, these veteran traders set out, never doubting that their long experience would enable them to cope with the dangers of the route. Everything went well to the ford of the Arkansas, for there was a plain track all the way. But it was very different on the desert waste between the Arkansas and the Cimarron. There was not a person with them who had been over the route before, and they now found themselves in a featureless country with no track of any kind except buffalo trails which crossed each other in the most confusing directions. The alluring mirage deceived and exasperated the men, and after two days of fruitless wanderings, with animals dying and men frantic for water, the condition of things seemed well nigh desperate. In this emergency Smith declared that he would find water or perish in the attempt. He was a bold and fearless man and unhesitatingly sallied forth alone for the salvation of the caravan. Following a buffalo trail for several miles he came upon the valley of the Cimarron, but only to find it destitute of water. He knew enough of the character of these streams, however, to believe there was water near the surface, and he accordingly scooped out a little hollow into which, indeed, the water began to collect. Meanwhile some stealthy Comanches, whom Smith had not observed, were stealing upon him and while he was in the act of stooping down to drink, mortally wounded him with several arrows. He arose and displayed his undaunted spirit in resisting his savage foes to the last, and killed two of them before he expired. The spot where he fell was never precisely known and no grave protects the earthly remains of this Christian and knightly adventurer. A sadder fate or a more heroic victim the parched wastes of the desert never knew."—Chittenden's History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West, vol. 2, p. 552.

"Jedediah S. Smith was one of the most remarkable men ever engaged in the commerce of the mountains and prairies. He was born in the state of New York, was well educated, and went to St. Louis in 1823. He traveled all over the west from the British boundary to the Mexican provinces and from the Mississippi to the Pacific coast. On several occasions his escape from the Indians, grizzly bears and from starvation bordered on the miraculous. In 1826 he became senior partner of the firm of Smith, Jackson & Sublette, and in 1831 embarked in the Santa Fe trade, but lost his life in the first expedition.

"Mr. William Waldo, Ms. No 135. Missouri Historical Society, says of Smith: 'He was a bold, outspoken, professing and consistent Christian, the first and only one known among the early Rocky Mountain trappers and hunters. No one who knew him well doubted the sincerity of his piety. He had become a communicant of the Methodist church before leaving his home in New York, and in St. Louis he never failed to occupy a place in the church of his choice, while he

gave generously to all objects connected with religion which he professed and loved. Besides being an adventurer and a hero, a trader and a Christian, he was himself inclined to literary pursuits and had prepared a geography and atlas of the Rocky Mountain region extending, perhaps, to the Pacific, but his death occurred before its publication.”—Twitchell’s *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. 2, p. 124, note 89.

Page 283.—Attention is called to the fact that Henry C. Lindsey served as an officer in three wars—in the Civil War as second lieutenant of company M, Eleventh Kansas; in the Indian war of 1867 as captain of company A, Eighteenth Kansas; in the Spanish-American War as colonel of the Twenty-second Kansas.

There is one other Kansan who had the same distinction—James Graham, of St. Marys, father of the late L. D. Graham, supreme court reporter. Colonel Graham served in the Civil War as second lieutenant of company L, Sixth Kansas; in the Indian war of 1868 as first lieutenant of company M, Nineteenth Kansas, and in the Spanish-American War as lieutenant colonel of the Twenty-second Kansas, Colonel Lindsey’s regiment.

Page 323, note 14.—Gen. Edward M. Hayes died at Morganton, N. C., August 16, 1912.

Page 375, note 1.—Mr. E. T. Carr writes as follows:

“My father was of the Carrs from the north of Ireland, who settled in Connecticut, and whose mother was a King, and sister of Rufus King, an old-time wholesale dry-goods merchant of Albany, N. Y. If the distinguished New York statesman is or was a son of the old merchant, then the legend is correct. I worked at mason’s work until I was twenty, and then took up woodwork, general building and architecture. Went from the country to Syracuse, N. Y., in 1850, and not 1852 as stated. Left there in May, 1855, for the West. Remained in St. Paul till September 1, when I accepted an engagement and went to Fort Leavenworth, Kan., since when I have been very well known.

“Several years ago, and while living at Miles City, I saw in the *Leavenworth Times* an article concerning the National Cemetery at Fort Leavenworth, in which the author gave much credit to the officer for having located it so beautifully at that early date—1827. Knowing something of the early history of the cemetery, how the head stones got there, etc., I wrote an article on the subject, which was published in the *Leavenworth Times*. I inclose you a somewhat faded copy of that article, and which possibly may be of use to you. I lately came across it. I was employed as superintendent of Leavenworth arsenal during the war and had the bodies removed.”

Mr. Carr’s statement relative to the cemeteries at Fort Leavenworth, addressed to the *Leavenworth Times*, and dated April 5, 1897, follows:

“In looking over a copy of your valuable paper dated May 31, 1896, I find under the heading ‘Their Historic Resting Place,’ what purports to be a history of the National Cemetery at Fort Leavenworth, some portions of which are at variance with its true history, especially as to the dates of its location. While the dates are probably matters of record in the archives of the government and may easily be verified, some other matters connected with the same may not have been recorded.

“Having been connected with much of the early history of this cemetery, permit me through the columns of the *Times* to make the

following statement, correcting some portions of the article referred to:

"Originally there were two cemeteries at Fort Leavenworth. The first, or what was later known as the 'soldiers' burying ground,' was established, as I have been told, in 1827, and was located in the north half of what is now the enclosure of the commanding officers in the old arsenal grounds. In this were buried the soldiers and many citizens who in its early history had died in the vicinity, some having been brought in from the plains, and even from New Mexico. This cemetery continued to be used until 1859, when so many had been buried there that it was almost impossible to find place for a body without uncovering another, which was often done. Some were buried in that manner, as was afterwards discovered. In 1859 this enclosure was enlarged to the south and a few bodies buried there during that and the following year.

"About this time, in view of the fact that the land in the immediate vicinity had been assigned to the ordnance department, the subject of discontinuing the use of this cemetery was being discussed, and late in 1860, I believe, the order came to establish the post cemetery at the present site and bury no more at the old place. At that time the site of the present cemetery was a thicket of hazel brush and grapevines.

"The second cemetery, then known as the 'officers' burying ground,' was established later, and was located on the brow of the hill, once known as Rattlesnake hill, just east of the large brick building and the frame cottage of the old arsenal, and at present covered by officers' quarters. Here were buried many of the officers who died at this and the neighboring posts, and also many citizens.

"I was employed by the government in the capacity of superintendent of construction of buildings as early as 1855, and thus became familiar with the general surroundings of the post at that time. I was engaged in the erection of the first permanent ordnance buildings, in 1859, near these cemeteries, and upon the establishment of the arsenal, in 1860, was made master mechanic and superintendent.

"Soon after the establishment of the arsenal came the order to remove the bodies from the old 'soldiers' burying ground' to the present site, in order to make room for the commanding officers' quarters. In the early spring of 1861, by direction of Capt. J. L. Reno, then in charge of the arsenal, I made a contract with R. V. Flora to remove the bodies. The work was performed by him under my supervision, and all the bodies taken up where the appearance of a grave could be found. About two hundred were thus removed. These were placed in rows in trenches along the upper side of the new cemetery, nearest the main road, all headstones or other means of identification being carefully preserved and placed over each body. How many were left in the old ground will probably never be known.

"The bodies from the 'officers' burying ground' were not removed until two or three years later, and I had charge of their removal also. This was a small enclosure and contained a number of monuments, headstones, etc., but there were many graves with nothing to mark them. Before removing any of these bodies I made a measured diagram of the inclosure, locating all visible graves and giving names of all I could, and where the names were not known, the distance and direction from other graves or fixed objects, such as trees, etc. Some graves had probably become entirely obliterated. This diagram I left with the depot quartermaster for future reference. Whether or not it was preserved I can not say. These bodies with their headstones, inclosure, etc., were placed in the northeast corner of the new grounds, and as in the other case the original resting place devoted to other uses. Probably here, as in the other cemetery, there are bodies still remaining, time having destroyed all visible marks. One body in particular I have no recollection of removing—that of Captain Brent, who was buried there in 1857.

"I have no recollection of the present cemetery having been known as a 'National Cemetery' until such places were established after the war, and any dates appearing over graves in the present cemetery earlier than 1860 are for bodies brought there from other cemeteries."

We take pleasure in reprinting here the following article by Henry Shindler:

THE LAST OF THE RANK AND FILE WHOSE BLOOD DRENCHED
KANSAS SOIL.

Out in the Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery a small white marble pyramid monument bears this inscription:

"To the memory of Sergeant Theodore Papier and Private Robert Theims, Troop H, Sixth Cavalry, killed in engagement with hostile Indians, April 23, 1875."

There is nothing about the monument to attract the attention of the visitor to the cemetery, as there are many others in this city of the dead to the memory of those who have fallen in engagements with Indians. Yet these two soldiers have made history for Kansas, in that they are the last of the rank and file of the United States army whose blood drenched its soil as the result of battle with the hostiles which had been carried on in the defense of settlements and trade since 1829. They have also helped to make further history for Kansas, in that they participated in what has become known as the bloodiest Indian engagement within its borders.

The writer knew both men intimately, and this accounts for his efforts to give them a place in history. It was in April, 1875, the commanding officer of Fort Lyon, Colo., was instructed to dispatch without delay a detachment of forty cavalry, under Lieut. Austin Henely, Sixth Cavalry, to Fort Wallace, Kan. There the troops were to take the field and intercept, if possible, a band of Northern Cheyenne Indians who had escaped from the Fort Reno agency, and were making their way across Kansas to their old homes in the vicinity of the Black Hills of Dakota. The detachment was on the trail within twenty-four hours, and on April 23 overtook the band in the Sappa valley, in what is now Clinton township, Rawlins county. They were taken completely by surprise, in the dawn of the day, and so fierce was the attack, so determined were the soldiers to square accounts, that when stock was taken after the finish the dead among the hostiles numbered more than forty, of which eight were squaws and children. The loss on the side of the soldiers was Papier and Theims, both killed instantly. None were wounded. The camp was totally destroyed and the plunder secured required several wagons to carry, not counting a herd of nearly 400 ponies which the troops rounded up. The shibboleth of the troopers was "Remember the Germaine Family," four members of which had been massacred in 1874 by a band of Southern Cheyenne Indians under Stone Calf, and four of the girls of the family taken into captivity. These girls were rescued during the Miles campaign of 1874-'75, in which these very troopers had participated.

When the detachment returned to Fort Lyon, flushed with victory and the spoils of war, pandemonium reigned for joy. They were feasted to their hearts' content. And yet, in all this jubilation, the two comrades who lost their lives were not forgotten. A subscription was taken up and the monument referred to placed over their graves at Wallace. When the post was abandoned, some years ago, the dead in the cemetery were disinterred and brought to Fort Leavenworth and reinterred. Papier and Theims were both Germans, and, it goes without saying, splendid soldiers. Both were popular in the troop.

It was here where Homer W. Wheeler, now a colonel of cavalry on the retired list of the army, won his spurs as an officer of the army. At that time he was the trader at Fort Wallace. He possessed a thorough knowledge of that section of the country, and volunteered his services to act as guide. The successful outcome, largely due to

this volunteer guide, led General Pope to recommend him for appointment in the army—a recommendation on which the War Department acted with promptness, so that by October 15, 1875, he wore the shoulder straps of a second lieutenant in the Fifth cavalry.

A word for brave Austin Henely is due. Henely came to the United States from Ireland during the Civil War when only a boy. He enlisted in the Eleventh infantry, and at the close of the war, through intercession of friends, was sent to West Point, where he graduated in 1872. His career in the army was cut short by an untimely accident. While serving in Arizona with his regiment, in an attempt to cross a stream, ordinarily shallow, at flood tide, he was carried off by the current, and in an attempt to save him Lieutenant Rucker, a brilliant young officer of the same regiment, also lost his life.

While to Papier and Theims belongs the distinction of being the last of the rank and file to lose their lives on Kansas soil in combat with hostile Indians, a similar distinction belongs for the commissioned ranks to Lieut. Col. W. H. Lewis, Nineteenth infantry. This officer was killed in an attempt to overtake some fleeing Cheyennes across the plains, near Fort Dodge, in October, 1878, the last efforts of the Cheyennes to depredate the settlements in the state.

In volume 10 of the Kansas Historical Collections, page 368, is an account of the above-described Cheyenne Indian massacre on the middle fork of the Sappa, written for the Historical Society by the late William D. Street. Mr. Street was an old plainsman and skillful Indian scout and very familiar with the Indian raids in western Kansas. He was commissioned by Major Mauck, of the Fourth U. S. cavalry, who was pursuing Dull Knife and his band after the raid of September, 1878, to carry dispatches from the Holstein and McCoy ranches, near the site of Atwood, to Ogallala, Neb., a distance of 135 miles. Mr. Street was in the saddle twenty-two hours, riding alone, and although he was followed by Indians who attempted to intercept him, he delivered his messages to the officers at Fort Ogallala in safety, enabling them to cut off the retreat of the Indians and capture them. In his paper will be found biographical sketches of Lieut. Austin Henely and Col. Homer Webster Wheeler. We quote from the last paragraph of Mr. Street's article:

"The annihilation of this band was a severe and bitter blow to the Cheyennes. Whether they deserved such a fate I am not prepared to judge; but three years later, on September 30 and October 1, 1878, a band of Northern Cheyennes, under the leadership of Chief Dull Knife . . . swung eastward . . . and wreaked fearful revenge on the innocent white people who had pushed their settlements out onto the Sappa and Beaver creeks, in Decatur and Rawlins counties, where nearly forty unsuspecting men were killed, women outraged, and a vast amount of property destroyed. . . . The massacre of the Cheyennes by Lieutenant Henely, of the Sixth cavalry, and the massacre of the white settlers by the Dull Knife band of Cheyennes, always appeared to me to be closely connected in the annals of border warfare, now a closed book forever."

Page 388, note 1.—Capt. D. C. Goodrich, who for more than a quarter of a century has been connected with the Soldiers' Home at Leavenworth, has received notification of the acceptance of his resignation, which was tendered to the board of directors August 1. The resignation will take effect October 1, upon which date Captain Goodrich will have rounded out twenty-seven years of active service. Captain

Goodrich came to the Home in 1887, when the total population was only twenty veterans. Since then more than 20,000 have come and gone, and 4600 have died there. In giving his reasons for his resignation, Captain Goodrich said: "I have been in the employ of the department for twenty-seven years, which is three years longer than any other man in any of the ten National Homes, and I think it is time to step out and make room for some one else. Furthermore, there is a great deal of responsibility attached to the position and I feel I am getting too old to attend to the work properly."

ERRATA.

- Page 14.—Under cut of William A. Calderhead, read "fourteen years in Congress" instead of "twelve years in Congress."
- Page 137.—Under cut of Thomas J. Greene and Mrs. Mary (Greene) Crenshaw, read "First twins" instead of "First children."
- Page 139.—Under cut of the Kickapoo church, read "in 1856" instead of "in 1854."
- Page 152.—Line 3 from top of page, read "Thomas Wallace" instead of "William Wallace."
- Page 155.—Line 6 from bottom of text, read "probably not less" instead of "probably less."
- Page 159.—Under cut of Bishop Enoch Mather Marvin, read "Presided at the second" instead of "Presided at the first."
- Page 274.—Line 20 from bottom of text, read "Eclectic" instead of "Electric."
- Page 276.—Line 8 from bottom of note 1, read "John Ritchie" instead of "John Richey."
- Page 324.—Under cut of General Hayes, read "Gen. Edward" instead of "Gen. Edwin."
- Page 332.—Line 13 from bottom of text, read "Andrew H. Reeder" instead of "Andrew J. Reeder."
- Page 335.—Line 3 from bottom of note, read "Tefft House" instead of "Teft House."
- Page 339 *et seq.*—In paper by Ely Moore, jr., read "Orville C. Brown" instead of "Orval C. Brown."
- Page 439.—Read "W. F. Cody" instead of "W. E. Cody."

IN MEMORIAM.

MISS ZU ADAMS, LATE LIBRARIAN OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WHEN we met in our annual session two years ago, for the first time in many years we missed the familiar face of our librarian, Miss Zu Adams. Never physically strong, she had broken down from overwork. Some months of rest and intermittent work seemed to restore her health, and in 1910 she was steadily at her post again. In January of this year she was stricken with what proved to be her last sickness. Her strong will power fought for life many weeks, but in vain, and she passed away on April 12, 1911.

She was the second child of Franklin G. and Harriet Adams, Kansas pioneers, and was born at Atchison, Kan., in the stirring days of 1859. Her father was prominent in the work to make Kansas a free state, and from both parents she inherited an almost morbid trait of conscientious and fearless devotion to duty, as well as mental ability of a high order. Judge Adams was the first secretary of this Historical Society, to which he devoted his life for nearly a quarter of a century.

As a child, Miss Zu, as she liked to be called, was an industrious scholar. Her early training was under her parents at home; later at the public schools at Waterville and in Topeka high school. When still in her teens she mastered stenography, an accomplishment quite rare in those days. She was a fine story-teller, and her mates and the school children were entranced by the charm of her word pictures. Whatever she attempted in all her life was done so ably and conscientiously, and withal so quietly and sweetly, as to win the admiration of all who knew her.

In the early days of this Historical Society it keenly felt the pinch of poverty. It had no funds from which to pay for the necessary work in the office. An so it came about that Miss Zu for several years helped her father, out of school hours, without compensation, receiving her first salary in 1880. During his later life she was made librarian, and when, during his last year, he became too feeble for office duty, she carried the burden both of his and her own work.

Growing up in the work as the Society grew, through her labor she became familiar with all its details; her life was builded into every room and nook and cranny of its collections, and no one knew better than she every turn of its affairs. So it came about that she was often called on for work outside of her regular duties, and, as the days were too short, she took it home with her and spent many hours, that should have been given to rest and sleep, in labors that often overtaxed her strength, and, no doubt, hurried her to a premature grave.

As a loyal Daughter of the American Revolution, in a position to be of great service to the order, she gave freely of time and strength in its service. That organization will do itself an honor when it places in our new Memorial Building some permanent and beautiful memorial in recognition of her services.

During the pastorate of Rev. L. Blakesly she united with the First Congregational Church of this city, and later became a charter member of the Central Congregational Church, and was ever a faithful and consistent Christian.

In all her life, as a student, as eldest daughter, taking a mother's place when her mother was called away from a large family, as the stay and comfort of her father in his last years, as well as his efficient helper in the work of this Society, in all her long years in our service, she showed a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice rarely seen. To see her father's plans and hopes realized and to continue his work was her ambition.

Among the works of her pen we note the following :

"Catalogue of Kansas Territorial and State Documents," which was published by the Historical Society in 1900.

"Chronology of Kansas," for Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History, printed in 1902.

"Report on the Marking of the Santa Fe Trail," published in the reports of the American Historical Association for 1906.

"List of Kansas State Publications," under the direction of R. R. Bowker, published in New York, 1906.

She had made a close study of and was recognized as an authority on Kansas history, and knew more about the aborigines of Kansas than anyone living in the state. In June, 1909, Baker University conferred upon her the honorary degree of Master of Arts. This academic recognition was given because of her competent and scholarly work along the line of Kansas history. Almost the last work she did was on the eleventh volume of Kansas Historical Collections.

No cloistered devotee was ever more consecrated to work or brought to it more of zealous service than came to the Kansas State Historical Society with Miss Adams. She rests from her labors, but her works, seen in this Society, in all it is to-day, or all it may become tomorrow, will ever be to those who knew her a reminder of a most useful, faithful life.

The Executive Committee of the Kansas State Historical Society deplore the death of Miss Zu Adams, the librarian of the Society, as a public loss. She had been in the service of the state in her line of work for thirty-five years, and in addition to an unbroken record of duty faithfully, conscientiously and most intelligently performed, she had accumulated an experience and knowledge, always in demand, but gone with her, beyond the power of words to measure. Her work was the love of her life, and her associates bear witness that her zeal shortened her days. She was a frail woman, of exceeding modesty, and while there are hosts of Kansas people who know of and have enjoyed her services, she will be known to scholars and students, for all the time that Kansas history will endure, for her patient, painstaking labor as a librarian, a collector of historical material, and for cautious and accurate work on the publications of the Society.

Resolved, That the secretary is hereby ordered to secure an oil painting of Miss Adams, to be added to the collections of the Society, and that the sum of one hundred dollars is hereby appropriated out of the membership fund to pay for the same.

W. R. STUBBS. J. G. SLONECKER.
H. E. VALENTINE. P. I. BONEBRAKE.
CLAD HAMILTON.

The funeral service, conducted by Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, was held at Miss Adams' late home, on Friday, April 14, 1911.

SUN OF MY SOUL.

Sung by MRS. B. B. SMYTH.

Sun of my soul! thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near:
Oh, may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide Thee from thy servant's eyes!

When the soft dews of kindly sleep
My weary eyelids gently steep,
Be my last thought—how sweet to rest
Forever on my Saviour's breast!

Abide with me from morn till eve,
For without Thee I can not live;
Abide with me when night is nigh,
For without Thee I dare not die.

SCRIPTURE READING.

"The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee. Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion. Remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifices. Grant thee according to thy own heart, and fulfill all thy counsel.

"Peace be to this house. Grace be to you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God.

"For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment: but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is as the waters of Noah unto me: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah shall no more go over the earth; so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee.

"O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agate, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children.

"God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea. Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.

"Hear my cry, O God; attend unto my prayer. From the end of the earth will I cry unto thee when my heart is overwhelmed. Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I. For thou hast been a shelter for me, and a strong tower from the enemy. I will abide in thy tabernacle forever; I will trust in the covert of thy wings.

"These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace.

In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.

"The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me besides the still waters. He restoreth my soul; he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I, John, saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying. neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away. And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold I make all things new.

"The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace.

"Now, the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, forever, Amen."

Doctor Sheldon then spoke as follows:

"Death has always brought trouble and sorrow into the world from the very beginning. In spite of the fact that it is universal, we never get used to it. I think we might perhaps accustom ourselves a little more to it, and we ought, by more familiarity with it. I see no reason why we should not accustom ourselves to it in the family circle, and talk about it as we talk about anything else. Dying is just as natural as being born; it is a part of life, and the Christian does accustom himself in many ways to it—and he may add this fact to the great universal fact of our humanity. But it always brings sorrow. It would be a strange death that did not bring any grief. Sometimes we hear it said, or read it, 'There was not a tear shed by anyone.' and we wonder who that person was. The more useful, the more strength of character, the more beloved the person was, the more grief, the more sorrow on that account. And if it were not for our Christian faith we could not bear it. Philosophy has nothing to say in the presence of death; science has nothing to say, except sometimes to assert, in the proud fashion which it has no right to assume, that there is no life after death. Wealth has nothing to say at its coming; it has no healing for this wound. Fame, ambition, honor, success in the marketplace, are all doomed in the presence of death.

"But that makes no difference, for there is one voice that speaks clear

and strong and assuringly, and that is the voice of our Christian faith. While all others, philosophy, science, are silent—they have nothing to say, they have nothing to offer in the way of consolation or hope—the Christian faith steps boldly forward in the crisis and says all we need to know. So there is comfort in this home to-day. These friends whose faith has been tried are going to take up their burden and carry on their work and live their life, not as if this had never occurred, but stronger and better and richer because it occurred. The comfort of a Christian faith reminds us of so many things. Any life well lived is a heritage. We ought to be rich people after so many friends have passed on and left us their memories. We are often careless of them while living, but we treasure their memories. Death has done that for us.

“Then we have great comfort in the thought of the universal friendship which exists in the world. We had thought it hard and cruel and selfish and bitter. On the contrary, we find that when a great trouble comes the world is full of people that feel for us, of great-hearted friends; the world is full of sympathy, it is pulsing with love for us. And it is because we belong to the great family of those who sorrow. We have all sorrowed in the same way.

“And Christian faith reminds us of the great future. Philosophy has not a word to say, science has nothing to speak about the great comforting thought of the other world. What we need to remember, what any of these friends here to-day need to remember, is the fact that this dear one is safe and happy and well in the land where there is no pain nor sickness nor death any more. They need to remember what she would like to have them do. She would like to have them go on with their day’s work, and do it faithfully. If they want to revere her memory and please her they will simply go on with their work, doing it better than they have ever done before, and grow busy with the tasks that will help others. Pass on the legacy of her faithfulness, her gentleness and good will—her faithfulness to duty and to those about her. The great thing that sustains in the time of death is the Christian faith in the other world, and the knowledge of the fact that life has not ceased going on, growing stronger and doing better things, and that some day we shall meet again. That is the one great sustaining thing.

“There is nothing our friends can say. It all falls on dull ears. Of all we have ready to offer, there is nothing to help except the words of promise. These come fresh and strong and true, and remind us of the great fact of our many broken plans—nothing ever finished in this world; it is all incomplete. At the best we are playing at little tasks, but we are getting ready for the great world where we shall do something better, for we shall have time and room and opportunity to do it.

“Let the friends comfort themselves in the legacy of a life that has left more than any wealth can ever purchase; in the thought that some one is dependent upon you; some little child, perhaps, looking to you for help. You are still needed in the world. God needs you, friends need you, and so you are surely called upon by the Blessed Master to take up the work and carry it on—ever with the memory of the just and the thought of the one who has gone a little way on, to meet her in the land beyond the storms and the pain.”

WHY SHOULD I FEAR?

Sung by MRS. B. B. SMYTH.

Why should I fear to pass the gate
That opens into Heaven?
The mansions, where my friends await
My coming, morn or even,
Are bright with everlasting bloom
Of flowers, that grow in every room.

Why should I fear to hear Him say
"Come child of mine and rest!
Come to the place of endless day,
The mansions of the blest;
There is no night nor tempest here,
No pain nor sorrow, care or fear."

Why should I falter in my faith,
When He who made me keeps
And guards His own and daily saith,
"The earth with sorrow weeps,
But Heaven is glad with songs that bear
A harmony beyond compare."

Why should I shrink at thought of death
When none of His can die?
God breathes on them His loving breath,
And gives eternity;
He wipes away all tears from eyes
That open into Paradise.

Loved one of mine, I part with thee
A moment only, here;
I would not call thee back to me,
But make my vision clear
Of that dear country so divine,
When I shall clasp thy hand in mine.

And there shall be no parting there,
No going out again;
No storms shall beat upon the fair,
No anguish bring them pain;
My friend is not beneath the sod,
But happy, strong and free with God.

—C. M. S.

PRAYER.

"Grant, our Father, to come into this house and give it a blessing, and bring Thy peace and Thy good cheer, even as Thy sun has done many a time after the racking storm has passed over the earth, and has restored that which was rent and torn; even so come, Thou Son of Righteousness, and heal these hearts that have been broken and are sorrowing here to-day. We thank Thee for what Thou hast done for Thy people in all the ages; that death has not been able to tear out of the world its joy, nor take from the heart of the little child its happiness, nor to cover the earth with gloom. We thank Thee that the flowers still bloom, that the sun still shines, and that the earth still rolls into the light. We thank Thee that men and women still go about their daily work and accomplish their tasks, as if death had never come. We thank Thee for his little power, and that the greater power is the power of life—that which can not be broken and destroyed.

We thank Thee that, though the seed lies long in the ground, in the darkness and cold, that it breaks into life when spring comes.

"We pray to-day for all those who mourn, for all men everywhere who sorrow. We thank Thee that we belong to the common family of those who sympathize with one another. Deepen our experience and enrich our lives by the influences that come to us in the daily course of humanity's life. We brought nothing into the world, neither can we carry anything out, but we bless Thee that we can leave as we go a heritage of a good life, a holy life.

"Hear us in our prayer, and abide with us. Bless the members of this household. Be with those who are absent; heal the sick, comfort the sorrowing, bless all who mourn, and give us Thy peace. And when we have done our work here may we be ready to enter Thine other world and take up Thine other work in a place where we shall not be hindered and cramped, and where we shall ever sing songs of praise to Thee.

"Our Father which art in heaven: hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen."

THERE IS A LAND.

Sung by MRS. B. B. SMYTH.

There is a land my eye hath seen
In visions of enraptured thought,
So bright that all that spreads between
Is with its radiant glory fraught.
A land upon whose blissful shore
There rests no shadow, falls no stain,
There those who meet shall part no more,
And those long parted meet again.

Its skies are not like earthly skies,
With varying hues of shade and light;
It hath no need of sun to rise
To dissipate the gloom of night.
There sweeps no desolating wind
Across the calm, serene abode,
The wanderer there a home may find
Within the Paradise of God.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORICAL ACCURACY IN NEWSPAPERS.

Read before the Kansas Editorial Association at Lawrence, April 8, 1912, by
SHERIDAN PLOUGHE,¹ of Hutchinson.

IN THE DAILY GRIND of newspaper work, it perhaps has not occurred to the newspaper makers that the facts they set down in their columns will be used as the information from which the future history of Kansas will be written. In their daily rounds in search of news they have not always thought of the high value that will be put upon the files of their papers in after years. Events of seemingly small importance are recorded, with no thought that those events may have a decided worth in the future. It is impossible to estimate at the time it is recorded, the exact value of any information that comes under the observation of the careful news gatherer. It may seem insignificant and unimportant, but the future may give it a worth apparently not possessed at the present time.

The function of a newspaper is to record correctly and accurately the events in its field of labor. But it frequently occurs—perhaps, to be more definite, it happens every day with the newspaper maker—that in his efforts to get rush jobs off the press, to round up belated advertising, to get the type set, the forms locked up and the paper out on time, details which make for accuracy are disregarded, and this most important function is overlooked.

The newspaper maker should never forget that the daily life of his community can only be made known to the future through the files of his paper. Without considering the immediate advantage accruing to a newspaper that has built up a reputation for accuracy; a reputation that leads the reader to believe the matter contained in its columns is an accurate statement of facts that can be relied upon—outside of the direct and immediate value to the paper itself of such a reputation, it is worth all it costs in effort to know that the paper may be looked upon with confidence by its readers a half century from now as well as by its readers to-day.

As authority in historical work newspapers are accorded the second place. All public records, such as the official acts of public officers, probate court proceedings, minutes of county commissioners' sessions, judicial acts of trial courts, as well as decisions of supreme courts, and all records of plats and deeds, stand first, because the official seal gives authenticity, and they are accordingly regarded as the highest source of information. While this class of matter fills a large place in the history of any community, newspapers,

NOTE 1.—SHERIDAN PLOUGHE was born in Howard county, Indiana, June 1, 1868. He removed to Hutchinson with his parents in February of 1876, where he lived on a farm adjoining the city and attended the city schools. He graduated from the high school in the class of 1884, and entered the Kansas State University in the fall of 1886 and finished the Freshman year. He attended Garfield University, at Wichita, during the rest of his college course, graduating with the degree of A. B. in June, 1890. He then entered the law office of L. M. Fall, and was admitted to the Reno county bar in October of 1892, when he entered on the practice of his chosen profession. Mr. Ploughe afterward took up newspaper work, and was for a time publisher of the *Hutchinson Independent*.

as a matter of fact, are far more prolific and resourceful because of the larger scope of their work. They deal not only with these records themselves, but likewise with a great variety of subjects; with the living men and women who make the records, write the commissioners' proceedings and the court decisions. They deal daily with the entire country instead of with the few individuals, and because of this close daily contact newspapers become the most valuable source of material that goes to make up the history of a community. We maintain an agency on an average of eight newspapers in every county in the state for recording daily events and preserving records for future use. How carefully, or how carelessly, is their work being done? The State Historical Society's secretary says that "No one, not personally conversant with a particular set of facts, ever questions a newspaper statement contained in the files of the State Historical Society." If the ordinary observer to-day accepts statements made in newspapers as accurate, and only those question them who have personal knowledge of the matters treated, how much higher place will be accorded the files of your papers when there are none left to question, none to dispute their accuracy? With this added importance, the work of every newspaper maker should be the work of the history writer, and every effort made to turn out a better paper with each issue.

While the man who does not know the inside of newspaper making may be willing to accept their statements unquestioned, yet the newspaper maker himself realizes the shortcomings of the trade. If he is on a daily and directs others in gathering news, he knows his reporters, knows the lack of ability in too many instances; he sees too often their shiftlessness and their heartbreaking carelessness, their failure to comprehend the value of details. He knows that often imagination and guesswork take the place of leg work, and that gossip is frequently given the credence of gospel. Deliberate faking of news is the exception on small dailies, but the mangling and disfiguring of news items beyond recognition is common, and calls for heroic action, and a continuation of it should result in putting the guilty reporter into outer darkness, in spite of his weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.

On the smaller papers, where the man who writes the articles also sets the type, greater reliability is attained. George W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society, says that the facts gathered from county weeklies are far more reliable than those obtained from the big dailies. These smaller papers are consulted continually in transacting the business of the state, and they are generally relied upon; but newspaper makers who turn out the great dailies are confronted with mechanical activities that cannot be decreased, and the tendency is to get a few facts, guess at the rest, put the mixture together and go to press, and a generation from now that mixture will be regarded as a statement of facts, whether it be a county-seat contest or a bond election.

The worst sinners in the matter of making unreliable the sources of future information, however, are the correspondents of metropolitan dailies. Much of the matter they write is never read in their own communities, and hence no check is put on their exaggerations. Some of these wild statements are made because the papers for which they write want exaggerations. Sensations must be made, if they do not exist. The "yellow journals" have dealt in wild statements so long that calm narrations of

ordinarily good news items are not to their purpose, and every one who has ever done any work for sensational newspapers of this class can testify to the request for greatly exaggerated stories. The form of the query sent the correspondents shows that the paper does not want facts but a highly colored story, and if the correspondent can not furnish it, the newspaper will go elsewhere for its news. Then, again, knowing the paper's weakness, the correspondent deliberately fakes it, and the bigger the fake the blacker the headlines the next morning. During the high waters that covered a part of the town site of Hutchinson in 1903 a newspaper correspondent of that place drew on his imagination to such an extent that he wired an eastern daily that the water was so high in Hutchinson that corpses were floating out of the second-story windows of an undertaking establishment. That fake still lives. It will doubtless be remembered long after the flood itself is forgotten. And I have thought that the conclusion which the distinguished Kansan who presides over this session of the Editorial Association gave to the world two years later, at remote but fair Bingen on the Rhine, was largely reached through the success of that fake telegram. The conclusion, you will remember, was "that it is the *romancer* and the *singer* who make a country great and interesting, and not any special merit of the place itself." And straightway (to make his country "great and interesting," I suppose) from his fertile imagination was conjured the "Legend of Cow Creek," that classic in which a pair of lovers are portrayed crossing the raging torrent of Cow creek at the flood, hanging on to the tail of an old cow, while an irate father stands "on the bank cursing a blue streak." But what I desire to impress upon this honorable body is that its present president would not have needed anything more than a pair of hip boots to have gotten through the deepest water that covered our town site of Hutchinson in 1903, and I submit that in this particular case, he not being a very tall man, it is a long way from hips to second-story windows.

Another distinguished gentleman, who was once a newspaper man, but has now degenerated into successfully filling a responsible position as "advisor" to the government of Kansas, wrote some telegrams years ago that set the standard for news fakirs, and will always remain a source of inspiration for those who would follow in his footsteps. The Rosa White-face stories not only put the Indian Peace Society up in arms and aroused the activities of the W. C. T. U. and the ministerial associations, but so stirred up the Interior Department of the United States that the Secretary kept the wires hot commanding the Indian agent to stop the sale of the girl to "Black Coyote," an Indian buck who already had seven wives. Later this same newspaper gentleman started a fake story of a baby that had fallen into a well, and his story was so clearly faked that he was flooded with requests from "yellow journals" for more news of the baby in the well. The "advisor," realizing he had started something good and desiring to continue in well doing, let down into the well every day a bottle of milk to the baby, who was sinking slowly downward. After keeping the fake going as long as he thought advisable, he pulled up the well pipe and rescued the baby from the lower end.

But aside from these enterprising stories, Kansas newspapers will afford years hence a fairly good basis upon which to write a history of the state. Gathered together in the State Historical Society's rooms, where they are carefully arranged and bound in permanent form, are the files of the eight

hundred or more newspapers published over the state. This collection is unique and unequaled anywhere else in the land. Kansas may well be proud of her great newspaper collection. There is not a state in the Union that can approach the Sunflower state in this respect, and it is the duty of every newspaper maker in Kansas to see that no issue of his paper ever fails to be sent there, so that the files may be kept complete. When the new Memorial building, wherein the collections of the Historical Society are to be housed, is finished, the Kansas editors will have a clearing house for their wares which will be a central attraction for all newspaper men. The Historical Society is presided over by the noblest Roman of them all—Geo. W. Martin—entitled to the deanship of Kansas editors. The newspaper makers should keep in close touch with him, and should ascertain what is needed to complete the Memorial Building, and then labor—diligently and personally with their senators and representatives, to the end that this splendid structure be finished at once. Kansas editors should never forget that the Historical Society is a child of the Editorial Association.

The newspaper maker is doing what no other craft or calling is accomplishing. His work is not ended with to-day's reading of his paper. Years hence, when the compositor has laid down his stick, when the machine operator has quit his Union, when the proofreader has ceased to worry over copy, when, indeed, the subscriber has ended his days, there will come a time when some one will drag out the dusty files of the old paper and read again the daily happenings of the community—read of the men and women who laid the foundations of the prosperity of the neighborhood. The name of the paper may be changed, other workers may gather about the presses and the machines, but in the old files will be set down truthfully the story of the "first things." The name of the man who planted the first apple tree cannot be wholly without interest when the reader has but to turn and look away across fair orchards to see boughs bending under their loads of fruit. The establishment of the first road over the trackless waste of unbroken sod is full of romance to the reader of a later day as he looks at the noble highways of his own time. He may read of the laying out of the village cemetery, remembering that none live who were active then. But the newspaper still lives and tells the story of the first grave.

Truly, the newspaper maker is the history writer of his community. Well should he write it, carefully should he set it down, remembering that when it will be of most value there may be none left to criticise and none to correct it. If his work is well done, high indeed will be the praise of the one whose pen shall write again the stories that he is writing now. Twice told will be the tale, and all the veneration that after days can furnish, all the praise that future generations can bestow, and all the gratitude of the children and the children's children will be to him who truthfully, carefully and accurately tells the daily story of the fathers. No other trade or calling holds out the opportunities, the open ports that are given to the newspaper maker. Honored be the newspaper maker who is faithful to his calling in his daily work.

I.

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

SOME WESTERN BORDER CONDITIONS IN THE 50'S AND 60'S.

Address by the President, ALBE B. WHITING,¹ Topeka, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, December 6, 1910.

FORT RILEY² was located in 1853, and in 1855 a large amount of building was done to make it a five-troop cavalry post. It was an outpost west of all the Indian reservations, and a buffer to the savages of the plains, holding them away from the somewhat civilized treaty Indians and the settlers who were soon to fill the valleys of the Kaw and its tributaries. The old Mormon trail, said to have been made in 1846, left the Santa Fe trail at 110 Creek, in Osage county, and bearing northwest crossed the

NOTE 1.—ALBE B. WHITING was born at Johnson, Lamoille county, Vermont, November 10, 1835. He is the son of Harris Whiting and Mary (Dodge) Whiting, who were born in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, of English and Scotch ancestry, connected with Cromwell and Bloody Mary, one of whom, an old Covenanter, fled to America to save his head from the English queen's axe. His parents were early settlers in northern Vermont, and he was educated in the common schools and in the academy of the town where he was born. Mr. Whiting came to Kansas in April, 1856, and located beyond the surveys in the Republican valley, a few miles northwest of Fort Riley, about where is now Milford, Geary county. He removed to Topeka in 1877, where he has resided ever since. He has been a farmer, freighter, miller and merchant. He indulged in office holding but little, having been drafted once as a postmaster, and served as police commissioner under Governor Lewelling. He followed or drove oxen from the Missouri river to the Rockies, opened roads, built bridges and ferries, a sawmill, a flouring mill and houses and stores on the frontier. He has also been especially active in establishing schools and churches. He is now, and has been for many years, a very liberal friend and trustee of Washburn College, Topeka. He was married in November, 1858, to Kate A. Whitney, of Vermont. They have had six children, four living, with eight grandchildren and one great-grandchild. Mr. Whiting determined to leave some permanent endowment for Washburn College, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association of Topeka. He selected \$25,000 as the beginning of his endowment, and then began casting about for some plan of investment which would actually net the greatest income to the three institutions to which he desired to contribute. He investigated all kinds of business ventures, bond and stock returns and real-estate investments, and finally decided upon a cemetery as the best possible investment for the college and Christian associations. Mr. Whiting bought the Mt. Hope cemetery grounds, 160 acres, one and one-half miles west of Topeka. The land alone cost \$16,000, and that left \$9000 to begin the improvement work. This was four years ago, and the permanent improvement work of the cemetery has been going on ever since and will go on forever. The property has been deeded to a board of trustees, of which Mr. Whiting is president and also general superintendent of the cemetery. This board has been incorporated for one thousand years, and it is bound to maintain the cemetery forever. No grave can ever be neglected, as under the terms of the charter the board is compelled to set aside a certain part of its revenue to go into a perpetual care fund, the interest on this fund being sufficient to care for the property. The college and the Christian associations receive two-thirds of the entire sum obtained from the sale of lots in the cemetery. An estimate of the amount to be received from this source shows that the three institutions should receive more than a million dollars in a comparatively short time if the sale of lots continues in the same proportion as at present. No one except the actual workers in the cemetery receives a salary, and no dividends except to the college and Christian associations are ever declared. The college receives about one-half of the total amount received from the sale of lots; the Young Women's Christian Association receives the next largest share, and the Young Men's Christian Association the next division.

NOTE 2. BENNET RILEY was born in Alexandria, Va., in 1787, and entered the army from Maryland as an ensign in 1813. He attained a captaincy in 1818, and for long and efficient service was breveted major in 1828. He was an adept at campaigning on the

Kaw at a ferry on the site of Pawnee City, perhaps eighty rods down the river from the building put up for the first territorial legislature. Thence the trail ran nearly due north till it met the trails from Leavenworth and up-river towns on the Little Blue, a hundred miles away. In 1856 a government train made a trail up the Republican to the big bend near the Nebraska line, thence over to the old trail on the Little Blue, and recommended this route to overland emigrants as shorter, better watered and more desirable for emigrant trains and their herds.

In 1855 a few employees at Fort Riley took claims a little way up the Republican valley, although the land had not yet been surveyed. In the spring of 1856 the writer was one of some twenty, mostly single, men who took claims on this extreme frontier.

In the spring of 1857 more settlers came, a few with families, and scattered along the valley of the river and tributary creeks. Within twenty miles of the fort were now about fifty persons, counting women and children. The army officers at the fort were mostly from the South, born aristocrats, as thoroughly convinced of their divine right to hold human beings in slavery as that the sun would rise in the morning. Despising labor, they had no use for the ragged frontiersmen who were trying to make homes in the wilderness, holding in especial contempt those of free-state convictions.

While the fort was supposed to be a protection to the settlers, the Indians of some treaty tribes, notably the Kaws and Pawnees, and the hostiles from further west, stole our horses so regularly that we were compelled to do most of our work with oxen. And if a horse stolen by Indians from our settlement was ever recovered by the aid of the army I never knew of it.

About the 20th of May, 1857, I was turning long furrows of prairie sod with four yoke of oxen, when a neighbor, Moses Younkin, from three miles away, came to me hurriedly and reported that an hour before two men, more dead than alive, had come to his cabin asking for help. These men had walked one hundred miles without food in something less than three days and two nights, to find relief for the survivors of an emigrant train robbed by Indians at Pawnee Bend, in the Republican valley. Eight wagon-loads of Arkansas travelers, each drawn by three yoke of oxen, counting twenty-five men, women and children, well provisioned for a six months' trip, en route to Oregon with a herd of 400 cattle and a few horses, comprised the outfit. They moved leisurely, traveling about fifteen miles daily, and the Indians had, no doubt, dogged the train for some days, until satisfied they could capture it with small hazard to themselves.

One morning just as the train was starting out of camp the Indians charged them furiously, riding through the herd and among the wagons, yelling like the demons they were, shooting arrows and bullets, stampeding the stock, killing the captain of the train, a man by the name of Smith, and

plains, leading a wing of the Arikara expedition in 1823, under Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth, Fifth infantry. He commanded the first Santa Fe trail escort, a duty for which he was sent from Jefferson Barracks to Fort Leavenworth in 1829 with a battalion of the Sixth infantry, and in which Lieut. Philip St. George Cooke served as a subaltern, and was distinguished for bravery in the Seminole war. At Fort Leavenworth he succeeded Col. Henry Leavenworth in command. In the Mexican war he was a trusted lieutenant of Gen. Winfield Scott, who publicly attributed much of his success at Monterey and Cerro Gordo to Colonel Riley's prowess. In 1847 he became brigadier general, and the next year was sent in command of the Division of the West to California, where he acted as last territorial governor and aided in forming the state constitution. On his departure from California (1853) his popularity was signalized by testimonials of popular respect. He died at Buffalo, June 9, 1858. The post of Fort Riley, Kan., was named in his honor.—Henry Shindler.

three other men, wounding several others, and driving the living away from the wagons with but the scant clothing they happened to wear on a warm summer morning, and the few antiquated guns with which the men had made a feeble defense.³ A hundred miles from food and shelter, the survivors largely women and children, some of them sick, others severely wounded, were in sore need of help. The only horse team we could muster was capable of little more speed than oxen. In fact, one of the team had been stolen by the Indians twice and abandoned after a few hours, before reaching their reservations, because he was so slow. As soon as we could mold some bullets, fill powder flasks, and from our scant stores provision the wagon with flour and meal, a side of bacon, jug of molasses, water keg, frying pans, coffee pot, lariat ropes, blankets and a few things indispensable for the relief of the sufferers, three of us hurried off on our mission.⁴ I had a saddle horse. We took along in the wagon for a guide the stronger one of the two men who had come for help. We sent a man to Fort Riley, fifteen miles away, to report the facts to the commanding officer and ask for a squad of soldiers to follow us and to help us out. By ten o'clock that night a thunderstorm drove us to camp. In a few hours the sky cleared so we could follow the dim trail, and we were on our way again. After day came we got our breakfast by the river and plodded on as fast as we dare crowd our crippled horses.

Crossing Huntress creek⁵ just north of where Clay Center now is, we

NOTE 3.—"The train camped for the last time in the valley at that point in Republic county where the old military road left the Republican and struck across the prairie for the Little Blue, more than one hundred miles from Fort Riley. This point was at or near the present site of Republic City. Just as the train was hitching up to roll out of camp in the early morning the Indians charged, shouting, through the train, and shooting in every direction, to stampede the stock and drive the owners from the train. All was disorder and confusion, and little resistance was made. They fled from the train, many of them just as they arose from their beds. Smith, the captain and largest owner, in attempting to escape on a horse, was shot, his body stripped of valuables and mutilated in a shocking manner.

"Four of the men in the train were killed, others wounded, one young woman very seriously. But plunder, not blood, was the object of the Indians, and as soon as the whites left the train they left them to their fate and ransacked the wagons. A keg of whisky found among the loading soon had the whole band engaged in a drunken revel; but, while the emigrants saw from the hills the Indians drunk to helplessness, they dared not attempt to recapture the train.

"Their drunken orgies over, the Indians loaded their ponies from the train. The wagon covers were stripped off, sacks of flour, meal and dried fruit were poured on the ground, that the bags might be carried away, the clothing packed on the ponies, and, driving the herd of stock, they started for their camp—wherever that might be.

"The events of after years satisfied the settlers in the Republican valley that this robbery was committed by the Pawnees, nominally friendly, but ever ready to rob and murder when they thought it would be charged up to the Sioux, Cheyennes and other hostile tribes on the plains.

"Meanwhile the emigrants turned away from the train without food or the means of procuring it. With half the men in the party killed, including the captain; with several children, the wounded woman to care for, and ninety miles from the settlement, they were in danger of starvation."—History of Republic County, I. O. Savage, 1901, p. 45.

See, also, an account of this massacre in F. G. Adams' Homestead Guide, 1873, p. 219.

NOTE 4.—MOSES and WILLIAM YOUNKIN. Moses Younkín, the man who brought the account of the massacre, was an early settler in Kansas, coming from Pennsylvania. He was one of the men who located the town site of Milford, in what is now Geary county, in 1855. He remained there but a short time, and in April, 1856, he with his brothers, William and Jerome, located near the mouth of Timber creek, being the first white man to settle within the present limits of Clay county. Mrs. Moses Younkín was the first white woman in that locality, and their son, Edward L., born December 2, 1858, was the first white child born in the county.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1812.

William Younkín was born in Pennsylvania in 1832, and was twenty-two years of age when he came to Kansas with his brothers. He was a resident of Grant township, Clay county, until about 1897, when he moved to Wakefield. He married Ruth Howard in 1863, who died in 1880; five children were born to them. In 1888 he married Elida Sheppard.

NOTE 5.—Huntress creek was named for Orville Huntress, who in 1861 opened a hotel and a store at the point where the military road crossed the creek.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1312.

came to a long stretch of river bottom, level as a floor, where the trail made by a government train in 1856 ran for nearly ten miles in a straight line. No more beautiful prairie scene ever met the eye than this great, broad valley on that morning. It was like a sea of the brightest living green, dotted with flowers, the winding river fringed with groves in their spring dress, the uplands in the background rich in their covering of new grass, and no sign for many miles that the foot of man had ever passed that way before, save the trail we were following. To our eyes the far end of that trail ended in a lake. A mirage covered it. And presently a fast-moving body of colors surprised us, looming in the distance. Mose Younkin, old hunter and scout, was sure a body of mounted Indians was coming upon us on the run. We could not escape by retreat; our horses were too slow. We looked our guns over, shifted our ammunition to the handiest pockets, drove off the trail to get rifle-shot distance from a ravine which ran parallel with it and might afford cover to an attacking party, and went forward. A mile further on and the mirage, that was the cause of our fright, lifted, and the band of Indians dwindled to a couple of men and women—the stronger ones of the party we were in search of. Shawls worn by the women, blown by the high wind, magnified a hundred fold and distorted by the mirage,⁶ had given us a good scare.

We fed these famishing survivors and went on. At the mouth of Pete's creek we found Pete Dobbin, from whom the creek took its name. He had built a shack here a few weeks before, twenty-five miles from his nearest neighbor. He was glad to go along with us. Crossing Parson's creek, near where the town of Clifton was built in later years, we began to find signs of the recent presence of Indians, and were anxious for the expected reinforcements from Fort Riley, as four men were a small crowd to meet the band of Indians that had plundered the train, variously estimated by the survivors at from 40 to 400. But we drove as far as our tired team could go, and camped about sundown by Elk creek, where now is the city of Clyde.

Indian signs had multiplied. Darkness came on. Mose and myself agreed to take turns on guard, and mine was the first watch. Pete, too excited to sleep, got out of his blanket and insisted on staying with me. An hour later and the deep quiet of the wilderness was with us. Suddenly the stillness was broken by just a note of a human voice from the bushes along the stream close by. Our dog sprang from under the wagon with a fierce bark. Our horses pulled at their lariats and seemed to sniff trouble. Pete whispered to me: "It's Indians. Let's rouse the boys." I replied: "You go through the bushes to the right; I will go to the left. If you see an Indian, shoot and shoot to kill." We made the beat and found nothing.

Two hours later the clatter of horses' hoofs reached our ears, and we wakened the boys and made ready for an attack. Again a pleasant surprise. Our appeal for help to Fort Riley was flatly refused, and three of our neighbors had come on to our relief. A mile back a dog barked at them from near the trail. Feeling insecure so near the cover of the bushes, we

NOTE 6.—See Robert M. Wright's description of a mirage, page 66, volume 7, *Kansas Historical Collections*. Mr. Wright has always believed that in a mirage once, near Larned, he saw the greatest city in the world—London, St. Petersburg or Paris, he judged, by the domes, spires and minarets and style of buildings. Philip St. George Cooke, in his *Scenes and Adventures in the Army, 1857*, pp. 318-321, gives a most interesting account of a mirage on the plains of Nebraska.

harnessed up and moved camp one hundred rods out on the smooth prairie. Mose now stood guard while I rolled in a blanket, pillowed my head on a saddle, and tried to sleep. Perhaps an hour went by; sleep failed to come. Mose whispered to me that a bunch of stock could be dimly seen coming out of the woods and grazing quietly a half-mile away; the light was too dim to tell if Indian ponies or cattle. We reconnoitered and found thirty or forty head of cattle, part of the herd of the plundered train.

Morning was not far away, and as daybreak was the usual hour for the Indians to attack, we made ready and ate our simple breakfast. Sunrise brought no Indians, and we moved out on the trail. Some ten miles along we forded Salt creek. A mile away in the river bottom a band of Indians were frantically running their ponies, urging a herd of cattle into cover of the timber. Our four horsemen rode toward them on a gallop. By the time we were within a half-mile of them the cattle were out of sight and the Indians parted into two squads, one taking cover in the timber along the river, the other by the creek, inviting us to ride into their ambush, the open prairie between them some sixty rods wide. Reluctantly we left them and hurried on west.

An hour later we met the last of the emigrant party, the mother and brother of its murdered captain. The larger number had slipped past our camp in the night, and while confident we were a relief party in search of them, the women were so terrorized they would not allow the men to show themselves to us. The scantily clad old lady of nearly seventy years, leaning heavily on her son, a man of forty, his head tied in a red cotton handkerchief, on his shoulder a couple of guns, and in his hand a firebrand, keeping a coal alive to light a fire at their next night's resting place, hardly able to drag their feet along, were a pitiful sight. So crazed by fear were these poor sufferers that it seemed probable the man would fire on us. At request of the others I dismounted, left my gun, and went to meet them alone. Such joy as came into their faces when certain relief had come I never saw before. The old lady had dropped exhausted on the grass. Taking a handful of sorrel from her mouth she told me it had been her only food for five days. But they were too overjoyed to eat, and cared little for the food in my haversack. The man was suffering from an arrow wound that caused his death a few months later.⁷

Making them as comfortable as possible in our wagon, we turned homeward. Recrossing Salt creek, we rested for dinner, and now that the survivors were being cared for, we itched to avenge the massacre of the emigrant train and to beat the Indians out of the herd of stock they had corralled in the woods three hours before. Up the Republican from the

NOTE 7.—"The sixth day after the attack the relieving party found the last of the emigrants about thirty miles from the scene of the butchery. An old white-headed woman, her long hair streaming in the wind, almost borne on the shoulder of her son, he fainting from the wound of a poisoned arrow that afterwards caused his death, having on his other arm a couple of old muskets, and a firebrand in his hand—both haggard, dirty, bloody and wild—they presented a spectacle once seen never to be forgotten. And when the certainty of help and relief came to them their utter prostration and helplessness told, as words could not, the sufferings they had endured.

"It is a sufficient commentary on the administration of James Buchanan that in a case like this, with six companies of cavalry at Fort Riley, not a man nor a gun nor a ration could be had for the relief of this unfortunate party till after a handful of poor frontier settlers had gone out, gathered them up and brought them to the fort. And this is only one of many instances where frontier settlers in Kansas, and notably in Republic county, 'stood picket' for the United States troops, who were placed near the frontier, ostensibly for its protection.

"The survivors of these emigrants mostly returned to Arkansas, a few, however, remaining in Kansas."—History of Republic County, by I. O. Savage, 1901, p. 44.

junction of Salt creek the river describes a big curve. For a half-mile from its mouth Salt creek follows a curve with a shorter radius, and so the point of land between the two is like the points of a new moon, and at that time was covered with a fine growth of cottonwood and thick underbrush. In this tangle an unknown number of Indians and cattle were hidden. It was a reckless venture, but six of us were ready for it. We planned to cross the creek at its mouth, gain the cover of the timber, and make our fight. Coming to the creek, we found the banks impassable and the stream deep and miry. Following it up as far as the timber went, there was no show for us to cross, and we had to abandon our plan. Providence surely interfered to keep us from a foolhardy fight, else the probabilities are strong that this story would never have been written.

Going homeward, within a few miles we picked up a dozen or more of the emigrant party who had slipped by us in the darkness of the previous night. They were in a pitiful plight; women and children now for nearly a week without food, some suffering from wounds. One young woman was shot through the body with a rifle ball, and another bullet, striking her in the back, had passed up through her shoulder and lodged in her neck. Every moment since the massacre they had lived in dread of the savages returning and butchering them, and, famished as they were, they could not eat. At nightfall we camped at Pete Dobbin's cabin, and felt quite secure and safe from attack. Hunger came with the feeling of security, and until near midnight our frying pans were kept busy baking cakes for the crowd. After satisfying our appetites, all save two guards lay down to sleep. So worn out were both rescued and rescuers that a good shower falling as we lay under the open sky failed to awaken one of us. Even Mose slept through it all, and when he fired his good old rifle in the morning to make sure it was in order he was surprised at the jet of water that came from its muzzle.

Near noon that day, east of the present site of Clay Center, we met a United States exploring party, 130 wagons with two companies of dragoons for escort. They had left Fort Riley two days before for a summer trip. The commanding officer interviewed the rescued parties, inquiring into the details of the attack on the wagon train. "Didn't you know that you were in the Indian country and that the Indians were hostile?" "No." "Didn't you keep guard nights?" "No." "When you saw prowlers around the camp, as you say, and your lariat ropes were cut at night, didn't you know it was the work of Indians?" To all these questions the innocent Arkansas travelers gave negative answers. "Blank you, you ought to have been robbed!" was the commander's disgusted exclamation as they told of the ignorance and folly that had cost them so dear. That night we reached the settlements, and the next day took the party to Fort Riley, where the wounded were cared for in the hospital and all were provided with food and clothing.

As the officers in command at Fort Riley refused to take any steps to recover the property stolen from the train by the Indians, the survivors appealed to their rescuers to make an effort in their behalf, as they had lost their earthly all and were in sore need, offering us any portion of the stock we saw fit to ask, as an inducement to again risk our lives for them. Relying on the vicinity of the exploring expedition to make the trip more safe, we at once got together every available man and horse in the region, and mustered fourteen men. Just as we were starting from our rendezvous,

twenty miles from Fort Riley, one of our men had an arm nearly torn off by the accidental discharge of a rifle, the flattened bullet cutting a track a foot long across his abdomen. The materials for "first aid" in that party were confined to shirts and handkerchiefs in use, but we did what we could, and his special friend, Mose Younkin, was detailed to get him home, while the writer, as best acquainted at Fort Riley, was to ride there and secure surgical help for the terribly wounded man. It was late in the afternoon, and the day was very hot for a day in May.

By an unexpected chance to change horses about midway on my route, I got a fresh mount and made the twenty miles in two hours. Going at once to the quarters of the commanding officer and stating my errand, I was astounded by a flat refusal on his part to do one thing to help our wounded friend. He, at best, would only refer me to the post surgeon, who could have his consent to do as he pleased in the matter. The post surgeon was worse than indifferent to my pleadings for help for the father of a family of young children, sorely wounded in a service that rightly belonged to the army. He was as sympathetic as an iceberg, and warmly assured me that to go to his relief would be such a violation of orders as would subject him to court martial and severe penalty. For once in my life I was fast losing faith in the government, as represented by such brutes wearing its uniform. I was reared to be strictly orthodox and to avoid profanity, but never in a long life have so burned to express in the strongest language my contempt for any one as at that moment; and I should have done it had I thought it would have accomplished my end.

What could I do? It was growing dark, and twenty miles to the next place where surgical aid could be hoped for. The chances were all against the wounded man surviving the time it would require for me to ride further. Devoutly I prayed, "God help me!" Then it came to my mind that my friend was a Mason, and that somewhere in the post was an ordnance sergeant, likewise a Mason, and a personal friend of the wounded man. I found him; I gave him the facts quickly. I had found the key to all the doors in Fort Riley! That commanding officer and that post surgeon were Masons. As soon as an ambulance could be harnessed and supplies put on board, the hospital steward, who was a competent surgeon, with an assistant and a driver, followed me out for seventeen miles in the darkness over a dim trail to the home of the wounded man. His wounds were dressed, and the next day the post surgeon went out in his carriage and took him to the hospital at Fort Riley, where he was given the best of care until he fully recovered. As a man and a good and useful citizen he might suffer and die for lack of care and attention, those officers as indifferent as if he had been a yellow dog; but as a Mason they would give him the full measure of the Golden Rule. More than half a century has rolled by since that day of strenuous work and excitement. I hope I have forgiven those army officers. I am not quite sure of it, for, as I recall that anxious hour when I pleaded for help, my blood warms, and none will wonder that it took many years and an acquaintance with another type of Masons to remove my prejudice against the order.

The next day, having done what we could for our wounded friend, Mose and I again took the trail, following our party up the river. Thirty miles from home we began to find straggling bunches of cattle, quite contented to stay along the river and creeks where the pasturage was so rich and

abundant. We drove them out of the pockets where they were hidden and started them down the valley. We camped one night on Pete's creek some ten miles from the river, and never in my life did I see such swarms of hungry mosquitoes. We dared not build a fire, as we were hiding from the Indians, and tethered our horses some distance from where we tried in vain to sleep. The next day we started homeward, taking with us a beautiful young fawn we caught on the prairie. A week later our party came in with about two-thirds of the cattle stolen from the train. They reported reaching the place of massacre at the same time as the United States exploring expedition, whose officers were satisfied, after examining conditions there, that the robbing was the work of Pawnees—a tribe supposed to be at peace with the whites, and not hostile. It was not an uncommon thing in those times for treaty Indians to rob trains and frontier settlers, hoping to have their deviltry charged up to the hostile tribes. The robbers had taken the covers off the wagons, looted them of all clothing and bedding, emptied flour, meal and dried fruit on the ground, and carried off the sacks. One wounded man had crawled into a wagon loaded with bacon and died there. The remains of the other three lay on the ground near by, where they had fallen, and were a horrible sight. They buried the dead and fired the wagon of bacon. Later, a trip was made by some of our party to bring in the remaining wagons.

The result of our work secured to the survivors of the massacre quite a portion of their stock and was a great relief to them. To me it seemed an outrage that the army officers of the United States, with ample men and material at hand, would do absolutely nothing to help us in rescuing the survivors of the plundered train, but left it to a handful of frontiersmen to go out on these errands of mercy.

• Later developments made it clear to us that these army officers, with their Southern proclivities, would have been pleased had the Indians scalped every free-state man on the frontier. The robbery of this emigrant train was the first murderous outbreak of the Indians on the whites in the Republican valley. As the settlements in the next few years extended farther up the river, the outlying farms were often raided by hostile bands, and all the horrors of savage brutality were visited on the helpless frontiersmen. Hunting parties out for buffalo meat were killed and their bodies left to bleach on the prairies. My friend, Walter Haynes,⁸ with two Collins boys and a couple of neighbors from near Clifton, went out for meat and never came back. A party in search of them found their remains around their overturned wagon, their dead oxen stuck full of arrows, and evidences of a desperate running fight for several miles.

Andy Thompson, a Dane, of prominent Copenhagen connections, for two years a member of my family, was visiting in the Solomon valley. He

NOTE 8.—"In 1865 immigrants and buffalo hunters often penetrated within the Indian hunting grounds. In the summer (May) of 1866 Lewis Cassel, Walter Haynes and two sons of William Collins started out with three wagons—two horse teams and one ox team—from near Clifton, six miles east of Clyde, on a hunt. They did not return. Two weeks after they left home a party of thirty settlers, under the command of Capt. G. D. Brooks, went in search, but returned without finding the men. A second party, however, under the same leader, made a more successful search, and found the dead bodies of all the hunters on Cheyenne creek, about ten miles west of where Concordia now is. Traces showed that there had been a desperate running fight of some eight miles, the Indians driving the white men till the creek was reached, where they were ambushed and all killed, scalped and horribly mutilated. The bodies were taken to Clifton and buried."—*Homestead Guide*, F. G. Adams, 1873, p. 245. (See, also, *Cutler's History of Kansas*, 1883, pp. 1015, 1313.)

joined the settlers in defending their homes during an Indian raid, was enticed away from the stockade, shot and scalped.

Nelson Beeman, a neighbor, went out on the buffalo range to kill wolves for their pelts. He made one successful trip; from the next no word ever came back. The Great Plains were as remorseless as the ocean, swallowing up many who ventured out upon them, and the savage nomads roaming over them were as merciless as sharks. In the decade from '60 to '70 scores of men fell victims to the Indian lust for blood and plunder, and the friends of the lost never knew when or how they met their fate. In after years the rusty irons of a wagon or ox yoke, that fire would not burn, found here and there on the Great Plains told of an unwritten tragedy.

Houses were plundered and burned, stock killed or driven away, women outraged and carried off captive to a life compared with which death would have been sweet. Men, women and children were butchered and their bodies savagely mutilated. The government at Washington, engaged in the great Civil War, could not respond to appeals for protection sent in from the frontier. Even after the close of the war, in 1867 I think it was, General Sherman, on a tour of inspection of western military posts, came down the Republican valley, and in reply to appeals for protection by the army bluntly told the settlers to move back⁹—they were too far out; the government could not afford to protect such scattered settlements. A plan was devised on the frontier, and urged on the War Department, to protect it with a small force stationed on the larger streams to the west of the settlement—the Platte, Republican, Solomon and Saline; to keep a daily patrol across the country, and in readiness, in case a band of hostiles should cross their line, to follow them at once.

Finally, in 1870,¹⁰ two companies of cavalry, under command of Colonel Montgomery, were ordered to this duty, and the frontier breathed freer. Two weeks later the writer, on an exploring tour, found this command in camp at Lake Sibley, forty miles inside the outmost settlement. Colonel Montgomery admitted to me privately that he was doing no good, but must obey orders and could not criticise the plans of his superiors. Exasperated by this trifling of the War Department, I wrote our senator, Hon. E. G. Ross,¹¹ at Washington, detailing conditions and urging him to go to the Secretary of War and ask him if he was depending on the frontier settlers of Kansas to protect themselves, and to stand picket guard for his soldiers

NOTE 9.—“Lieutenant General Sherman, . . . who has repeatedly said that the settlers have ‘no business on these lands.’”—Report Adjutant General, 1868, p. 8.

NOTE 10.—“United States troops were stationed through 1870 in the Republican, Solomon and Saline valleys, scouting parties patrolling the line of exposure.”—Cutler’s History of Kansas, 1883, p. 211.

NOTE 11.—EDWARD GIBSON ROSS was appointed United States senator July 25, 1866, by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Gen. James H. Lane, and elected January 23, 1867, serving until March, 1871. He was born in Ashland, Ohio, December 7, 1826. He became a journeyman printer. In 1848, at Sandusky, Ohio, he was married to Fannie M. Lathrop. He engaged in newspaper work in Milwaukee, Wis. In March, 1856, he left Milwaukee with a party of emigrants for Kansas, where he became an active free-state leader. In connection with his brother, W. W. Ross, he engaged in the newspaper business in Topeka. He was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, 1859. In 1862 he assisted in raising the Eleventh Kansas regiment. His action while senator, in the matter of the impeachment of President Johnson, caused very bitter feeling against him in Kansas, but time has done much to vindicate him. Upon his retirement from the senate he published a newspaper at Coffeyville, and subsequently at Lawrence and Leavenworth. He went to New Mexico in 1882, and for a time edited a paper at Albuquerque. He was appointed governor of the territory of New Mexico by President Cleveland, which place he filled for four years. He died at Albuquerque May 8, 1907, aged eighty-one years.

besides. Mr. Ross read this letter on the floor of the senate. An immediate order was issued to Colonel Montgomery to move out and establish a patrol line beyond the settlements. This done, Indian raids in the Republican, Solomon, Saline and Smoky Hill valleys were at an end, so far as the hostilities from the west were concerned, for all time.

A sentimental regard for the wrongs of "Lo, the poor Indian," in the then predominant eastern states, arising from an utter miscomprehension of conditions on the frontier, long overshadowed the rights of the settlers, and resulted in subjecting them for a dozen years to a life of terror only paralleled in annals of unrestrained savage warfare. The settlers on the border were accused of dealing unfairly with the Indians, driving them off their hunting grounds, overreaching them in trade, and taking their homes from them. Nothing could be more untrue of conditions on the Kansas frontier. These raids were on lands where the Indian title was extinguished by treaty, and which had been surveyed and thrown open for pre-emption by the government. The raiders, for the most part, were roving bands of hostile tribes. Their victims rarely saw them, except when, as unexpected as thunderbolts out of clear skies, they rode through the settlements and left death and desolation along their trails.

KANSAS IN HISTORY.

Address by EDWIN C. MANNING,¹ President of the Kansas State Historical Society, at the Auditorium, Topeka, September 26, 1911, on the occasion of the celebration of the laying of the corner stone of Memorial Hall by President William H. Taft.

IF IT were possible to obliterate the history of Kansas there would be little found within its boundaries to make it distinguished among the states of this Union. Other states have higher mountains, deeper rivers, broader lakes, more extensive forests, richer minerals, as fertile soil, as salubrious a clime, larger cities, more lofty spires and greater universities. What, then is there that at the mention of the name of Kansas spurs the youth, quickens the blood, inspires the muses and thrills the patriot? It is the spirit of its history.

Kansas was born in the wilderness and reared in tumult. Its prairies throbbed with the passions and prayers of two antagonistic civilizations. It was the Bladensburg of Puritan and Cavalier. Its prenatal human sacrifices were the prelude to a deluge of bloodshed as the atonement for a national sin. The undeveloped germs of a liberty that floated to the rock-bound coast of New England and the sandy beaches of Virginia in the seventeenth century, smoldering in a social atmosphere that permitted the hanging of women charged with witchcraft, the banishment of Quakers, the selling of captive Indians into slavery in the West Indies, the persecution of Roger Williams, the purchase of imported negroes as slaves, the hanging of Drummond, Pate, Davis and others for having revolted against the petty tyrants who dispensed a government in which they had no voice, and all done in the name of religion and liberty—never found full fruition until nurtured on the

NOTE 1.—For sketch of EDWIN C. MANNING, see Kansas Historical Collections, volume 7, page 202. At the annual meeting December 5, 1911, Mr. Manning did not make an address, but presented the Society with an autobiography which he has published and which shows a most active and useful life since first seeing Kansas in 1859. See article, "An Historic Picture," this volume.

soil of Kansas, developed by a versatile population sprung from a crossing of the virile races.

Are you looking for a cross lifted up in the wilderness? You will find it here. Are you looking for the graves of missionaries? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of savages? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of bondmen? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of martyrs? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of patriots? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of heroes and heroines? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of men who died that the nation might live? You will find them here, buried where they fell. Are you looking for the graves of famous generals in the military profession? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of statesmen? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of devoted and exalted teachers and preachers? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of learned jurists? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of noted authors? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of poets? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of empire builders? You will find them here. Are you looking for the graves of the wives, mothers and daughters whose faith, patience and endurance helped to put the stone that was thrice rejected by the builders into the Union archway as its keystone, cementing it with their prayers, blood and tears? You will find them here. Are you looking for some of the men who as boys carried the flag to victory against the legions of disunion? They are here to-day to participate in the ceremonies of dedicating a monument to an imperishable Union and as a safety vault for a story stranger than the Arabian Nights. Are you looking for the blood of the silent host which made this history? You will find it in the splendid sons and daughters who are standing by your side to-day. And, of those writers whose independent, untainted, unrecompensed pens, through the weekly and daily press, kept aflame the star of hope and liberty along the flight of years, and whose silent dust mingles with our valleys and hilltops, we who have been here from the beginning can lift our spiritual eyes and see their familiar faces looking down upon this great gathering and almost hear their voices saying: "Lo, I am with you alway!"

When the last Kansas survivor of the conflict of '61 to '65 shall have passed into the unknown his descendants will find in this historical building a record of his patriotic service and many honorable emblems and mementos of a struggle which engaged the attention of all the civilized nations of the world.

The Egyptian kings erected pyramids as tombs for their own individual remains. The sovereigns of Kansas are erecting a mausoleum for the preservation of a history of more import to humanity than the story of Alexander the Great, and which will not depend upon the versatile imagination of a Plutarch for its authenticity. Egypt had her seven dry years in succession, at a time when, according to history, the Lord was taking a personal supervision of the affairs of mankind. In some respects, what Egypt was to ancient times Kansas is to modern, except that the Lord has allowed the elements to frolic at will upon her broad domain. She has experienced war, famine, locusts, floods, tornadoes, and irritating and indi-

gestible isms. But under each despairing condition she has taken an upward look, and with locks floating in the breeze, her face turned forward, has pressed steadily and surely on, transforming impediments into achievements. True, in her five decades she has halted occasionally and side-stepped at times, but she has never turned back.

Her history is a catalogue of paradoxes and climaxes. She was pounding for admission into the Union while other states were withdrawing from it. She furnished more volunteers for the Union army in the Civil War than she had legal voters when Sumter was fired upon. Every emotion known to humanity, suffered by saints and attributed to sinners, has been hers. She has in turn been proud of and been humiliated by her statesmen. In some degree the four "W's" that pervade the poems and legends of the ancients—"War," "Woe," "Women" and "Wine"—have been woven into the warp and woof of the fabric of her record. Greece had a Helen, Kansas had a Mary Ellen. Each was conspicuous in her respective role. Each had a numerous and devoted following. Mary Ellen arose from her washtub to raise recruits for General Coxey's army, which marched across the continent to invade Washington city and hurl the "Great Octopus" from the high seat of power at the national capitol; and her grief was inconsolable when she learned that General Coxey and his staff had been thrown into a dungeon for having walked upon the sacred grass at the foot of the throne, before a shot was fired. Notwithstanding Mary Ellen's battle cry—"Raise less corn and more hell"—the toilers, this year of 1911, in one Kansas county, next door to Mary Ellen's washtub, have raised over one million dollars' worth of Kafir corn instead of raising hell.

The fame of her crusaders down the long line of the quick and the dead, from John Brown and Jim Lane to William Allen White and Victor Murdock, extends beyond the nation's tidal shores. In her willingness to heal the wounds of a fratricidal war, Kansas was the first and only loyal state to choose a confederate soldier as a representative in the United States Senate.

Kansas! First in war and first in peace.

Hostility to oppression was the inspiration of her birth. Equal opportunity for all was blood-born; hence special privilege finds little favor in the Kansas eye or at the Kansas ear. Its devotees are falling by the way-side "as we go marching on."

Here is a lineage sprung from the loins of men and hearts of women pioneers; schooled in experiments and experiences, illusions and demonstrations, romance and realities. To them may safely be left the duty of demonstrating that "civilized society" is not "organized larceny."

Her native-born children are found in all the higher walks of life, including the national senate and house of representatives, the missionary fields of the Orient and the fields of mechanics and research throughout the earth.

While science and sentiment have been handmaids in her development, the heroic and material which have been admired of all the ages are not wanting in her story. Her citizen soldiers were the star actors in the far-off Philippines. A Kansan was the first to place a foreign flag, our national emblem, on the walls of ancient Peking, when the combined armies of England, Germany, France and the United States invaded China on a mission

of mercy. A Kansas boy, without a West Point education, wears the stars of a general in the regular army. Another Kansas boy is the chief of the nation's artillery service.

Kansas must be a fair field for the lowly. A Kansas boy started as a jockey in the races and arrived as a statesman in the United States senate. A young man, first known as a hack driver at one of our railroad stations, rose by his own efforts to be the general manager of the great Santa Fe railroad, and when he dropped his burden and they laid him down to his last sleep every wheel in the eight thousand miles of that wonderful system in mute respect stood still.

Kansas puts no hobbles on the feet of plodding endeavor nor shackles on the willing hands of toil.

A Kansas Rhodes' scholarship pupil is the champion hammer thrower at Oxford University, England. A Kansan is the captain of the "Pirates," one of the nation's champion baseball teams. Kansas gave to the nation the fastest pacing stallion of the ages. A Kansas shop has built the largest locomotive that ever traversed the paths of commerce.

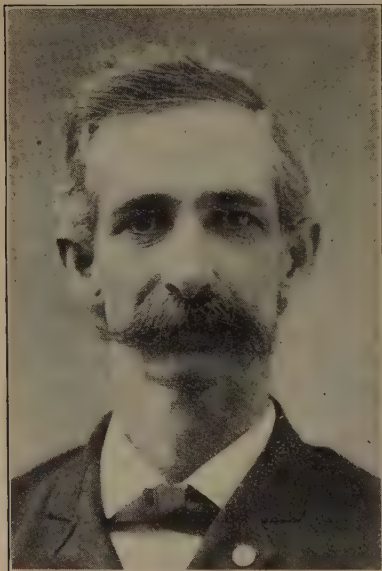
The founding of our State Historical Society had its origin in the fertile mind of that genius, the author of Wilder's Annals. Noiselessly as the rising of the moon, it has grown to be one of the most extensive and interesting collection of the historical evidences of a people with a mission to be found in the national commonwealth.

What wonder that the President of the United States should leave his perch on the rocks of Beverly by the sea and travel fifteen hundred miles to lay the corner stone of a memorial temple erected in this semicentennial year as a storehouse for the mute evidences of our struggle to a broader nationalism, built while we are still groping in the morning twilight of a better day.

THE SERVICE OF THE ARMY IN CIVIL LIFE AFTER THE WAR.

Address delivered by Hon. WILLIAM A. CALDERHEAD¹ before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-sixth annual meeting, December 5, 1911.

THE only time I ever spoke in this hall was from that high place up there; and the hall and the gallery were packed full of people trying to see how those of us who were defeated for the United States senate were taking our medicine. We had to stand up there one at a time.



WILLIAM A. CALDERHEAD,
who served twelve years in Congress.

I did not come to make an oration, but to say a few things to you concerning the work of the soldier in civil life after the war. When we came in Comrade Smith took a look over the room. He knows most of you; and he said, "They look like the makers of history." When I look at you I realize how much there is in what he said. Your faces look like the men and women who have made history, who have lived during the time when great history was made, and in a very recent time, too. I will not attempt to recite much history to you—I mean much of the history of Kansas and of Kansas soldiers. Much of it has already been compiled, especially since the time of the librarian and secretary, Mr. Martin. I have some familiarity with the work of historical societies in different parts of the country, and I have taken a great deal of

satisfaction in the fact that the last few volumes of the Kansas Historical Society are among the best published in the United States.

When the war was over, when its work was done, and the surrender made at Appomattox, and Meade started on his day's march toward Washington, General Grant hastened up to the capital, starting the same day the surrender took place, for the purpose of attending to the closing up of the war, furnishing supplies and beginning the work of mustering out the

NOTE 1.—WILLIAM ALEXANDER CALDERHEAD, of Marysville, was born in Perry county, Ohio, September 26, 1844; received his education in the common schools and from his father, the Rev. E. B. Calderhead, a minister of the United Presbyterian church; spent the winter of 1861-'62 in the preparatory department of Franklin College, New Athens, Ohio; enlisted in August, 1862, as a private in company H, One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Ohio infantry; was transferred to company D, Ninth Veteran Reserves for disability incurred in the service, and discharged June 27, 1865; spent two years recovering health, then one session at school; came to Kansas in the fall of 1868 and engaged in farming; in 1872 settled on a homestead near Newton, Harvey county; taught school one year in Newton; read law in the office of Hon. J. W. Ady, and was admitted before Hon. S. R. Peters in 1875; went to Atchison during that year and spent four years there, reading law and teaching country schools during the winters; settled in Marysville in

army. He spent that night on the way, and the next day in the War Department issuing his orders. In the afternoon he and his wife started to visit their children, who were at school at Burlington, N. J., and that night the assassination of Abraham Lincoln occurred. Within a short time after that Sheridan, stopping only forty-eight hours in Washington, was on his way to Texas to take command of the department and of the troops that were down there, but chiefly for the purpose of seeing that the French invasion of Mexico did not go any further.

Almost immediately after the inauguration of Andrew Johnson the problem of reconstruction came on, and within a very brief time military governors were appointed over the military districts of the South for the purpose of obtaining order and the establishment of civil government in true relation to the United States. It is worth while to recall for a moment the condition of the states that had been in rebellion. The soldiers that had served the Confederacy were returning to their homes; the men who had led them were going back, sullen and ugly in temper, feeling the bitterness of defeat, going to their ruined plantations, wondering what was to become of them. Some of them, conscious of their relation to the Confederacy, were wondering how far punishment might follow them. Some of them were hunting their way out of the United States to escape any punishment that might be attempted. The emancipated negroes still living about the old plantations—nobody knew what they might attempt to do. The loyal people in the Confederate states did not know how to begin the organization of their states, and waited for the government of the United States. It was the volunteer soldier who had served during the Civil War who took charge of these military districts and began to show the way to order and to government.

Not long after that the great army came to Washington for the grand review and to be mustered out and hurried home. The world has never witnessed another scene like it—a million victorious men, with guns on their shoulders, with commanders they loved, who had given the best years of their youth to the hardest service, who had in four years fought on two thousand, two hundred and sixty-five battle fields; who never stopped to inquire whether there was to be any reward, whether there was to be any bounty, or even a pension, for those who were injured in such a service. They hurried home to the hearthstones that they had left, to the farms and the firesides, to the stores where they had toiled, where they had commenced life before they enlisted—to all the occupations they had been engaged in—expecting to take them up where they had left off. Now this was almost impossible. It is difficult for us now, with all the great machinery of business that we have around us, to understand the isolated life

November, 1879, and engaged in general practice of law; was elected county attorney in the fall of 1888, and served two years; was for several years clerk of the board of education of the city. In 1894 he was elected to Congress from the fifth district over John Davis, and reelected until 1910, when insurgency beat him, thus serving sixteen years in Congress. He was for many years a prominent member of the ways and means committee. Jay E. House, the noted newspaper correspondent, said of Calderhead: "The fact is, no matter whether one agrees with Congressman Calderhead in his present attitude on the tariff and other vital issues or not, he has got to admire the man. Calderhead not only has courage, but he does all his own thinking. He may be old-fashioned politically, but he never dodged an issue in his life, and his knowledge regarding the location of the gallery is confined to hearsay. Due to the fact that he lives in a country district, and is not overfree in conversation, Calderhead has never had the advantage of much press-agenting. The newspapers have probably printed less about Calderhead than any other Kansas statesman. It seems to me that after sixteen years in Congress the old man should have due credit for the homely virtues that are his."

of each community at that time. I do not know of any way to show you just what I mean except to refer to the neighborhood from which I went.

When I was a boy, from the time I was eight or nine years old until I was sixteen, my father was a country preacher with a congregation worshipping in a country church, and we lived on a little farm. A Scotch-Irish congregation lived around it. Much of the business in our district, which was made up of nearly all that Scotch-Irish congregation and was called Ireland, was carried on only with one another, and we believed in ourselves, and we did not believe in any other district.

Right across the ridge, two or three miles south of us, was a district composed of Pennsylvania Dutch, from Berks county; and we thought they were aliens and heathen, and we had very little intercourse with them. In the fall of the year, when the winter school opened, when the day came for the big boys to go to school, it was our duty to go to the other side of the ridge and whip every Dutchman we could find; and sometimes we got whipped. They were born in this country, they lived on their own domain, and knew we had no right to molest them. But we did not go over to their side for any other business; we did not go there for any other purpose. We traded with the people who belonged to our church. Why, I never heard a Methodist minister preach until I had been in the army several months. I never was in any other church except our own Scotch Presbyterian church until after the war. It would not have been right. They might be very good people, those who worshipped in other churches, but it was very doubtful what would become of them hereafter, and it was not worth while to be familiar.

Up to that time all the shoes that were worn in the family were made in the town close by. Nobody thought of buying the shoes that were made in the factory, and there were none except now and then in the big stores in the larger towns. This was not far from Lancaster, Ohio. But it was so all over the country; in every state the communities lived to themselves. Most of the boys who enlisted with the United States were from a school district or from a little country congregation, and their own community was their United States. They went for the preservation of its constitution and the enforcement of its laws and the integrity of all the history they had studied in their school books or that they had learned at their firesides. The first fight in the army, when you touched elbows with each other, made you see that all your idea that the Catholics could not be good men, or that a Methodist or a Baptist could not be a good man—just as good a man as a Presbyterian—was wrong. When we came back from the first encounter we knew that it didn't make much difference what church a man belonged to if he had the heart and the soul to do his duty. When we came back home we were thinking about a great country, not this country nor that country, but the country we had marched over from the Mississippi to the sea, from the Potomac to the Atlantic. We had measured it; we knew something about it.

We came back to our neighborhoods and began to look around for employment. It was only a short time until we found that life at home set a little bit close, and we wanted room. We wanted an opportunity to do things, and we started for it. In five years after the war closed I think seventy-five thousand old soldiers came to Kansas. They filled the state; they occupied her homesteads; they built her schools and her churches; built

her county seats and courthouses. The old soldiers began building the state without thinking about what a great state it should be. They were simply doing the thing that lay before them.

Now, another thing; these boys had learned without knowing it the value of organization; they had learned its force and its power. Their captains and their lieutenants and their sergeants were with them, men who had commanded and directed them on the most arduous fields of duty, and they were their neighbors. Naturally they began to associate together for the purposes of their social life and government. The same thing happened not merely in Kansas, but in Nebraska—in fact, in all the states west of the Missouri river. The states east of the Missouri river—Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and the rest—began to remodel their ideas, began to admit in their public affairs the force which the army had in its organization everywhere.

For forty years after the war closed the men who fought the battles for the preservation of the Union did the work of its civil life. In every school district the school board were old soldiers; in every township the township board was composed of old soldiers; in every county the county commissioners, and most of the other officers, were old soldiers. Every legislature that met was filled with old soldiers. Down, I think, to the time of Governor Stanley, nearly every governor of Kansas was an old soldier.² In Congress and in the national life the same thing went on; the old soldier directed the work of Congress for thirty-four years. Except one four years of time, Andrew Johnson's administration, every president of the United States from the close of the Civil War down to the election of Roosevelt, except Cleveland, had been a soldier. They guided the political life of the

NOTE 2.—SAMUEL J. CRAWFORD, captain company E, Second Kansas infantry; enlisted June 20, 1861; on reorganization of regiment was retained in service and transferred to company A, Second Kansas cavalry; promoted colonel of the Second regiment colored volunteers, later known as the Eighty-third U. S. infantry, December 6, 1863.

NEHEMIAH GREEN, mustered into the Eighty-ninth Ohio infantry August 8, 1862, and appointed first lieutenant of company B August 21, same year. From overexertion and exposure hemorrhages were brought on, and he was forced to resign January 27, 1863. He enlisted in the One Hundred and Fifty-third Ohio infantry, company G, May 2, 1864, and was appointed sergeant major May 10, serving until September 9, 1864, when he was mustered out with his regiment.

JAMES M. HARVEY, mustered in August 7, 1861, as captain of company G, Tenth Kansas infantry; mustered out with regiment August 19, 1864.

EDMUND N. MORRILL, mustered in October 5, 1861, as private in company C, Seventh Kansas cavalry; promoted sergeant October 10, 1861; promoted captain and commissary of subsistence U. S. V. August 27, 1862; brevetted major October 21, 1865; (Edward N. Morrill) mustered out August 26, 1865.

GEO. T. ANTHONY, captain of the Seventeenth New York battery; mustered in August 26, 1862; served till close of war.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN, served as captain of company C, Sixty-eighth Illinois volunteer infantry; mustered in June 20, 1862; mustered out September 20, 1862.

JOHN A. MARTIN, colonel of the Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry; mustered in November 1, 1861; mustered out November 15, 1864.

LYMAN U. HUMPHREY, private, company I, Seventy-sixth regiment Ohio volunteer infantry; enlisted October 7, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant company D May 25, 1864; transferred to company E October 25, 1864; promoted to first lieutenant company I January 6, 1865; acting adjutant since July 1, 1865; mustered out with company July 15, 1865.

JOHN W. LEEDEY.—"In 1864, at age of fifteen, he attempted to enlist in the Federal service in a company of volunteers then leaving Richland county, Ohio, for the Army of the Potomac, but on account of his age and the protest of his mother he was not accepted. He remained with the company, however, and participated in the campaigns and battles of the regiment to which it was assigned until the close of the war."—National Encyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 8, p. 347.

GEORGE W. GLICK, first corporal of company B, Eighteenth regiment of infantry, Kansas state militia; called out October 8, 1864, by Gov. Thomas Carney; relieved from duty October 29, 1864.

country during that time. And they did a great deal more. They rebuilt the civil life of the nation, for it was the civil engineers of the Army of the Potomac who found the path for the railways across the mountains. It was the same civil engineers who planned the line of battle at Chickamauga, who later found the way for the Union Pacific over the desert and the mountains. It was these men who had commanded, the captains, the lieutenants and others, who were the directors, and it was the men who had shouldered muskets and obeyed orders that carried on this great work of building the railroads to the Pacific. They tore open the wilderness from the Atlantic to the Pacific as they tore open the Confederacy to the sea.

In the older parts of the United States captains and lieutenants and private soldiers began the work of organization for the business of the country. Nearly every manufacturing establishment in this country had at its head some man who had commanded men in the field. It is surprising how much of the great work of the crucial life of the country was organized by the soldiers, by the men who learned discipline during the Civil War. It is rather difficult to recall, just from memory, but if I can I will mention a few names. Charles Du Par was a Massachusetts soldier. I watched him as hour after hour he worked with tiny little strips of leather, and finally made the welt that goes in the welt shoes. Arthur Bumpas was another soldier from the same regiment, and he was very busy tinkering with the model of the machine that drove brass tacks into the soles of shoes. These two men became manufacturers after the war and leaders of the shoe industry. Allen Goodyear was a private soldier in the ranks. Twenty years afterwards he was at the head of the great Goodyear Rubber Company. David Reed, a soldier from Pennsylvania, invented the buckle that is used on Arctic overshoes. Almost immediately after he was mustered out he was taken into an establishment in Philadelphia that began the manufacture of the Arctic overshoe. The industry grew just because of the invention.

A veteran, who I think was David Braun, a captain in one of the Pennsylvania regiments, was the man who came home and showed the Carnegie people some improvement in one of their great iron works that enabled them to begin the casting of great pieces of steel. Up to that time I think that the largest piece of steel that had been cast at one time weighed ten thousand pounds, and the governor of the state and the representatives of newspapers were invited to come to see that great piece cast into a gun. Since this invention by the captain whom I have mentioned I have seen a piece of artillery fifty-three feet long that will shoot a shot weighing 1080 pounds thirteen miles. And in the shop where he set up his machinery is a hydraulic hammer that will strike a blow of 187,000 pounds to the square inch. In that same shop a trip hammer that weighed 280,000 pounds was thrown into the scrap heap because it was no longer good enough to use. This was the result of the work of the inventors in the army who had been dreaming about these things while serving in the field. This picture I have been giving you shows some instances of what the soldier did after the war.

Turn a little now to the public life of the country. The personal press and the bitterness of party politics have so often maligned our public men that there is very little correct understanding of the work of the great men who have guided the legislation of this country through its most difficult period. Probably no man has been more abused during his lifetime than Senator Quay of Pennsylvania. During his time as a soldier he commanded

the One Hundred Thirty-fourth Pennsylvania. On account of sickness he resigned just before the army moved out to Fredericksburg, but when he learned that the battle was to take place he was so unwilling for his regiment to go into the fight without him that, sick man though he was, he volunteered as an aid and served through the battle.³ He led the regiment in the charge up Marye's Heights that day, but nobody tells that story when they are talking about the great Pennsylvania senator. No, the press was very busy telling the country what a corrupt political rule he had established in his state. And yet all of his neighbors, and his friends, and the whole state, knew that the only rule he ever sent to his friends at home preparing for a political contest was this: "Send nobody but your best men to the conventions." It was not during his time that the wicked capitol was built at Harrisburg.

Steve Elkins, was another man whose name was never kindly mentioned in the papers. Nobody said anything about when he stood face to face with the enemy as a soldier.⁴ It is worth while to remember that it was after that time he went west and served as attorney-general and United States district attorney of New Mexico, and he so conducted his department that every man in it was his friend. He was sent to Congress, and afterwards, when his term was up, he hurried east and began the work of the organization of business. He went into West Virginia and developed the wilderness, filled it with little manufacturing establishments, coal mines and lumber yards, and every man who ever came in contact with him in business was his friend. And every man who ever met him in politics, except those whose interest was in some opposite political party, was his friend. And every man knew that he was honest, and every man knew that he was a large-hearted, patriotic man, and that he was looking to the interests of the nation in every act of his legislation.

I doubt whether any man has been much more abused than Senator Aldrich. He knew the needs of the nation when he began to work for it. He was a private soldier in company D of the Fourteenth Rhode Island. He offered his life to the nation when it needed it. For thirty-four years he was in Congress. His neighbors and friends believed in him from the beginning to the end of his term of service, which he closed last year. I think there were two terms as a member of Congress and the balance of the time as a senator. He was appointed as a member of the ways and means committee in the house, and then in the senate he was a member of the finance committee. He served on every revision of the tariff for thirty-four years. It was my good fortune to be with him in the service upon the conference committee that amended the last tariff bill; to come in close contact with him, and I know more about him by reason of that experience. Yes, a good man, who for thirty-four years of political battle, who for thirty-four years of the kind of stuff that has been presented to us concerning him,

NOTE 3.—"Early in December, 1862, Colonel Quay returned to duty, but so much reduced by disease that he soon after resigned. . . . Colonel Quay, though in a feeble state of health, unwilling that the regiment should go into battle without him, volunteered as an aid on the staff of General Tyler, and served throughout the battle. General Tyler bears this testimony of his services in his official report: 'Col. M. S. Quay, late of the One Hundred and Thirty-fourth, was upon my staff as volunteer aid-de-camp, and to him I am greatly indebted. Notwithstanding his enfeebled health, he was in the saddle early and late, ever prompt and efficient, and especially so during the engagement.'"—History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, Samuel P. Bates, vol. 4, p. 283.

NOTE 4.—STEPHEN B. ELKINS was captain of company H, Seventy-seventh Missouri regiment.—Annual Report, Adjutant General State of Missouri, 1863, p. 516.

never uttered a word that he could not utter in the presence of any woman or child. He neither drinks nor smokes nor chews nor gambles, and he is a gentleman. He is a Christian gentleman, and he has faith, and it is the faith of the Christian; and he has patriotism, and it is the patriotism of a great American.

He said one afternoon when we were beginning the work of the revision of the cotton schedule: "I have a word or two to say to the committee. So many unkind things have been said concerning this cotton schedule; it is said that I prepared it according to the interests of Rhode Island and my personal interests. It is due to the committee to understand that I do not own a dollar's worth of stock in any manufacture that is affected by any legislation that comes before this committee. I disposed of all that kind of stock when I entered Congress in order that I might never be justly accused of legislating in my own interest." And then he said: "I have felt myself responsible for the rates in the old law, and they were in force for two years, and were then reduced by court decisions, and the government has lost millions of dollars by it. I am not a lawyer, but I have consulted the foremost experts of the custom house, able lawyers, and I have framed the language of this schedule so that no importer can ever evade it, and I think no court can misconstrue it. You may make the rates higher or lower if you preserve the ratio of them and preserve the language describing the goods. Now, I ask you to come in to-morrow morning and make suggestions in rates or language, just as you see proper."

Some of us worked on it until nearly morning, and we came back to the meeting of the committee and agreed upon the terms within three minutes. I have given you a lot of history that is not in the papers, but just enough of it so that you may see the character of the man who has been so bitterly misrepresented by the partisan press. What is manifest to all is that during his service in Congress, in all the years gone by, he has not been the instrument of any man or any interest. That kind of a character is not made in a day. It was built up by years of trial and endurance.

Friends, another man that is an instance of the soldier in the Civil War. I heard General Alger say at one time that when the war was over and he returned to Detroit, Mich., and took his young wife to the hotel, he had his last month's pay, and that was all he had in the world. After breakfast the next morning he stepped out to the sidewalk and began to consider what he should do for a living. He met a friend shortly who asked him what he was pondering, and he said: "I am thinking what I can do for a living." The friend said: "Here is something you can do. I have acquired a tract of timber land, and if you will take a sawmill and cut the lumber you can do business for both of us." And before night he had bought a portable sawmill and had it shipped to the place where the timber land lay. At the time he told me this incident he was rated at four or five million dollars, which had all been accumulated in the lumber business. As gentle as a woman, we often said concerning him, and yet he was the man who had commanded men in sixty-six battles, and who had been promoted from one rank to another to the place of major general of volunteers at the time he returned home.⁵ He was the man that McKinley selected for a

NOTE 5.—RUSSELL ALEXANDER ALGER, commissioned captain of company C, Second Michigan cavalry, October 2, 1861; promoted to major April 2, 1862; lieutenant colonel Sixth Michigan cavalry October 30, 1862; colonel Fifth Michigan cavalry June 11, 1863; brevetted brigadier general and major general of volunteers June 11, 1865.—Heitman's Historical Register U. S. Army, vol. 1, p. 157.

place in his cabinet, and he was the man who was selected as senator from his state.

I am not sure that I can think of the name of another one whom I wish to mention. If I am not making this story too long, turn your thoughts for a moment to the house of representatives, to a man that we called Pete Hepburn.⁶ He was captain of his company, and rose to lieutenant colonel of his regiment; was twenty-two years in Congress. Henderson,⁷ the speaker of the house, enlisted in the Twelfth Iowa. After serving until he had lost a leg in battle he was mustered out, but as soon as it was healed was in the service again, and was commander of a regiment.

There is another Henderson, T. J. Henderson,⁸ commander of an Illinois regiment, who was brevetted brigadier general for meritorious services at the battle of Franklin, Tenn. He was chairman of the appropriations committee in the house a long time.

Thomas B. Reed served a year on a gunboat.

I now recall one other name, Warren,⁹ the senator from Wyoming, another man whose name is not often mentioned in the newspaper read by the average man. He too was a private soldier in the Forty-ninth Massachusetts, and a medal-of-honor man. After he had served his time he went west before Wyoming was even a territory, and was active in organizing it. He was twice governor by appointment, and when it became a state he was elected its first governor, and is now serving his fourth term as senator.

I have been giving you these personal references for the purpose of reminding you that all the great legislation from the time of the Civil War down to this time has been under the direction and control of men who were disciplined in the ranks of the army; of men who knew while they were serving in the army that they were serving the Union, and knew that while they were fighting the battles of the country they were offering themselves to death that the Union might live. Were these men saving the nation for the purpose of inflicting upon it corrupt legislation afterwards? Have these men who carried the gun that represents service in the ranks of the army—these men who have been elected for public life year after year by their neighbors and friends, who know them personally—have these men been misgoverning and misguiding the nation? There were about thirty millions of people in the United States when we came home; there are nearly ninety-three millions now. I think there were sixty-eight thousand manufactories then; there are two hundred and sixty-five thousand now. There were but little over thirty-five thousand miles of railway

NOTE 6.—WILLIAM PETERS HEPBURN commissioned captain of company B, Second Iowa cavalry, August 14, 1861, mustered into United States service August 30, 1861; promoted to major September 13, 1861, and to lieutenant colonel July 1, 1862.—Adjutant General's Report, State of Iowa, vol. 2, 1863, pp. 393, 401.

NOTE 7.—DAVID BREMNER HENDERSON enlisted in company C, Twelfth Iowa infantry; commissioned first lieutenant October 24, 1861; discharged February 26, 1863, on account of disability, having lost a leg at Corinth, October 4, 1862. He reentered the army as colonel of the Forty-sixth Iowa infantry, commissioned June 9, 1864, and served until the close of the war.—Adjutant General's Report, State of Iowa, 1863, vol. 1, p. 446; 1864-'65, p. 122.

NOTE 8.—THOMAS JEFFERSON HENDERSON entered the army as colonel of the One Hundred and Twelfth Illinois volunteers, commissioned September 22, 1862; promoted brevet brigadier general November 30, 1864; mustered out June 20, 1865.—Adjutant General's Report, State of Illinois, vol. 6, p. 149 (reprint of 1900).

NOTE 9.—FRANCIS EMROY WARREN at the age of eighteen enlisted in the Forty-ninth Massachusetts regiment and became a noncommissioned officer in company C; he received the congressional medal of honor for gallantry on the battlefield at the siege of Port Hudson.—Congressional Directory, Fifty-ninth Congress, p. 139.

then; there are two hundred and sixty thousand miles of railway in the United States now.

The money deposited in the banks of the United States when we enlisted—in all the banks—amounted to a trifle less than four hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The money deposited in the savings banks alone to-day exceeds four thousand millions of dollars; add that to the money deposited in the other banks, and you have a total deposit of something over fifteen thousand millions of dollars in all banks. These vast sums give you some idea of the growth of the business of this country, and yet you can form but little conception of it from the mere recitation of numbers. When we enlisted the neighborhood shoemaker did the work for the neighborhood, but now somebody must do the work of making shoes for ninety millions of people. Somebody must see that every day the necessary materials and supplies are on hand. Somebody must see to the vast transportation that carries the goods, and that the work of the transportation army is carried on. And this great work has been done under the direction of the men who served during the Civil War, and who learned there the value and the force of organization. In every community and in every business the men who learned the value and the power of organization are the men who have directed and built up the business of the locality.

There is but little more now to add. The value of liberty depends upon the use made of it. Here is the greatest nation on the face of the earth. One-half of all the railroads of the earth are in this nation; one-half of all the telegraph lines are in this nation; one-half of all the newspapers and public schools and libraries are here. More than half the bank power of the whole world is here. The commerce between these great states of ours is more than the commerce of Europe, Asia, and Africa, with all the countries of the world. And all this great wealth, this great business, which has been built up by the generation that fought the battles for the preservation of the Union, is ready at your hand for the strength and the power and the glory of the nation. What are you to do with it? Ninety millions of people now; and at the same rate of increase in another fifty years there will be one hundred and twenty millions; and in another fifty years there will be two hundred millions of people. How will they live? What kind of a government will they have?

The men who fought the battles for the preservation of the Union also fought the battle for the preservation of the constitution. But mankind will change; there will be new peoples on the earth; there will be a new set of teachers to construe the constitution. Even now there are those who say that it was made when the nation was young and we have outgrown it; and that the clothes of the infant and of the child are too small for the full-grown man. And yet no one suggests a single line of the constitution that will be repealed; no one says which line of it is without force now, and without value now. It is the law of the land that regulates the relations of the states to each other and regulates the relation of the people to the national government. Men died that it might remain. Under it men have built this great nation, this great wealth, this great business which I have been talking to you about. And now is it to be set aside as useless, the machinery provided by it to be broken in pieces and new methods installed? And what new methods?

I do not care to discuss the future. I just want to remind you that this

present-day teaching brings to our minds the very beginnings of our race, when our ancestors were meeting under the oaks and making laws in what they called the "folkmoet." This meeting of all the people was for the purpose of considering and passing laws. The laws were proposed, and then the people went home and hewed each other with swords until they decided which set was the biggest, and that set decided about the next meeting. That was the initiative and referendum then. Next there was the assembly of the wise men, the "witenagemot," these being selected so as to include their best men, and these selected men proposed and passed laws for the government of all. And so the development of government went on, a step at a time, and finally came the Magna Charta, and it was only liberty for the few. Then, centuries after that, came the Mayflower, the colonies and the charters; but the charters came from the king and not from parliament, and the colonists lived under the charters and owed their allegiance to the king. They objected to parliament demanding obedience from them and levying tribute upon them. They were willing to do whatever the charter said they were to do for the king, but not for parliament; and then came the battle. After it was over came the constitution, made by representatives chosen by the people.

Is the constitution too old? The charter of Connecticut was given by Charles the Second, and was the constitution until 1818. The charter of Rhode Island, given by the same king, was its constitution until 1842. The law made in Rhode Island, giving authority for the organization and government of counties and townships and school districts, was substantially the same as the law of Kansas. The law providing for the creation of new townships and counties of Kansas is substantially the same as the law of Rhode Island written in 1734. The organic law of the land is one of the foundations of national character. It grows by development, not by repeals and changes. It not only guards and protects, but it also guides and directs the people in all real progress, all sound national development.

An uneasy desire for organic change is one of the worst diseases that can afflict any people. The centrifugal forces of society seem now to be at work in every direction, trying to ascertain whether what has been done is not wrong in some way, or trying to ascertain whether there is not some new way, some better way. These forces forget that this great fabric which has been built has been built by the men who learned the value of power and of organization by their service in the army. And they knew that obedience to legitimate authority is the first duty of every human being, for definite moral authority is a reality and not a mere speculation. Human society is something nobler than a mere convenience. The nation is something greater than the sum of its individuals. One of the duties of government is the welfare of the citizen, but the highest duty of every citizen is the welfare of the nation. The instinct of our civilization is to its preservation, because it is in some way harmonious with the divine purpose of the world.

I have not said what I intended to when I came. I intended to give you more instances, if I could, of the men who have served the country well both in business and public life, who came from the ranks of the private soldier—got their discipline there. I am unable to recall it all as I intended to, but I have detained you long enough. However, if I have fixed in your mind the value to this nation, during its civil life since the war, of the men

who fought its battles for the preservation of the Union, my object is accomplished. Hardly any beginning in any community in the state was made without them. The very trees in the statehouse ground were planted by men who were led by Tom Anderson, and so in other places. Go to any county seat in the state and you will find the effect of the men who laid the foundation of the civil life of the state. Go to any community from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean, and you will find that the beginning of the community, the beginning of the organization of it, was the work of some man who had served his term as a soldier.

May I ask you now to think about our mighty national life, its great place in civilization, its relationship to the other nations of the earth. To remember the fact that here in America is a great people, with millions of population, millions of wealth, governing themselves; governing themselves by representatives chosen by the voluntary action of free men; governing themselves by laws made by representatives chosen by the action of free men? And yet this great nation does not consist so much in its laws and its officers as in the fact that citizens of this republic are willing to be obedient to law. Nineteen-twentieths of all that men do is done because men believe it ought to be done. We have done right because we believe men ought to do right, and not because there is either law or government. Law and the government and the force of law are for men who choose to do wrong, for men who attempt to do what ought not to be done.

Now in this young commonwealth it has been a labor of love with your Historical Society to gather together the history of the beginnings of the state, the history of its heroic men and women, to make a record of it and to preserve it. It is a noble history. And the nation has a noble history and a great history. No other land has one like it. No other nation developed a citizenship like ours. What is it all for? What is it all for if it be not to fulfill a divine purpose; if it be not to lead the nations of the earth toward that purpose, in the fulfillment of which every effort of ours, even this, has its place. As it carries forward the national life to the fulfillment of that great purpose, and we look forward through the centuries that are to come to the millions that are to live here, we can believe that on the foundations which these men have laid, upon every battlefield and by every patriot grave, a national life is to be built in which they will dwell secure and happy and noble. I thank you.

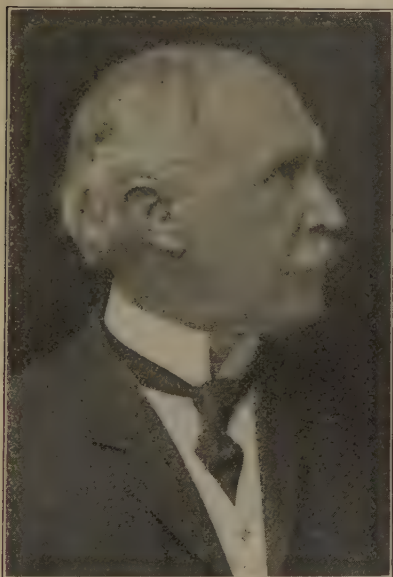
At the close of Mr. Calderhead's speech, Mr. Jesse S. Langston arose and said: "I have in my possession, and have had for forty-six years, a picture of one who I have reason to believe has lived along almost touching lives with Comrade Calderhead. This picture was handed to me by one of his comrades. If I am not mistaken, he served in the company with Comrade Calderhead; they have slept under the same blanket and drunk out of the same canteen. Since the war I have tried to learn his name and whereabouts, but have been unable to do so. I have written many letters to Grand Army posts, but I have failed to find him, so I wish to present this picture to Comrade Calderhead, hoping that he may live to carry it forty-six years, as I have done, and may God's choicest blessings rest upon him during all that time."

Mr. Calderhead responded as follows: "This is Tim Lamaster, the drummer in our company. I certainly appreciate this more than I can tell you."

THE WEST: ITS PLACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

Address by JOHN LEE WEBSTER, LL. D.,¹ President Nebraska Historical Society, at the Auditorium, Topeka, September 26, 1911, on the occasion of the celebration of the laying of the corner stone of Memorial Hall by President William H. Taft.

HISTORY is to a nation what the faculty of memory is to individuals, . . . the basis of all our experience, and, by means of experience, the source of all improvement. . . . History knows all things, contains all things, teaches all things; not in winged words which strike the ear without impressing the mind, but in great and striking actions. . . . The spirit of the world itself is but a great and unending tale repeated from age to age, the poem of God, the source of human inspiration. Such is a condensed statement of the expressions of Lamartine, the French scholar and historian.



HON. JOHN LEE WEBSTER, LL. D.,
President Nebraska Historical Society,
Omaha, Nebraska.

Professor Van Dyke, in speaking of the footprints of a desert deer found in the petrified rocks upon a mountain top, said: "How many thousands of years ago was that impression stamped upon the stone? . . . And while it remains quite perfect to-day, the vagrant hoof mark of a desert deer, what has become of the once carefully guarded footprints of the Sargons, the Pharaohs and the Cæsars?"

I take these two excerpts from distinguished writers as a thought from which to deliver a discourse upon the Great West, its place in American history, past, present and prospective

future, and the urgent necessity as well as the expediency of preserving its history.

Columbus, gifted by genius, was inspired with the belief that the world had lost one of its hemispheres. With him it was to be the discovery and bringing back to world relationship, not the Atlantic seacoast, but the entire American continent.

NOTE 1.—JOHN LEE WEBSTER, LL. D., of Omaha, president of the Nebraska State Historical Society, was born March 18, 1847, in Harrison county, Ohio. The first fifteen years of his life were spent on his father's farm, alternating between farm work and attending a country school. At the age of fifteen he began preparation for college, which was interrupted in 1864 by enlistment as a private in the army. In 1865 he entered Washington (Pennsylvania) College, graduating later from Mount Union (Ohio) College. He entered the law office of Thomas Marshall in Pittsburg, and in 1868 was married to Josephine Leah Watson. Upon his admission to the bar, in 1869, he settled in Omaha, and for forty-two years has been very active in his profession, appearing in many of the noted cases of the country during this period. He served in the state legislature of

Yet, when the Bostonians threw the tea into Boston harbor they did not know of any land west of the Alleghenies. John Adams, the gifted advocate and firebrand for independence, knew nothing of lands westward from the colonies and their tributary territory. Madison and Wilson and their associate coworkers in framing the federal constitution were only acting as the representatives of the original thirteen states. The far-seeing George Washington looked westward only into the regions bordering on the Ohio river. Thomas Jefferson did not dream of the Louisiana Purchase until he learned of the importance of the Mississippi as an outlet of commerce at New Orleans, and that the missionary and the Spaniards were fixing habitations upon the Pacific coast. It was not until a half century later that the Kansas and Nebraska territorial bills in Congress began to attract public attention.

Kansas and Nebraska are a part of that vast plain between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains which in an ancient geological period was the bottom of an inland sea which extended from the Gulf of Mexico on the south to the lake regions on the north. In the climatic conditions which took place as the ages rolled along, this plain had its tropical period, when there were forms of vegetation and animal life which in this day can only be found in Africa and South America, and others which belonged to the medieval world and are entirely extinct. In the rotation of time other changes took place, and the regions of Arctic cold came where the tropical zone had been. The glaciers came down from the north and spread their deposits all over the vast plain from the mountains to the Missouri river. Following these geological and climatic changes there afterwards came the Great American Desert, when little sand dunes were seen everywhere and the parching sun dried up the vegetation.

Lieutenant Pike, in his report of two government explorations into these western regions, said that these immense prairies were "incapable of cultivation" and would have to be left to the "wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country." Major Long, in a report to the United States of explorations into these regions, said of the prairies that they "bear a resemblance to the Desert of Siberia."

Washington Irving, the historian of John Jacob Astor's western enterprise, indulging in the elegance of a romance writer, said of the American Desert: "It spreads forth into undulating and treeless plains and desolate sandy wastes, wearisome to the eye from their extent and monotony, and which are supposed by geologists to have formed the ancient floor of the

Nebraska in 1873, and was a member and president of the constitutional convention which met in 1875 and made the present constitution of Nebraska. He was delegate at large from Nebraska in the Republican national convention which met at Minneapolis and nominated Benjamin Harrison, and again in the convention of 1896 at St. Louis. In 1887 he was city attorney of Omaha. Mr. Webster is not only a great lawyer, interested in many of the most important cases before the courts, but he is a thorough student, a statesman of wide views, a stirring political campaigner, a polished and forceful speaker. In his addresses before bar associations or commercial or patriotic gatherings he has discussed "Has the United States Outgrown the Constitution?" "Has the United States a Destiny to Fulfill in China?" "The Right of the Nation to Acquire, Hold and Govern Acquired Territory," and "The Enlargement of American Commerce." He was attorney in the habeas corpus case of Standing Bear, in which the court held for the first time that an Indian is a "person" and is entitled to secure the rights of personal liberty from military custody. He carried through the United States supreme court a case of an Omaha Indian to establish the status of Indians under the fourteenth amendment. These suits laid the foundation for the humanitarian agitation that resulted in the acts of Congress providing for the allotment of lands to Indians in severalty and their ultimate attainment of citizenship. He has also represented in many cases great financial interests.

ocean, countless ages since, when its primeval waves beat against the granite bases of the Rocky Mountains." A United States senator, in opposing the admission of Kansas into the Union as a state under the Wyandotte constitution said: "After we pass west of the Missouri river, except upon a few streams, there is no territory fit for settlement or habitation. It is unproductive. It is like a barren waste."

But since the days of Adams, and Madison, and Washington, and within a little more than a half century, the nation stretched out its hand into this desert region and created a fertile soil and peopled it with America's noble men and women, who have constructed homes and schoolhouses and churches, and built towns and cities, and established marts, and railroads as commercial arteries, until these prairies have become the granaries of the world and a garden of beauty.

We, the white men, are repeating in our age the same old story. Historians tell us that the glories of antiquity were the highest in the lands of the desert. It was so in old Egypt and Palestine. It was so in Arabia, Persia and northern India. It was so in the lands of the Carthaginians and Moors. As these desert lands were once the heart of the world, we are making the West the heart of the best grazing and the best producing harvest lands of the American continent. The old worlds lost, not because of their lands, but because of want of mental and physical energy in their people. Our experiment will permanently endure, because this is the home of the golden period of our manhood. It is this Kansas which is celebrating this anniversary of its history.

The changing geological conditions from the time when this land arose from the bottom of the sea, to become again buried under the glacial deposits, are no less wonderful than the transition of the American Desert to this paradise of states extending from the Missouri river to the Pacific, that has come about within the memory of some who are here participating in this celebration.

This reaching out of the hand of the nation into this desert brings to our minds the awakening of the Great West from its primeval sleep of countless ages to welcome and receive the pioneer and the emigrant; the time when the Great Spirit of the Indian tribes, their God Manitou, was to give way to the influence of the missionary priest with the cross in his hand, and the Christian religion and the white man's God.

Again, the nation is stretching its hand out into these desert regions, and irrigation is changing arid plains into farms, and orchards, and gardens. Again we see, as the sea receded, as the glaciers melted, the desert passes, and verdure and trees come to cover the land as the conquering heroes of old were adorned with chaplets of flowers. Water! Water! has become the master king of the desert.

New England had her Pilgrims and her Puritans, who occupy abundant space in the pages of her history. Virginia had her Cavaliers, to whom is traced much of her chivalry and aristocracy. The Great West had its Pioneers, whose lives a century hence will be no less interesting to us than are the lives of the Pilgrims and the Puritans to New England, or of the Cavaliers to Virginia.

These pioneers were daring and intrepid men; men in whose life currents there flowed in modified and enlightened form the elements of that spirit of old that led the Macedonian chieftain in his conquering career in

Asia and won him the title of Alexander the Great; that dwelt in Rome and marched with Cæsar's armies through the forests of Germany and the valleys of Gaul; that went with the Black Prince of Normandy when he crossed the North Sea and vanquished the armies of Harold, and gave him the realm of England for a throne and the name in history's page of William the Conqueror; that spirit of old that led Columbus across the trackless ocean to find a new continent that the world might move onward, and without which America would have remained unknown.

The Norwegian Americans, who make up a great part of the inhabitants of the Northwest and are strong factors in our national character, can trace their American foundations back beyond the discovery of Columbus to the days of the Vikings, when they sailed the waters of the Far North as pioneers of the sea.

Such were the men who laid the solid foundations of the West, that West where in our day evidences of refinement are seen everywhere; that West which is moving the center of the country's social, commercial and political gravity farther westward every year, and represents untold possibilities for the future.

The control of the government has already passed away from the original thirteen states. The form of national government is the same. It is exercised under the same constitution, but its administration has been transferred largely to the states of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and in a period of time it will be transferred to the states west of the Missouri river. In like migration the keeping of human rights and human liberty on this continent is being transferred into the hands of the people of this new West, and to maintain it they must be firm, and bold, and patriotic.

For more than a hundred years the planters of Virginia and the Puritans of New England were European sentinels, standing guard over the Atlantic seaboard for Old England. Our pioneers began as empire builders, and in less than a hundred years have brought nineteen new states into the Union. They were as the Star of Bethlehem, leading and lighting the way for the twenty millions of people who are the citizens of these new states, and all under the American flag.

The pioneers have made the desert an epitaph on the tombstone of time. Steam and electric forces are now ruling the West as they rule the East. With us the present is living history. The United States in this, the twentieth century, is flashing the light of its liberty and national supremacy over the world.

It is confessedly true that the fundamental principle of the United States government is human liberty. But to-day there is a more lively spirit of individual manhood and personal independence and of human liberty in the states west of the Missouri river than exists anywhere else. It has a broader scope and meaning than the phraseology of Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence that "All men are created equal and have certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," for that declaration has always been construed with some limitations.

The St. Gaudens statue of "The Puritan," standing with a staff in one hand and a Bible under his arm, typifies the spirit in which New England was peopled. It is like the glory of the fire that came down from heaven to make itself the living coal on the altar. Some day the state of Kansas will take just pride in placing in the Hall of Fame at Washington a heroic-

sized statue of John Brown. His voice was like unto the voice of one speaking in the wilderness, and what he said was true. It is the spirit of John Brown which has worked out into reality and living truth the statement often spoken by Frederick Douglas that "Man belongs to himself. His feet are his; his hands are his; the hairs on his head are his. It always has been so, and it always will be so until tyrants shall storm the citadel of heaven and wrest from the bosom of God man's title deed to himself."

It has been said that it is the happiest of all fates to be born in New England and live in the West. Yet it is true that we have only "crossed the threshold of our new epoch." The men who plow and plant and cultivate are writing history on the imperishable earth. The prosperity of Kansas and Nebraska springs from the soil and the seasons and the industry of their citizens. Their farmers plant in faith; they cultivate in hope; they reap in grace. They are the uncrowned kings of the day.

It is interesting to contemplate the white man's invasion of this Great West. What millions of men have been employed in this warfare of settlement and of migration; what billions of money have been employed by way of improvements and in rewarding the processes of development; what farming districts have been created, and what workshops and what railroads have been constructed in the wilderness; what cities, with their busy thousands of inhabitants have been built in what was once the solitude of these primeval lands; what states have been carved out of the prairies and mountains extending from the Missouri to the Pacific; what undreamed of commerce is transported by land, and then sent forth in the holds of ocean-going steamships that whiten what was at that time the unexplored Pacific ocean. It is a subject which I have not time to elaborate. When properly told it will fill volumes of history, and should be written by a pen not inferior to that of a Parkman, a Prescott or a Macaulay.

As citizens of the West we have but a limited appreciation and but a partial comprehension of the extent of its territory, of its present or future possibilities. Kansas and Nebraska are each equal in area to ten states like Vermont, to fifteen states like Connecticut, to thirty-eight states like Delaware, and to seventy states like Rhode Island. All of England and Scotland, and Ireland, and Belgium, and the Netherlands could be put within the boundaries of the Dakotas. We could put these same European countries within the states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho and have more land left than there is in all the New England states. If Texas was an inland sea and the Republic of France was dropped within it, it would form an island, the vision of whose inhabitants would not span the surrounding waters.

What is this Great West doing for the world to-day? There are illustrations which beggar descriptions. It has been said that American energy sweeps the decks of the world's commerce. That energy comes from the West. It has been said the cradle of to-day is rocking elements that will startle the world of to-morrow. Their discoveries are being made in the West. It has been said, "Electric words from the land shores jump into wireless aerial chariots, and in the twinkling of an eye dance upon the decks of ships one hundred miles out at sea." It is from the West that there come the products of the soil, and of the mines, and of the ranges, and the forests, the material that laden these ships that make wireless telegraphy a useful instrumentality in the world's commerce.

The number of vigorous, energetic and industrious free men in this great West is a number six times as great as the population of the thirteen colonies when the Declaration of Independence was signed and when the battles of the Revolution were fought; five times as great as the population of all the states at the time when the federal constitution was adopted. It is a population greater than that of England when she carried her banner to victory over the chivalrous hosts of France at Crecy and Agincourt. It is a population greater than that of Greece when she won her separation from the dominion of the Turk; a population nearly as great as that of Sicily and Naples and of Italy when Garibaldi started the revolution that created the federation of the kingdom of Italy under Victor Emanuel; a population nearly as great as that of France at the time of her revolution or when Napoleon began his career as her emperor.

Visions of our future population and of our wealth "sweep across the horizon of historical possibilities." The wave of population from Europe westward across the Atlantic began only two centuries ago, yet in the United States alone we have nearly one hundred millions of people. The overflow from Italy, and Austria, and Germany, and Belgium, and Holland, and Norway, and Sweden, and England, and Scotland, and Ireland is still going on, and will continue to go on as long as the races of the world continue to increase in numbers. Putnam Weale, who has achieved much distinction by his books dealing with the Far East and the world's future, estimates that the existing population of the earth will double in numbers by the end of the century. Where will these vast millions of people go? Will not the white men follow the tide of migration to North and South America? But of these continents our great Northwest offers the better opportunities and the more inviting prospects.

The same writer has estimated that by the end of the century the United States will have a population of three hundred millions of people. Mr. Carnegie, no less thoughtful or intelligent, and not an unreasonable enthusiast, has said that the United States will ultimately have a population of five hundred million, every one an American, and all boasting a common citizenship. Should that day come more than two hundred million of them will live west of the Missouri river.

We have said it is within the range of possibilities. Nebraska and Kansas, when compared to Holland, which sustains a population of four hundred and fifty people per square mile upon a soil which was lifted up out of the sea, an artificial creation, can sustain a population of seventy millions. The arable land of Egypt, surrounded by desert and dependent upon irrigation coming from the overflow of the Nile, has a much larger proportionate population; nine hundred and fifty per square mile. Might not these two states sustain one hundred and fifty millions of people like the Egyptians?

But we are not dependent upon our agricultural lands for the capability of sustaining a vast population. There is more water power in the rivers that flow from the slopes of the Rocky and Sierra mountains than there is in all New England. These rushing mountain streams of the West are awaiting the coming of the mill owner to make the capital of the investor become profitable. There is more lumber in Washington and Oregon and more extensive forests on the western slopes than there ever were in Maine and Michigan. There is more coal in Wyoming and Colorado than there ever was in Pennsylvania. There are more outcroppings of iron on the

slopes of the Rocky Mountains than there are in all of the states east of the Mississippi. The great manufacturing country of England, with her commerce that encircles the globe, goes to Africa with an enormous outlay of capital and maintains a protective army to get the supply of gold to maintain her money standard. The United States for a century has been taking her gold and silver from her own western mountains, which for ages have been lying sleeping there, awaiting the coming of the pioneer and the gold digger and the improved machinery and appliances of these modern times. We can have every species of industry in the West, because it offers possibilities of every sort.

I am not wholly without support if I speculate upon the possibility of the Pacific coast ultimately having larger cities than New York or Boston or Baltimore. The scholarly and wide-visioned Charles Sumner once said the world shall see in that far clime the streets of a wealthier New York; the homes of a more cultured Boston; the halls of a more learned Harvard; the workshop of a busier Worcester.

All this territory of the Great West came to the original United States either by purchase or treaty. The boundaries and limits of the republic have already become so extended that they greet the morning sunrise at Porto Rico, and the southern sun when he reaches the tropics at Panama, and when he sends his glancing rays into the polar circle from the northern regions of Alaska; and now when he sets in the far western ocean we bid him good night from Hawaii and the Philippines.

Notwithstanding this unlimited dominion, we have the same form of government that was administered when we had less than five millions of people. The same constitution has answered our demands, although we have to-day one hundred millions of people; and why may it not satisfy our necessities should we perchance in time have five hundred millions? If our public and private virtues shall be preserved our government will live through all times, no matter how extensive its territory and magnificent its worldly institutions, as surely as our material progress is destined to indefinite continuance.

It is believed that there is a destiny which has forever been guiding the course of the human race. That same destiny which carried the Christian religion, and civilization, and learning, and literature and the arts from the banks of the Nile and the shores of the Adriatic across the continent of Europe to Paris and London, later carried it across the Atlantic. That same destiny is now shedding in bright effulgence all these advantages of culture and mental adornments over the Great West.

But my speculations for the future are more than dreams of imagination or hopes of the fancy. From the American Desert until now, and from now to a century hence, is the march of progress under the hand of God. It is the American republic coming into her own, the ruling power, the mistress of the world.

We recur again to the value of this history and how it shall be preserved. History does not consist alone in the frigid recital of cold facts. There is that in history which appeals to the imagination. It is the romance of the lives of men who engaged in the stirring events of the period in which they lived. It is the recital of the transactions and creations of men and peoples and nations. It is the condensation into general declarations of the materials found in the thousands of biographies.

History lies at the bottom of all knowledge. It is the first starting point of all learning and of all literature. Our national government is founded on principles gathered from centuries of history.

Our epic poems and our literature are varied and inspired expressions of the stirring events in history which have appealed most to the imagination. Had it not been for the historic events that made the siege of Troy memorable we would not remember Homer, and the literary world could not have had the enjoyment that has come to it through the passing centuries from the reading of the *Iliad*.

Without the historical traditions of the old Italian cities, and without the histories of the wars between the kings of England and France, Shakespeare would have been obliged to depend upon the invention of his poetic genius for his fame.

Other poets who have put forth in melodious phrase the thoughts that have come to them by the inspired muse have been indebted to the incidents of history. This is true from Virgil to Milton, from Byron to Tennyson, and from Longfellow to Whittier.

The history of our country, as well as that of other countries, will live in its poetry. "Every great event, every historic episode, every critical moment in the annals of the nation is immortalized by the rhythm that thrills the hearts of the people down through the generations."

History has been the field from which novelists have gathered the material for their romances. Without the history of England and Scotland we would not have had those beautiful pen pictures that run through the historical novels of that genius of Scotland, Sir Walter Scott, romances which have furnished abundant instruction and made millions of people happy while reading them.

Had it not been for the recorded pages of history of the old Roman Empire we would not have had Bulwer's brilliant historical romance, "*Rienzi, The Last of the Tribunes*." Had it not been for the archæologist and the historian, Bulwer could not have given to us the "*Last Days of Pompeii*." Had it not been for the recording of the exciting and tumultuous scenes of English history we would not have had Bulwer's masterpiece, "*The Last of the Barons*."

The thousands of biographies of soldiers, of statesmen and of men eminent in various walks of life have been written by their admiring friends to perpetuate the memory of their actions and deeds and achievements to future generations. The primary purpose of biographies is a standing protest against oblivion and a contest to perpetuate the lives of these men in the pages of history.

Go into any library and take down from the shelves all its volumes of history, and all its poems, and all its romances, and all its biographies, and all other volumes that deal in a general or specific way with the events of history, or appeal to the incidents of history to support their recitals or contentions in argument, and commit all these to the flames, and the library shelves will become vacant. When all these are gone the colleges must go, the universities must go, and civilization will go back to a period of ignorance greater than that of the Dark Ages. Then we would have to begin again, as the world did centuries ago, to build up a new education and a new civilization, and pass through a long line of centuries to reach a bright and exalted period equal to that of the present age. Aye, more than all

that; when all these go the Bible must go, because, whether treated as a book of inspiration or as a great literature, it is a history of ancient kings, and of nations, and of peoples, of the Jews, Assyrians, Babylonians and Egyptians, and of the Prince of Peace. Strip the world of the benefits of history and the world would not be worth living in.

Without history we would not have our common country. Without a familiarity with the Magna Charta and with the English Bill of Rights, and the liberty of the individual man under the unwritten English constitution, Thomas Jefferson could not have written the Declaration of Independence. Without that knowledge of the rights of Englishmen which were transplanted to the American colonies Washington could not have successfully carried on the War of the Revolution.

Without a full and complete knowledge of the history of the conflicting contests between freedom and oppression which prevailed through the long evolutionary periods from ancient Greece to the federation of the colonies, Madison and Hamilton and Wilson and their associates could not have framed the federal constitution, and its supporters and advocates could not have secured its approval by the American people.

Patriotism is the life and support of every nation, and without history patriotism would be unknown, for patriotism has its birthright in the spirit of history. Patriotism is a sentiment that has its inception in a reverence for the old historic beginnings. With America it goes back in memory to the landing of the Cavaliers at Jamestown and of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. It is cultivated and increased by its reverence for the memories of Washington and his associate revolutionary heroes, and its recollection of all the bright pages in history that record the development of the country from its birth to its present great and majestic proportions. Blot from memory the history of our early beginning, the memories of our battles from Yorktown to the Spanish War, and the memories of the lives of the great men that have brought this country up to its present standard of supremacy of a world power, and we would not know the meaning of the word patriotism.

Hence, confidently we may assert that without the benefits of history constitutional government could not be created and governments of laws and equality could not exist. Blot out history and organized governments would dissolve and society would lose the bonds of fraternal unity, and the only ruling power that man would know would be the power of force as exercised by a chief of a savage tribe or a conquering warrior like a Tamerlane or an Alexander.

State historical societies collect and preserve historical incidents and records, the wells from which spring forth the intellectual and spiritual growth of our people, just as sculpture and art are the culmination of historical sequences. The interests which these societies represent are the foundation upon which the states rest and the nation is maintained. A reverence for the valuable materials gathered by these historical societies is one of the strongest moral influences that can be inculcated in our people. Upon an appreciation of what shall be gathered there rests the spirit, the loyalty and the patriotism of the generations. Historical knowledge is a positive force in molding public opinion, and is now as it ever has been, the source of precedents for our institutions of justice.

As the air we breathe is drawn from the great depositories of nature,

and the light which illumines the day comes from a central sun millions of miles distant, so the knowledge which we possess in our age is drawn from great depositories of history, and our advancement and development is traceable to the historic precedents of the measureless past.

The older nations of the continent of Europe, such as France, Germany and Italy, long since learned the wisdom of bringing home to the understanding of the common people an appreciation of the memorable events in their national histories by means of works of art. The great historic truths which the mind can take in while the eye is resting upon a dream of beauty, either in the wonderful work produced by the sculptor's chisel, or in figures dressed in robes of color by the artist's brush, are lasting and persuasive. It is a happier method of instruction than the wearisome labor of searching through the storehouse of archives. America, too, is fast learning this method of teaching history, and within the last few years her history is being immortalized in marble and bronze and painting. The national greatness of the republic is being symbolized in memorials on its public buildings. Our monuments in figures of bronze and in chiseled marble are daily reminders of our achievements in war and in peace.

The statues of Grant, and Sherman, and Farragut, and Hancock and others that adorn the parks and circles in Washington city, and soldier memorials in all the states, tell of the victories in the Civil War which gave to the country nationality. The statues of Lincoln, simple and unadorned though they may be, recall the Proclamation of Emancipation more vividly than it can be retold by any historian.

The lovers of our national history have sought the aid of the painter's brush to keep fresh and vivid the biographic memories and personages of the founders of the republic. The painted portraits of Adams, and Hancock, and Franklin, and Hamilton, and Jefferson, and of Generals Warren and Stark, and Lincoln, and Knox, and Gates, and Green, and Washington convey to us a deeper and more lasting impression of their characters and of their successes as statesmen or as soldiers than do the printed pages found in their biographies or the histories of the times in which they lived.

The large paintings of the battlefields from Lexington and Bunker Hill and Germantown to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown are a brilliant condensation of all the history of the War of the Revolution, just as the picture of the "Signing of the Declaration of Independence" tells the history of the beginning of our republic. It has been said that the true history of a people is written in its art. It is the genius of the sculptor that has fashioned in marble the exquisite conceptions of life, of music, of art, of learning and of science in America. These conceptions represent some deep philosophical truth in life as it is interpreted from historical records found in the archives of state historical societies.

Art is as true a record of a nation's progress as a scroll, and pictorial impressions are oftentimes greater than the written word. The older civilization of the old world is represented in her priceless masterpieces, and such are more influential upon the national spirit and character than speeches and books.

State Historical Society buildings and memorial halls are treasure houses of history. Their interior walls should be decorated with mural paintings, as in the congressional library, representing the history of the state. These

buildings should have bronze entrance doors representing "Knowledge" and "Wisdom" and "Memory." I believe that a State Historical Society building should be more than a storehouse for a museum and a hiding place for archives. It should represent in bronze, in sculpture and in art all that makes for history, culture, beauty, scholarship and higher civilization.

The West is passing through a phase of history to which can be found no parallel except in the remote ages of the buried past. Centuries upon centuries ago there were empires which exist no longer. Cities were builded which have been depopulated and crumbled into decay. In those ancient times there were people who spoke languages that are no longer spoken and which are known to us only as they are taught by linguists in colleges or universities. We are in a state of bewilderment when we read of these ancient people whose empires and kingdoms and languages have disappeared. We ask ourselves how could these things transpire?

It is unthinkable to us that New York and Boston and Philadelphia at some future time should crumble into ruins; that the United States government should fall into decay; that the American people should become extinct; and that a new race of people, speaking a new language, should in our stead tread the soil of the American continent. Yet we know that such a period of transition from one nation to another, and from one people to another, and from one language to another, has actually taken place in western Asia and in southeastern Europe.

We of the West are to-day witnessing the disappearance of a race of people. The Indian tribes that once possessed this entire country have been driven to the western frontier, and we are the observers of their gradual extinction. Here in the West we can see and we can feel going on around and about us a transition in history almost as remarkable and wonderful as that of the preceding ages which I have mentioned. There is in it a pathos that appeals to our sentimentality and a foundation for a romance in history which can be furnished by no other continent.

But while to us one race of people is becoming extinct, there is a counterpart in the beginning of the creation of a new race of people, which is the composite of all races and all classes who make up our western population—an amalgamation of Norwegians, of Swedes, of Danes, of Irishmen, of Germans, of Frenchmen and of Englishmen into the new American man of the West. In that new man may be found the mental and physical characteristics of all these different peoples.

In him may be traces of the nervous energy and versatility of the Frenchman, of the progressive push of the German, of the strong will power of the Scotchman, and the conquering spirit and energy of the Englishman. As the Frenchman has superseded the Gaul, as the Englishman has superseded the Briton, as the Anglo-Saxon has peopled America, this new man of the West has already succeeded our Puritan ancestors. These new western men will exercise a dominating influence in the government of states and in the affairs of the nation.

The states of the West owe it to themselves to preserve in the archives of their historical societies the traditions of adventure and the records of the conquests of the prairies and the uplands and mountains by these daring and courageous pioneers. They owe it to themselves to preserve in substantial form the historical romance of the disappearance of one race of

people before the advancing progress of American civilization. The states owe it to themselves to collect and preserve in imperishable form all the material necessary to convey to the people in the generations, yes, even in the centuries to come, a comprehensive understanding of what the wilderness was before the hand of man had transformed it into a granary of wealth and a garden of beauty, and what were the racial characteristics of the people who were to form the composite man of the Great West.

The lives and history of our pioneers, our scholars, our statesmen and soldiers should be preserved by our historical societies and in our memorial halls through the countless ages, as are preserved the hoof print of the vagrant desert deer of Van Dyke, for they are of more value to the future of our public than the history of the Sargons, the Pharaohs and the Cæsars.

II.

SOME REVIEW OF FIFTY YEARS.

RAILROADS IN KANSAS.

An address by O. C. HULL,¹ of Great Bend, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, December 6, 1910.

THE history of railroads in Kansas is so closely interwoven with the history of the development of the state in all particulars that it is difficult to treat it independently and determine the exact significance of all the contributing forces.

Railroads had passed the experimental stage and their practical value had been firmly established before Kansas was known, except as a part of the "Great American Desert." The importance of railroads in the development of a new country was given a thorough trial here. In the East the country was already developed and the railroad question was a simple one.

Until the beginning of the agitation in Congress for the great Union Pacific Railroad, Chicago was the western terminus of the east-and-west railroads. But the wide discussion of and intense interest in this transcontinental road awakened the people and gave an impetus to railroad building in the western country. However, the settlement of Kansas had begun, and she had been organized as a territory and had a population of between 70,000 and 75,000 people before the first railroad reached her borders.

The first road to reach Kansas was the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad,² extending entirely across the state of Missouri, reaching Kansas at St. Joseph and connecting it with the roads of the East. This road was finished early in the year 1859.³ The people of the northeastern part of Kansas had

NOTE 1.—OSCAR CLAYTON HULL was born in Butler county, Kansas, July 22, 1883. He is the son of Thomas A. Hull and Christina (Ullman) Hull. The father was born in Grafton, W. Va., July 14, 1851, and came to Kansas July 20, 1877. The mother was born at Redkey, Ind., October 26, 1859, and came to Kansas September 1, 1881. They were married in Butler county June 17, 1882, and now reside in El Dorado, Kan. Mr. Hull attended school at the Kansas Wesleyan Business College and the State Normal, graduating from the Kansas State University. He was principal of the Great Bend high school for two years, and is now in the senior year of the law department of the University of Michigan.

NOTE 2.—The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad had been incorporated in February, 1847, but as it was not easy to raise the money for its construction the project lagged. The first survey was completed to Hannibal on Christmas day, 1850, and not until the summer of 1852 was the contract finally let for building the road. When the two ends were at last but one hundred miles apart, stages were put on and a lively passenger business was done.—History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, p. 229, *et seq.*

NOTE 3.—"On February 14, 1859, the first through passenger train arrived at St. Joseph from Hannibal, with Edgar Sleppy as engineer and Benjamin H. Colt as conductor. A great celebration in honor of the completion of the road was held on Washington's Birthday, at the old Odd Fellows' Hall. A jug of water from the Mississippi was emptied into the Missouri river at the mouth of Blacksnake, the ceremony of mingling the waters being performed with great solemnity by Broaddus Thompson, a prominent citizen in those days, and a most unique character withal."—History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, p. 231.

become enthusiastic in their faith in the state and in railroads, and had decided to build a road of their own to connect with this new line to the East. Consequently the Marysville or Palmetto & Roseport Railroad, afterward called the St. Joseph & Denver City Railroad, was organized in January, 1857, by local men, and the road from Elwood to Wathena, a distance of five miles, was completed, and the first locomotive in Kansas, the "Albany," was placed on the track April 23, 1860.⁴

In the meantime the Union Pacific agitation in Congress had aroused the Kansas pioneers, and the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company had been organized in 1855, but work was not begun on the line until May, 1857. Nothing was really accomplished, and the road was acquired by the Union Pacific Company in 1863.

At the time and following the organization of these companies there was a general demand of the people for railroads, and a series of years followed during which numerous meetings were held, companies were organized, and everything was done except the actual construction of roads. The cost of the construction of a road was so great, while the country was yet too sparsely settled to guarantee profitable operation, that it seemed impossible to accomplish anything. Then the Civil War came on, and railroad building ceased to be the absorbing topic for some time.

But the plan of building up the new country and connecting it with the East was not to be abandoned. The question was being discussed in Congress, and that body finally decided to continue the policy it had inaugurated in 1850 in the case of the Illinois Central Railroad to encourage railroad building. That policy was to aid new roads by granting them a large amount of government land, extending a few miles on either side of the track. This would at once aid the railroad by providing a source of revenue through the sale of such lands. It also aided them indirectly, in that it was a means of settling the country through which the road passed with homeseekers, tempted by the liberal offers of the railroad company. Ac-

NOTE 4.—The Marysville or Palmetto & Roseport Railroad was incorporated by legislative act approved February 17, 1857. The incorporators were Robt. M. Stewart, W. P. Richardson, F. J. Marshall, Bela M. Hughes, Richard Rose, A. M. Mitchell, Reuben Middleton, R. H. Jenkins, Fred W. Smith and W. S. Brewster. The company was empowered to construct a railroad from Marysville or Palmetto City to Roseport, "so as to connect with the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad." In June, 1857, the Roseport town company was reorganized, and the town christened Elwood, thereafter the railroad being known as the Elwood and Marysville. Wilder's Annals, March 20, 1860, says: "Iron arrives in Kansas and tracklaying begins on the Elwood & Marysville railroad. This is the first railroad iron laid on Kansas soil." The *Elwood Free Press* of April 28 announced the arrival on the 23d of the locomotive "Albany." This engine was crossed over from St. Joseph on the ferry boat "Ida," and pulled up the bank at Elwood by enthusiastic men and boys. The next day several flat cars were brought across the river and the opening of the first section of the road was celebrated. Col. M. Jeff. Thompson, president of the road, Willard P. Hall and Gov. R. M. Stewart, of Missouri, addressed the crowd. A mile of track toward Wathena had been laid, and over this the engine and cars ran back and forth amidst the cheers of the spectators. James Whitney was the engineer of the "Albany." When the road was completed to Wathena, July 19, a free excursion was given, the Jackson Guards of St. Joseph and many prominent Missourians taking part. All day long the woods along the right of way were crowded with an excited throng of people. In a directory of St. Joseph for 1860-'61 occurs the following: "Elwood is placed by the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad in direct communication with the most populous and wealthy cities of the East, and by the first of April will be within fifty hours' travel of New York." During the disturbed political situation of 1861 little work was done on the Elwood road, and in 1862 the name was changed to St. Joseph & Denver City Railroad. Again, owing to the paralyzed condition of the country, no work was done, and it is said that at this period the farmers along the line used the flat cars hitched to oxen for drawing their wood and produce to the ferry landing, the engine having been taken back to St. Joseph. Finally the ties rotted and cottonwood sprouts grew thick between the rails. In January, 1866, a new company was formed made up of local capital, and a consolidation was effected with the old railroad company, the new company retaining the old name. Eventually this road was built to the Nebraska line, and its present name is the St. Joseph & Grand Island Railway.

cordingly, on July 1, 1862, an act was signed by the President granting five sections per mile on either side of the road to the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company, for the construction of a road from the mouth of the Kansas river to connect with the Union Pacific in Nebraska, at the 100th meridian. The franchise of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad, together with this land grant, was acquired by the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, and construction work was begun at the Missouri river in September, 1863. July 2, 1864, this act was amended, increasing the land grant to ten sections per mile on either side of the track, or 12,800 acres per mile, making a total of about 6,000,000 acres of land for the Union Pacific in Kansas.⁵ In addition to this, United States bonds to the extent of \$16,000 per mile, payable in thirty years and drawing six per cent interest, were issued, and constituted a first mortgage on the road.

In the meantime, by act of March 3, 1863, Congress had granted to the state land amounting to ten sections per mile, to be given to railroad companies which would build roads in certain specified directions. This land was given to the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston, extending from Leavenworth to the south line of the state; to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe,⁶ from Atchison to the western line of the state; and to the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, from Fort Riley to the southern boundary. These roads received, respectively, 450,000, 934,522 and 712,895 acres of land.

By act of July 23, 1866, a similar grant was made to the state for the St. Joseph & Denver City Railroad, extending from Elwood to the junction of the Union Pacific. This grant amounted to 64,672 acres in Kansas and about 400,000 acres in Nebraska. This road also received the proceeds from the sale of 125,000 acres of land, a part of 500,000 acres granted to the state for internal improvement.⁷

The Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf Railroad was given the proceeds from the sale of 125,000 acres of the land granted to the state, and by an act of July 25, 1866, was granted the usual amount of ten sections per mile, but

NOTE 5.—Land grants to Kansas railroads, according to a government compilation, are as follows:

Union Pacific Railroad—Kansas City to Denver: Estimated area in acres, 7,776,238.14; certified or patented to June 30, 1907, 6,175,620.63.

Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston—Lawrence to southern boundary of Kansas: Estimated area in acres, 485,545.69; certified or patented to June 30, 1907, 249,446.13. This includes 186,936.72 acres of the Osage ceded lands, which should be deducted under the decision of the supreme court in the case of *L. L. & G. R. R. v. The United States*, 92 U. S. 733.

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad—Atchison to western boundary of Kansas: Estimated area in acres, 2,885,496.43; certified or patented to June 30, 1907, 2,944,788.14.

Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway—Fort Riley to southern boundary of Kansas: Estimated area in acres 1,121,784.18; certified or patented to June 30, 1907, 976,593.22. This includes 270,970.78 acres of the Osage ceded lands, which should be deducted under the decision of the supreme court in the case cited above.

St. Joseph & Denver City Railroad—Elwood, Kan., to Hastings, Neb.: Estimated area in acres, 1,350,381.03; certified or patented to June 30, 1907, 462,933.24.

Union Pacific, Central Branch—Missouri river to 100th mile post: Estimated area in acres, 261,841.51; certified or patented to June 30, 1907, 223,080.50.

All of these grants are practically adjusted, but not closed.—U. S. Land Office statement showing land grants made by Congress to railroads, 1908.

NOTE 6.—The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway is building to-day a line of railroad from Dodge City into the southwest corner of the state that follows very closely one of the lines suggested by the railroad convention of 1860. It is interesting to take the map showing the lines of road suggested by that convention, published in the *Historical Collections*, vol. 9, p. 477, accompanying an article by the late Gov. Geo. W. Glick, and compare it with a railroad map of to-day. One is struck anew with the wisdom and foresight of those pioneers who laid the foundations for our present material growth and prosperity.

all except 17,500 acres was forfeited because of failure to perform the conditions of the grant.⁸

The Central Branch of the Union Pacific, or the Atchison & Pike's Peak Railroad, received a grant of 187,608 acres of land, and government bonds to the amount of \$16,000 per mile, similar to the Union Pacific grant, were issued, amounting to \$1,600,000.⁹

This was the end of government aid to the railroads in Kansas. Enough roads were built to connect the country pretty well, and the railroad business became a paying proposition, so that the government ceased its donations. However, in addition to the government aid, there were vast sums of money raised for the roads by the voting of bonds by local communities through which they passed. This form of aid and inducement has continued during the entire period of railroad building.

Just what the railroads would have done without the aid, or how long before they would have been constructed, can only be conjectured. The immense cost of construction, the sparsely settled country and limited traffic made the railroad business extremely perilous, and even with all the grants that were made, many roads were unable to overcome the difficulties. Before the business became profitable the country had to be developed and a general carrying trade built up.

The inducements offered were so attractive, however, that there was a rapid growth of early roads, and many miles of track were laid. There were 931 miles in operation by 1870, and 2134 in 1875.

The beginning of our railroad building was by independent and separate interests. The Union Pacific was a part of a great system, but it was not connected with any other road in Kansas. As was noted before, many companies were organized and much independent local action was undertaken. But local capital and construction force alone were insufficient for the proposition, and practically all the early roads were backed by eastern capital, although there might be local representation, and often local control was maintained. The interests which were back of each company were, as a rule, independent of other companies; consequently the first roads were independent, unallied and usually antagonistic. As the railroad industry became more definitely shaped its value as an investment was assured, and the large financial interests saw that the most profitable way of operating the roads lay in consolidation. There began a gradual connecting and allying of the companies, of interownership of stock and actual buying up of entire roads by other railroads, until to-day we have only a few large independent lines. This trend in Kansas is typical of the great movement of consolidation and centralization not only in railroad but in other lines of business all over the United States, and may be an effect of the general tendency toward concentration of wealth.

One reason for the passing of small independent railroads is the difficulty of financing them through money panics. It requires a great amount of reserve capital to keep a road from going to the wall, and so many have failed in critical times that only experienced financiers are able to cope with the problems.

This is well illustrated in the past history of Kansas roads. During the

NOTE 7.—Cutler's *History of Kansas*, 1883, p. 246.

NOTE 8.—*Ibid.*, p. 247.

NOTE 9.—*Ibid.*, p. 246.

early years of railroad construction, many, in fact practically all, of the roads were built with borrowed money. Their bond issue was usually all the road would bear. The roads were aided by the localities through which they passed, and most of them by direct grants of government land. In some cases these grants, all told, amounted to the entire cost of the road. But behind this was the fact that the promoters did not represent any great wealth. They were often inexperienced in railroad building and operation. Then the field was so new and uncertain, and the whole railroad business having not yet established itself financially, that it was a very speculative venture.

Practically all the early roads passed at some time into the hands of receivers. The returns from operation usually did not pay running expenses, and the panic of 1873 came on before the early roads had become paying investments. They were naturally the first victims of the broken confidence, and the strain upon them was too great.

After the money panic had passed and times became better there was a readjustment in the railroad business. Eastern creditors and capitalists took over many of the roads at much reduced figures. It was some time before railroad building started again, but it gradually increased until the boom years, when it increased so rapidly that the same consequences awaited it that had befallen it before. The speculation of 1886 and 1887 was followed closely by the hard times of 1892 and 1893, and while most of the roads were able to hold their own in this case, yet it put several small companies in such a plight that they were compelled to sell to the larger companies, and thus was started again the consolidation of roads which has been going on ever since.

The periods of growth of railroad mileage in Kansas correspond exactly with the periods of prosperity and good business. Nothing has responded so quickly to the changing financial conditions as railroad building. The first period began about the close of the war and extended to the year 1873, during which year the Santa Fe was completed. The panic put a stop to the business, and it required a long time for it to recover. After the panic the few roads that were built were small extensions and branches of the roads already in operation. The great speculative feature was entirely eliminated, and roads were built only where they were needed and demanded.

Early in the 80's business began to increase rapidly, a boom was started in the southern part of the state, and railroad building was again resumed. The boom was centered about Wichita, and during this period that city was well connected with the East by new roads or extensions of old ones. But this stimulus did not have a general effect at first, no response being made except in the southern part of the state. By the year 1885 the whole country was booming again, and road building began anew. In that year there were 4168.48 miles of railway in the state, and by December 30, 1890, there were 8882.31 miles.¹⁰ Most of this was built during the years 1886 and 1887. The building was not limited to any section; the West was eager to have railroads built, and probably received more than were needed for the next twenty years.

After this period there was a general subsidence of the building fever,

NOTE 10.—Board of Railroad Commissioners, Annual Reports, 1885, p. 198, and 1890, p. xxvii. These figures do not include sidetrack.

and the hard times of the early 90's demonstrated that we had all the roads we could stand. Practically nothing has been done since 1890 until within the past few years, when several companies have been incorporated and some construction done.

The relation between the population of the state and the railroad mileage is a direct one. (See accompanying table.) With but few exceptions, the growth of the two has gone on together. Did the people bring the railroads, or did the railroads bring the people? In the East, where the country was settled before a railroad was known, there is no question of this kind. But, as noted earlier in this paper, the growth of the railroad industry and the settlement and development of Kansas have taken place together, and it presents a different question from those regions that were fairly well settled when railroads were first thought of. Kansas had a few people and some industry before a railroad was considered. But one of the most serious obstacles in the way of settlement was this fact of separation from the East. Consequently, the early settlers were clamorous for a railroad long before the population and commerce would justify the investment. As we have seen, many efforts were made by local men to build a road, but without success.

The Union Pacific was the first railroad built entirely across the state and westward, regardless of population. This fact precludes the idea that it depended upon the people of Kansas for support. It was built to connect the East with the West, and was justified by its liberal land grants and by the prospects of through commerce. This was the beginning, and was sufficient to bring many settlers. As a rule, the settlements were made along the lines of railroad, and until settlement was extended in other directions there was but little inducement for other roads. The only instances where the roads left the settled districts and launched out into the sparsely settled or unsettled parts were where they had some goal in sight and did not depend upon local traffic for support.

Aside from the indirect inducement which railroads offered for settlement, there was the direct advantage of securing land cheaply. The railroad companies sold several large tracts to foreign immigrant societies and brought foreign colonies into the state, thereby greatly increasing the population along their lines.

After the passing of the land-grant policy, the railroads have, as a rule, been built largely, if not wholly, within those districts where the population was large enough to furnish local business sufficient to justify the investment. In the first instance, the railroads, aided by the government, contributed towards settling the state. Since the public aid has ceased it has been necessary for the population to increase to such an extent that a road would be a paying investment before it was built. The larger roads have gradually extended branches as population has increased, and the present network of roads is a result of increased trade and industries, which have demanded greater transportation facilities.

The distribution of the railroads in the state is an indication of the relation between population and railroad mileage. We find several times as many miles of railroads in the eastern half as in the western half of the state. And those roads in the western half are, with one or two exceptions, through lines. The cross branches are numerous in the eastern half

of the state, but in the western half there is only one road running from north to south,¹¹ and practically no connections whatever between the various through lines. The reason is obvious. In the eastern part of the state the population is so dense that local business justifies roads running in all directions, while in the sparsely settled West only direct lines, running from east to west and with some outside connection, can be supported by the business.

Railroad building is beginning again; few roads having been constructed within the last twenty years, the country has now developed to such a point that new roads are needed and demanded by the people. Were it not for the political agitation and the policy of reducing the profits of railroad operation, there would be no question about new roads being a paying proposition. But with the possibility and probability of having profits limited by legislation, together with other difficulties always connected with a new road, there is greater hesitancy in building than there ever has been. As soon as conditions become more settled we may look for many miles of new railroad, especially in the western part of the state, which has developed more in the past twenty years than in all the time preceding. Certainly if the roads then in operation paid at all, many new roads could be supported now and undoubtedly will soon be built.

While there has been but little railroad construction during the past twenty years, yet the period has been one of wonderful development and improvement in railroad operation. Improvement has been made in every department of railroading, and traveling has become not only rapid and convenient, but comfortable as well. And all along with all the improvements in railroad service there has been a gradual increase in wages and in the number of employees. When we consider the increased efficiency and cost of railroad service, and then remember that the freight and passenger rates have been steadily declining, we must concede that the railroad industry is exceedingly well organized and that its development has been marvelous. See pages 44, 45, 46.

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NOTE 11.—The connecting line between Winona, on the Union Pacific railroad, and Garden City, on the Santa Fe, has been in operation but a short time. The Garden City, Gulf & Northern was organized in 1908, and runs from Scott City to Garden City. It is operated by the Santa Fe. The Scott City Northern runs from Scott City to Winona via Russell Springs, and the first regular train went over its line August 1, 1911.

COUNTIES.	1860		1870		1875		1880		1885		1890		1895		1900	
	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.
Allen.....	3,082		7,023	12	6,538	27	11,463	33	14,733	57	13,509	83	13,111	83	19,923	83
Anderson.....	2,398		5,204	9	5,800	32	8,991	56	13,192	56	14,203	131	13,457	131	13,938	131
Atchison.....	7,729		15,472	40	20,191	66	26,438	66	27,636	83	26,768	91	26,995	91	28,606	91
Barber.....					367		2,661		7,868		7,973	45	5,145	45	6,430	45
Barren.....					2,106	30	10,326	30	10,136	36	13,172	94	12,888	94	13,179	94
Barton.....	6,101		15,102	28	16,879	57	20,518	63	24,168	85	28,575	106	25,848	124	25,078	124
Breckinridge.....	3,197															
Brown.....	2,607		6,823	11	8,728	30	12,830	30	15,954	63	20,319	97	19,414	97	21,498	97
Buffalo.....							191									
Butler.....	437		3,072		9,840		18,591	19	27,013	114	24,055	178	21,126	178	22,800	178
Chase.....	308		1,992		3,000	29	6,089	30	7,347	31	8,233	60	7,227	60	7,598	60
Chautauqua.....					7,634		11,078	68	14,989		12,277	95	10,208	95	11,458	94
Cherokee.....	1,501		11,047	27	13,393	27	22,075	68	25,003	64	27,770	91	30,651	105	42,154	105
Cheyenne.....							37		204		4,401	22	3,729	22	2,676	22
Clark.....							163				2,357	38	1,629	38	1,544	38
Clay.....	163		2,942		6,648	17	12,320	33	16,956	61	16,146	99	14,785	96	10,525	96
Cloud.....			2,323		7,195		15,348	66	20,174	84	19,295	125	17,055	125	17,779	123
Coffey.....	2,842		6,335		7,239	26	11,456	61	16,005	71	15,866	118	15,752	118	16,253	118
Comanche.....							372		2,579		2,549	28	1,720	28	1,633	28
Cowley.....			1,174		8,927		21,561	62	29,555	70	34,478	210	28,660	210	31,371	210
Crawford.....			8,005	23	9,383	32	16,642	68	25,378	108	30,286	146	33,846	180	40,259	180
Davis.....	1,163		5,600	29	4,765	44	6,996	44								
Decatur.....	378		3,037	23	6,911	23	15,261	23	20,360	23	22,273	153	20,926	153	25,253	153
Dickinson.....	8,093	6	13,971	29	13,923	62	14,264	60	13,400	60	13,535	91	13,995	91	15,155	91
Doniphan.....																
Dorn.....	8,637		20,582	29	18,365	71	21,773	73	25,092	73	23,951	74	23,587	74	25,336	74
Douglas.....					284	16	2,419	16	3,519	16	3,600	38	3,222	38	3,462	38
Edwards.....					5,300		10,665	48	14,243	48	12,216	64	10,820	64	10,384	64
Ellis.....			2,041	32	942	32	6,183	32	5,046	32	7,942	32	7,478	32	8,543	32
Ellsworth.....			1,350	35	1,761	35	8,529	35	10,009	36	9,292	92	8,873	92	9,540	89
Finney.....									1,487	53	3,350	26	3,553	26	3,214	26
Foot.....							411									
Franklin.....	3,030		10,406	38	10,089	38	3,123	38	7,778	51	5,308	99	4,940	87	5,849	87
Garfield.....							16,852	61	22,184	88	20,279	102	20,734	102	21,420	102
Geary.....											881					
Gove.....				31			1,197	37	8,672	44	10,423	44	9,395	44	10,799	45
Godfrey.....	19								595	37	2,994	37	2,126	37	2,563	37
Graham.....							4,262									
Grant.....							10		2,889		5,029	30	3,825	30	4,804	30
											1,308		532		899	

COUNTIES.	1860		1865		1870		1875		1880		1885		1890		1895		1900	
	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.
Gray.....																		
Greeley.....																	1,152	26
Greenwood.....								3									26	26
Hamilton.....	799		1,188		3,485		6,642		10,550	62	15,428	117	16,309	150	14,961	150	15,713	150
Harper.....								68	4,189	29	5,000	49	9,267	29	1,411	29	1,524	29
Harvey.....																	9,233	118
Haskell.....									11,478	44	16,787	53	17,601	92	16,230	85	17,559	85
Hodgeman.....																	695	437
Howard.....									1,708		1,799		2,395	21	1,792	21	2,019	21
Hunter.....	158		2,706															
Jackson.....	1,938		5,863		6,053		6,684		10,722	41	13,213	41	14,626	99	15,273	99	18,055	99
Jefferson.....	4,459		2,982		12,526		11,654	63	15,574	64	17,553	91	16,620	121	17,173	121	16,987	121
Jewell.....					205		7,652		17,524	21	18,998	29	19,849	77	17,498	77	18,973	78
Johnson.....	4,364		6,093		13,725		14,582	81	16,958	81	15,604	93	17,385	105	16,794	95	16,890	94
Kansas.....								9										
Kearny.....								26	159	26			1,571	26	1,159	26	1,027	26
Kingman.....									3,730		10,033	20	11,323	121	9,400	142	10,723	142
Kiowa.....													2,573	71	2,200	67	2,127	42
Labette.....					9,979		14,568	35	22,753	77	29,144	91	27,585	146	27,023	150	27,208	150
Lane.....									634				2,660	49	1,490	49	1,602	49
Leavenworth.....	12,606		24,256		32,472		27,738	82	32,345	82	42,799	100	38,485	163	34,621	166	36,041	173
Lincoln.....					516		2,492		8,586		8,269		9,709	98	9,065	98	9,425	98
Linn.....	6,336		6,543		12,198		11,546	26	15,326	26	17,157	31	17,915	90	16,278	90	16,023	90
Logan.....													3,584	40	2,071	40	1,850	40
Lyon.....			2,248		8,016		9,578	39	17,379	71	22,822	84	23,196	108	23,795	108	25,345	107
Marion.....	74		162		767		5,904	21	12,471	61	17,896	61	20,539	129	20,874	129	20,895	129
Marshall.....	2,280		2,349		7,228		10,818	67	16,147	81	21,532	58	23,912	118	24,567	118	24,005	118
McPherson.....					917		6,202		17,145	35	20,243	49	21,514	122	20,317	122	21,240	122
Meade.....									296				2,542	33	1,741	33	1,521	33
Miami.....	4,980		6,151		11,729		12,680	46	17,806	67	17,867	69	19,614	97	19,739	97	20,886	97
Mitchell.....					498		5,182		14,917	46	14,356	46	16,037	46	13,327	46	14,220	46
Montgomery.....					7,613		12,177	33	18,127	61	25,855	64	23,104	155	23,948	155	28,917	155
Morris.....	770		1,141		2,218		4,595	33	9,228	33	10,913	47	11,384	107	10,944	107	11,640	107
Morton.....													724		388		254	
Nemaha.....			2,638		7,296		7,103	55	12,468	55	18,047	55	19,249	95	19,900	95	20,362	95
Neosho.....	2,435		777		1,223		9,763	68	15,136	68	18,896	92	18,551	123	18,578	123	20,115	123
Ness.....					125				3,320		3,096		4,944	75	3,785	75	4,361	75
Norton.....							901		7,004		6,508	22	10,617	89	8,671	89	10,727	89
Osage.....	1,113		1,169		7,631		10,281	42	19,654	42	26,183	71	25,062	148	24,818	148	23,722	139
Osborne.....							3,466		12,472	36	12,728	36	12,683	50	10,877	50	11,719	50
Ottawa.....					2,130		4,430		10,325	32	12,740	32	12,581	79	10,424	79	10,861	79
Pawnee.....			175		179		1,006	25	5,349	25	5,416	26	5,204	63	4,797	63	4,761	63

COUNTIES.	1860		1865		1870		1875		1880		1885		1890		1895		1900	
	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.	Popu- lation.	R. R. miles.
Phillips.....	1,529						2,817		12,042	5	10,583	32	13,661	78	11,702	78	13,621	78
Pottawatomie.....			7,888	29			10,342	29	16,347	68	18,159	74	17,722	74	16,353	73	17,568	81
Pratt.....									1,890		5,964		8,118	109	6,583	109	6,753	94
Rawlins.....									1,626		2,043		6,756	38	5,702	38	5,077	38
Reyno.....			1,290				5,114	26	12,776	26	20,294	26	27,079	191	26,492	190	27,392	190
Republic.....							8,050	10	14,945	10	17,540	71	19,002	140	16,876	140	18,376	140
Rice.....							2,455	22	9,297	22	11,939	53	14,461	152	13,867	152	14,195	151
Riley.....	1,224		5,104	14			7,066	14	10,428	14	12,142	58	13,183	109	12,394	109	12,907	100
Rock.....			45				567		8,062		7,796		8,018	49	7,440	49	7,641	49
Rooks.....			75				451		5,498		3,973		5,204	62	4,953	62	6,006	62
Russell.....			4,206	32			1,054	33	7,357	33	6,665	33	7,333	60	7,470	60	7,827	60
Saine.....							6,369	82	13,861	44	15,381	54	17,442	148	17,475	148	17,503	148
Scott.....							8,162	25	18,928	82	36,522	102	43,626	217	39,108	217	42,717	217
Sedgwick.....			1,096						568	25	713		1,503	30	826	30	804	30
Seward.....	3,513		13,035	49			15,389	63	29,120	63	40,579	63	49,172	107	47,978	106	55,372	103
Shawnee.....									1,574		2,202		3,733	44	2,673	44	3,593	44
Sheridan.....									9		62		5,261	85	3,883	85	3,307	85
Sherman.....			66				3,915		13,904	21	14,345	21	15,613	53	13,019	53	15,982	53
Smith.....									4,768		5,959		8,520	67	8,339	67	9,101	67
Stafford.....									5				1,031		613		289	
Stanton.....									12				1,418		684		531	
Stevens.....							4,925		20,944	24	32,289	124	30,271	250	24,138	247	24,812	245
Sumner.....									161		381		5,538	77	3,512	76	3,945	76
Thomas.....									2,535	31	1,886	33	2,835	33	2,166	33	2,556	33
Trego.....			3,373	31			4,694	79	8,761	33	10,970	40	11,720	88	11,812	88	12,229	76
Wabancee.....	1,023								686	33	1,973	33	2,468	33	1,592	32	1,195	32
Wallace.....	383		3,970	79			8,648	15	15,145	62	20,753	99	22,894	106	21,602	106	20,845	106
Washington.....									12,704	26	15,491	26	1,827	119	1,438	48	1,215	24
Wichita.....	27		6,494				9,752						15,286	119	14,393	119	15,216	119
Wilson.....	1,488		3,927	13			4,472	13	6,539	13	8,913	39	9,021	86	6,515	85	9,857	85
Woodson.....	2,609		10,066	42			12,385	50	19,152	50	28,069	50	54,407	83	57,362	83	67,748	96
Wyandotte.....																		

NOTE.—The names of many of the counties of Kansas have been changed since 1860, in some instances dropped off of the map, as Arapahoe county, which now lies within the state of Colorado. Such counties are printed in italics.

THE HISTORY OF RAILROAD BUILDING INTO AND OUT OF KANSAS CITY.¹

THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA & SANTA FE RAILWAY COMPANY.

Chartered December 12, 1895, as the successor to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company, whose property was sold under foreclosure December 10, 1895, and possession taken January 1, 1896.

On February 11, 1859, the Atchison & Topeka Railroad Company was granted a charter, and on March 3, 1863, the name was changed to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company.

The building of the line was started from Topeka,² beginning in October, 1868, and was completed to the Colorado border by 1873. The line between Atchison and Topeka was not begun until 1871, and was finished in May, 1872.

The road from Topeka to Lawrence was built in 1874 by the Kansas Midland Railroad Company, successors to the Lawrence & Topeka Railroad Company, which had commenced work on the prospective line in 1871. The line from Kansas City to DeSoto was likewise built by the Kansas Midland in the summer of 1874. The connecting road between Lawrence and DeSoto was the St. Louis, Lawrence & Denver, which company had filed articles of incorporation July 22, 1867, with the purpose of building a road from Pleasant Hill, Mo., to Lawrence, and thence west to Denver. This road from Lawrence to Pleasant Hill was purchased, and that portion between Lawrence and DeSoto consolidated with the Kansas Midland under the name of the Kansas City, Topeka & Western Railroad, and leased by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company October 1, 1875, thus giving a direct line from Topeka to Kansas City.

The Kansas City, Lawrence & Southern Railroad Company was granted a charter on February 12, 1858, under the name of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Fort Gibson Railroad Company. On February 24, 1866, the name was changed to Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston. In 1867 the line was built from Lawrence to Ottawa, and in 1870 the road was extended from Ottawa south to Thayer, and in 1871 to Coffeyville. In 1870 a line was constructed from Ottawa to Olathe by the Kansas City & Santa Fe Railroad, which company, upon the completion of this line, made a lease in perpetuity to the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston. From Olathe to Kansas City the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston used into Kansas City the track of the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf (now Frisco). On August 9, 1878,

NOTE 1.—This information was used in the hearing before an Interstate Commerce Commission examiner, at Topeka, January 19-22, 1912, and formed part of the evidence in behalf of the complainant in the case of the State of Kansas and the Public Utilities Commission *v.* the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and other railroads. It was gathered by Clay Hamilton, one of the attorneys in the case. The suit was against all the railroads operating in the state, and their connecting companies as far east as the Mississippi river, and was brought to enforce a general reduction of freight rates.

NOTE 2.—"Road commenced at Topeka in October, 1868. Opened to Carbondale, 18 miles from Topeka, July, 1869; to Burlingame, 27 miles, September, 1869; to Osage City, 35 miles, May, 1870; to Reading, 45 miles, June, 1870; to Emporia, 62 miles, July, 1870; to Cottonwood, 82 miles, March, 1871; to Florence, 107 miles, May, 1871; to Peabody, 119 miles, June, 1871; to Newton, 136 miles, July, 1871; to Sedgwick, 147 miles, April, 1872; to Wichita, 163 miles, May, 1872; Atchison to Topeka, 49 miles, May, 1872; Newton to Hutchinson, 217 miles from Atchison, June, 1872; to Great Bend, 269 miles, July, 1872; to Larned, 291 miles, August, 1872; to Dodge City, 351 miles, September, 1872; to the western state line, 470 miles, December 23, 1872. Time of building, four years and three months."—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1888, p. 244.

the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston was sold under foreclosure and the name changed to Lawrence & Galveston. On March 29, 1879, the Lawrence & Galveston, the Kansas City & Santa Fe, and the Southern Kansas railroad companies were consolidated, and assumed the name of the Kansas City, Lawrence & Southern Railroad Company. This line was purchased in 1880 by the Kansas City, Topeka & Western Railroad Company. In 1881 the Santa Fe completed a line between Olathe and Chouteau, a station near Holliday, to connect with the main line out of Kansas City. The line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company from Kansas City to Chicago was completed April 29, 1888, by the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company.

THE CHICAGO & ALTON.

The Chicago & Alton built a bridge over the Mississippi at Louisiana, Mo., in 1870, and completed its railroad to Mexico, Mo., in the same year. From Mexico, Mo., it used the road of the North Missouri (now Wabash) from the year 1870 to May, 1879. In May, 1879, it completed its own road into Kansas City.

CHICAGO, BURLINGTON & QUINCY (BURLINGTON).

The Platte County Railroad was completed to Harlem in the spring of 1869. When the new bridge over the Missouri was finished, in July of that year, this road came on into Kansas City. In May, 1870, it was consolidated with the Council Bluffs & St. Joseph Railroad, under the name of the Kansas City, St. Joe & Council Bluffs, and in 1880 was sold to the Burlington.

In 1860 the Kansas City & Cameron Railroad Company contracted to build a road from Kansas City to connect with the Hannibal & St. Joe at Cameron, Mo. Work was started in 1861, but the war put a stop to it. After the war the work was again taken up, and the road was completed to the north bank of the Missouri, opposite Kansas City, in November, 1867, and passengers and freight were transferred by ferry. When the Missouri river bridge was completed, in July, 1869, it was used by this road to make an entry into Kansas City. In February, 1870, this road was taken over by the Hannibal & St. Joe, and in 1882 the Hannibal & St. Joe was purchased by the Burlington.

CHICAGO GREAT WESTERN.

This road enters Kansas City over the tracks of the Kansas City Northwestern and Missouri Pacific holding. Poor's Railroad Manual for 1890, page 521, states that this road has a 999-year contract with the Kansas City Northwestern, dating from December 12, 1888. The best information I can find is to the effect that the road entered Kansas City in 1891.

CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE & ST. PAUL.

This line entered Kansas City in 1887 over its own road, completing a bridge over the Missouri river east of the city and entering its own depot at Twenty-third street and Grand avenue.

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND & PACIFIC.

This road first entered Kansas City in 1871, over the tracks of the Kansas City, St. Joe and Council Bluffs (now Burlington) from Beverly. In 1880 it began using the tracks of the Hannibal & St. Joe (now Burlington) from Cameron. In March, 1887, arrangements were made with the Union Pacific to use the tracks of that road between Kansas City and Topeka, in

order to connect with the Rock Island western line out of Topeka. July 10, 1904, the St. Louis, Kansas City & Colorado line was completed between Kansas City and St. Louis. The Rock Island owns this road.

KANSAS CITY BELT RAILWAY COMPANY.

This was commenced in 1882 and finished in 1886. About 1906 it merged into the Kansas City Terminal Railway Company, and still operates under that name.

KANSAS CITY, MEXICO & ORIENT.

This road—the company organized April 30, 1900—has no tracks into Kansas City, nor does it have any trackage arrangement by which it may use the lines of any other road. A Kansas City charter was granted it in 1900, but the line has not yet been completed. Its road was completed into Wichita in November, 1904, and it has through freight rates into Kansas City with the Rock Island, Santa Fe, Missouri Pacific and Frisco.

KANSAS CITY NORTHWESTERN.

This road was chartered December 29, 1893, to take over the property of the Kansas City, Wyandotte & Northwestern, which it bought under foreclosure on January 5, 1894. The receiver operated the road until July 1, 1894, when it was turned over to the new company, and is now owned and controlled in the interest of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company, having been purchased by that company January 18, 1910. The Kansas City, Wyandotte & Northwestern was chartered November 23, 1885. The line was completed to Leavenworth in May, 1887, and to Seneca in January, 1888. The extensions to the terminals in Kansas City were completed on February 18, 1888, and the road was opened on the same day for through business. On March 28, 1887, it was consolidated with the Leavenworth & Olathe Railroad. The consolidated railroads went into the hands of a receiver on March 24, 1890, and were later sold to the Kansas City Northwestern.

KANSAS CITY SOUTHERN.

This road was organized as the Kansas City, Nevada & Fort Smith Railroad Company, November 6, 1889, and its name was changed to Kansas City, Pittsburg & Gulf January 26, 1893. It was sold under foreclosure March 19, 1900, when the Kansas City Southern Railway Company, organized the same day, took over its properties, assuming possession of the road on April 1, 1900.

THE LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS & WESTERN.

This road is a Union Pacific holding. It comes into Kansas City over the tracks of the Missouri Pacific, under an arrangement made in October, 1896.

MISSOURI, KANSAS & TEXAS.

The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Company was incorporated under the laws of Kansas as the Union Pacific Railway Company, Southern Branch, September 25, 1865. In 1870 this road was consolidated with the Tabo & Neosho, the Labette & Sedalia and the Neosho Valley & Holden railroads, and the name changed to Missouri, Kansas & Texas.

The company has no line of its own into Kansas City. The best information to be had seems to indicate that it has entered Kansas City under a trackage arrangement with the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Mem-

phis, made on July 8, 1889, to handle its trains, and in April, 1894, it arranged with this same company to handle its own traffic over the same road. However, Miller's "History of Kansas City" says that the Missouri, Kansas & Texas came into Kansas City over the Fort Scott road in August, 1874 [page 156].

MISSOURI PACIFIC.

This road was started as the Pacific Railroad of Missouri. The ground was broken in July, 1860, but the war put a stop to the work, and the line was only completed to Little Blue station in July, 1864. The first passenger train from St. Louis came into Kansas City in September, 1865, and in November of that year the track was extended to the present Grand Avenue depot. The same year a road was begun between Kansas City and Leavenworth as the Missouri River Railroad Company. The line was completed in July, 1866, and was opened from Leavenworth to Atchison in September, 1869. This road was an auxiliary company of the Missouri Pacific and was at once taken over by that road.

The Central Branch of the Missouri Pacific was organized February 11, 1859, as the Atchison & Pike's Peak Railroad. June 13, 1860, work was commenced at Atchison, and by January 20, 1868, the road was completed to Waterville. On November 20, 1866, the name of the company was changed to Central Branch, Union Pacific Railroad Company. It was eventually leased to the Missouri Pacific, and incorporated with that company by articles of consolidation July 8, 1899, and has been extended as far west as Lenora, Norton county.

Several of the early histories of Kansas City refer to a "Kansas City, Wyandotte & Northwestern Railroad" as organized in 1872. They state that it was the intention of this road to build a line northwest along the Missouri river valley to the Nebraska line. However, failing to secure the requisite aid along the proposed line in Kansas, the company concluded to divert the course of the road and build it down the Missouri valley. It was therefore reorganized under the name of the Kansas City & Eastern, and began work in December, 1873, on a line between Kansas City and Independence, Mo. This was completed in 1874, and in 1875 the balance of the line to Lexington was put under contract and completed in the spring of 1876. The road so built is a narrow gauge, and is represented to be of great importance because it reaches the valuable coal mines at Lexington. In November, 1879, Gould bought the Kansas City & Eastern, and in December it was leased to the Missouri Pacific and became a division of that road. The road here described should not be confused with the Kansas City Northwestern, which was begun in 1885 under the name of the Kansas City, Wyandotte & Northwestern, and was later actually built toward the northwest, and now also belongs to the Missouri Pacific.

In 1879 the Missouri Pacific extended its line between Holden, Mo., and Paola, Kan., to Ottawa, Kan., and built the old "Fall River Railroad" from Paola to Le Roy, which was opened in December, 1880.

Between the years 1886 and 1888 the Missouri Pacific built its line from Kansas City to Paola, under the name of the Kansas City & Southern, in order to connect with its lines to the south and east out of Paola.

QUINCY, OMAHA & KANSAS CITY.

This company was made up of smaller roads, which were bound together into Arthur E. Stillwell's "North-of-Kansas City System" to give an entrance by a road he built in 1897, known as the Kansas City & Northern Connecting Line. This latter road was organized in 1887 as the Chicago, Kansas City & Texas Railroad, and began operating in July, 1889. It was reorganized in June, 1893, as the Kansas City & Atlantic Railroad, and operated between North Kansas City and Smithville, Mo.

The Quincy, Omaha & Kansas City is now owned by the Burlington, but is operated under a separate management.

ST. JOE & GRAND ISLAND.

This road entered Kansas City in August, 1898, over the tracks of the Kansas City & Northern Connecting Line. The company is a reorganized one, and dates back to the Marysville or Palmetto & Roseport Railroad Company, incorporated February 17, 1857. Through various vicissitudes, with changes of name, it came down to 1885, when it was reorganized and named the St. Joseph & Grand Island Railroad Company; February 23, 1897, the name was again changed and the present style adopted—the St. Joseph & Grand Island Railway Company.

ST. LOUIS & SAN FRANCISCO.

On March 8, 1865, a charter was granted to the Kansas & Neosho Valley Railroad. This road became, August 10, 1868, the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf, and later, March 15, 1879, the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf. It was organized to construct a line from the mouth of the Kaw to Galveston. Work was begun at the Kansas City end in 1866. The line was open to Olathe in December, 1868, to Fort Scott December, 1869, and to Baxter Springs May 2, 1870. The branch of the Katy coming down from Junction City succeeded in touching the Indian Territory line before this road did, and, since the government would grant but one railroad charter in the territory, the course of the Gulf road was changed to the southeast and a line constructed from Fort Scott, which was known as the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis. This road was purchased by the St. Louis & San Francisco in 1898.

In 1887 the Kansas City, Ocala & Springfield, known as the "Blair" road, was built from Kansas City to Ocala by John I. Blair. In 1896 he arranged with the Frisco for a sale, but the road was not used by the Frisco until 1898. By the purchase of this road in 1898 the St. Louis & San Francisco secured its first entrance into Kansas City.

UNION PACIFIC.

Work was begun on this road west from Kansas City September 7, 1863. It was organized as the Eastern Division of the Union Pacific. It afterward became the Kansas Pacific, and later the Union Pacific. On November 26, 1864, the last rail was laid into Lawrence, and on November 28 the first excursion train ran into that city from Kansas City. The line was extended to Topeka, and by January 1, 1866, regular passenger trains were running from Kansas City to that point. Train service was established between Kansas City and Denver August 15, 1870.³ The branch between Lawrence and Leavenworth was completed in May, 1866.

NOTE 3.—Wilder's Annals says the Kansas Pacific reached Denver September 1, 1870.

WABASH.

This road began construction under the name of the Missouri Valley Railroad, and was later taken over by the North Missouri Railroad. It completed its line to Harlem, opposite Kansas City, in 1868, and came into Kansas City over the new bridge in 1869. In 1872 the name was changed to the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern, and a few years later it became the Wabash.

In 1869 the following roads were occupying the first union station in Kansas City, the present union depot having been built in 1877: Hannibal & St. Joe, now Burlington; North Missouri, now Wabash; St. Joe & Council Bluffs, now Burlington; Kansas Pacific, now Union Pacific; Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf, now Frisco; Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston, now Santa Fe.

The information relative to the preceding railroads was gathered from the following authorities:

"History of Kansas City," by Mrs. Carrie Westlake Whitney, vol. 1.

"History of Kansas City," by Theo. S. Case.

"The Railway Systems of Kansas City; Their Inception and Development," by W. P. Trickett, Commissioner of Kansas City Transportation Bureau.

"Greater Kansas City." Official Year Book for 1904-'05.

"History of Kansas City," by W. H. Miller.

"Commerce of Kansas City in 1886" (E. H. Phelps & Co.)

"Kansas City in Three Decades," by William Griffith.

Kansas City *Journal* files; story by E. H. Gates, December 16, 1906.

Poor's Manual of Railroads.

Annual Reports of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company.

Reports of the Kansas Board of Railroad Commissioners.

Cutler's "History of Kansas," 1883.

"Thirty Years in Topeka," by F. W. Giles, 1886.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MILLING INDUSTRY
IN KANSAS.

An address by LESLIE A. FITZ,¹ of the Department of Milling Industry, State Agricultural College, before the Kansas State Historical Society; at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, December 6, 1910.

IT IS impossible to trace with any degree of accuracy the steps that mark the development of this great industry. Many a little mill built in the early territorial days to meet a clearly defined need served well its purpose until finally crowded out by the changed conditions, when it was dismantled and its early history forgotten. Here and there, however, we find an early settler or a pioneer miller who can vividly picture for us the contrast between flour milling in the late fifties or early sixties and flour milling in the present day.

Historians have attempted to connect a set of buhrs found near Troy, Doniphan county, with the time of Coronado and his explorations of the Missouri river territory in 1541, but there is no evidence to show that these were ever used in a Kansas mill.² Possibly they may have been abandoned by early settlers who came up the Missouri river.

One of the first needs of the early settlers was a mill³ of some sort upon which to grind the grain produced into suitable form for home consumption. Consequently the first mills were established as a necessity to society rather than as a manufacturing enterprise for profit. These early mills were usually built in connection with sawmills, and located on small streams which could furnish the necessary water power. They were usually equipped with one or two run of stone buhrs and a hexagon reel. The earliest of these custom or gristmills ground more corn than wheat. In some cases a toll of from one-eighth to one-twelfth of the grain was taken; in others the settler's "grist" was ground and a fee of from twenty-five cents to thirty-five cents per bushel charged.

The "exchange" mill, or the custom of exchanging wheat for flour, was of later origin. In this case the farmer received a given amount of patent

NOTE 1.—LESLIE ARTHUR FITZ was born on a farm near Vinland, Douglas county, Kansas, October 2, 1875. His father, George Thompson Fitz, was born in Cambridge, Mass., came to Kansas in 1859, and during the Civil War served three and a half years in the Second and Ninth Kansas regiments. His mother, Laura E. Du Mars, was born in Erie county, Pennsylvania, and came to Kansas in 1857. Leslie attended school in the Stony Point, No. 3, district, Douglas county, and graduated in 1902 from the Kansas State Agricultural College with the degree of B. S. May 1, 1902, he entered the service of the United States Department of Agriculture, prior to which time he had farmed and taught school in Douglas county, having worked his way through college. During his government service he was located in Kansas, California, Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Chicago, Duluth, Minneapolis and North Dakota, his specialty being field work with small grains, testing, selecting and hybridizing introduced and native varieties, grain standardization, and the commercial handling and grading of grain. He became a professor at the Agricultural College March 1, 1910. October 6, 1904, he married Nellie C. Hemmart, of Halstead, Kan.

NOTE 2.—An account of the finding of these buhrs was published in the *Kansas City Journal*, October 29, 1908. The first mill in Doniphan county was provided for in the treaty of 1836 with the Iowa Indians. It was built about 1838, at a cost of \$2800, and was situated on Mill creek, which derived its name from the mill, a small stream that puts into Cedar creek above Iowa Point. The mill was burned by the Indians and the buhrs used as stepping stones in Mill creek. The Iowa Point mill was built in 1857.

NOTE 3.—For accounts of some early Kansas mills, see "History of Manufactures in the Kansas District," by R. L. Douglas, in *Historical Collections*, vol. 11, p. 81.

flour, usually thirty-two to thirty-five pounds, for each bushel of wheat, and the miller retained the lower grades and by-products. The "merchant" mill, where the grain is bought and the flour and by-products sold outright, belongs to the present-day methods.

The earliest grist and sawmill of which we have any record was built in Wyandotte by Matthias Splitlog, an Indian, in 1852. This mill was run by water power, and was indeed a very primitive affair. Later, in 1858, John McAlpine and James Washington erected the first steam flour and sawmill in Wyandotte county.

In Leavenworth county the first gristmill was built in January, 1855, in what was then known as "Siab Town" (East Leavenworth). The firm of Pantan & Yohe erected a combined grist and sawmill, where they offered to grind corn "at the most reasonable terms."

It may be of interest to note in passing that the original company, which developed in 1869 into what is now the well-known Great Western Manufacturing Company, was organized in Leavenworth in 1858.⁴

The following item⁵ serves to show something of the primitive methods to which the early settlers of Osage county were compelled to resort, in 1856, in order to obtain flour or meal for subsistence:

"As soon as corn had become hard enough to be grated, holes were punched in the bottoms of tin pans and the corn was grated from the cob. Previous to that time Absalom W. Hoover had made a hand mill of lime-stones. After the corn became ripe and hard this mill was kept running constantly, settlers coming many miles to grind their corn here."

Even nearly ten years later, although conditions had improved wonderfully, they were still far from satisfactory, as an incident related by Mr. C. Hoffman,⁶ one of our pioneer millers in western Kansas, will show. In 1865 Mr. Hoffman went to Council Grove with a load of wheat to have it ground into flour. On arriving at Council Grove he found the mill was closed, and he was forced to drive to Burlingame, making a total distance of about 200 miles, to secure flour for family use.

It is quite difficult to find out much about some of the early mills that were established for a time and then abandoned or dismantled. We are indebted to the *Milling and Grain News*, of Kansas City,⁷ for the following item regarding one of the first of these:

"Recent investigations made by the *Milling and Grain News* show that the first bolted flour made in Kansas was manufactured in 1857, at Blue Mound, Douglas county, seven miles southeast of Lawrence, by John W. Willey, jr., who is now a resident of Kansas City, and in talking to a representative of *Milling and Grain News* he detailed with vivid remembrance the early days when his father, mother and himself emigrated from Indiana to Kansas and started the first milling business, which has now developed

NOTE 4.—"The great Western Manufacturing Company was established in 1858, as Maison, Willson & Co., the firm consisting of A. F. Maison, E. P. Willson and P. Estes. In 1860 Mr. Maison retired, Willson and Estes continuing the business. In 1865 D. F. Fairchild purchased a third interest, and the style of the firm name became Willson, Estes & Fairchild until 1869, when John Willson became a partner, and the present style of 'Great Western Manufacturing Company' was adopted." The output of the company consists of flour-mill machinery, stationary and portable engines, sawmills, pumps, mining machinery, ironwork, water wheels, and general mill furnishings.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 434.

NOTE 5.—Ibid., p. 1531.

NOTE 6.—For brief sketch of Mr. Hoffman, see Historical Collections, vol. 11, p. 151.

NOTE 7.—Issue of January 7, 1909.

into the state's greatest industry. Mr. Willey remembers the old windmill⁸ which stood near Lawrence and was operated for some time by Wilder & Palm, but this mill, which it has been claimed was the oldest in the state, was not built until 1859, and burned down in 1870 and was not rebuilt.

"As far as known, the first bolted flour made in Kansas was that manufactured in a mill at Blue Mound seven miles southeast of Lawrence, fifty-two years ago next autumn. John W. Willey, sr., and his son, John W. Willey, jr., built the mill. It was a combination institution, being used for a sawmill, in which materials for the houses and other buildings of the early settlers were made, as well as for a gristmill, where bolted flour was made. Shingles also were rived out here.

"The elder Willey and his son left Retreat, Ind., a little town on the Jeffersonville & Indianapolis railroad, about March 1, 1857, for Kansas. Twenty days later they landed in Wyandotte, and, proceeding at once to Blue Mound, seven miles southeast of Lawrence, bought a claim and picked out a site for a mill on the Wakarusa creek. The location was on the farm owned by Robert Irwin. The father returned to Indiana, and, securing the machinery for the mill, shipped it as far as possible by rail and then loaded it on a boat for Kansas City, where it landed sometime in August. They hauled the equipment for the pioneer flouring mill overland from Kansas City to Blue Mound, hewed out timbers for a frame, erected a mill, which was a combination sawmill and gristmill, sawed the lumber to board up the framework, and began the manufacture of those two great essentials to the pioneer settler—flour and building material.

"Before this institution, however, there were mills grinding whole wheat flour or Graham flour. One of these was at Leavenworth,⁹ where a pair of French buhrs were used in grinding wheat and corn. The corn then was ground at the rate of twenty to thirty bushels an hour, and each customer had to place his grist at the hopper and take his meal sacks to the spot where they were filled. People in those days would come to mill a distance of fifty and seventy-five miles, and would camp, awaiting their turns, some times a week or ten days, owing to a rush of business at the mill.

"Mills in those days were run with two shifts of hands, one night and the other day. After the Willey mill had run for several years, furnishing the settlers with flour and lumber, a shingle machine was attached to the institution."

The following item from the *Everest Enterprise* tells of the first shipment of flour from Kansas territory. Nothing is said about the quality or grade, but it was probably a Graham flour:

"The old town of Palermo, in Doniphan county, had the distinction of having made the first shipment of flour out of Kansas territory. The shipment was made in September, 1858, on the steamer 'Minnehaha,' and consisted of one hundred sacks. It was manufactured at the mill of Ma-

NOTE 8.—"In 1863 Messrs. Wilder and Palm established what is now known as the Lawrence Agricultural Works. The motive power is a genuine Holland windmill, erected in the same year by mechanics brought over from Sweden by Mr. Palm (himself a native of Sweden). . . . The mill is an octagon-shaped building, four stories high, with stone basement and a frame superstructure, the windmill proper having an eighty-foot sweep. At an outlay of \$9700 the mill was completed and put in operation as a gristmill, with two run of buhrs, or a capacity of twenty bushels per hour. . . . Additional buildings were erected for the manufacture of agricultural implements."—Cutler's History of Kansas, p. 330.

The first plow made in Kansas is said to have been cast here. This mill burned April 29, 1905.

NOTE 9.—"The first flour mill erected in the town [Leavenworth] was built in 1857 by Earle & Buning, on the northwest corner of Main and Short streets. . . . This was before the days of the roller mills. There were three or four sets of buhrs in the mill, with all necessary machinery and bolts for making first-class flour, which they did. Prior to that time all the flour used in the town and vicinity was brought here from Weston and Platte City, Mo., or shipped here from St. Louis by steamboat. Owing to the scarcity of wheat raised in this vicinity at that time and the large capital required to compete successfully with the mills in Missouri, . . . the mill failed to prove a paying investment."—Early History of Leavenworth, H. Miles Moore, 1906, p. 193.

han & Kimber,¹⁰ at Palermo, from wheat raised in Kansas territory. It was consigned to Mahan & Kimber's agent, Culver Hiatt, at St. Joe. Regular consignments were made by this firm to Hiatt thereafter."

The story of another early mill, which did a thriving business and supplied the needs of many pioneers, is related in a very entertaining manner by Mr. A. B. Whiting, of Topeka. In substance, the facts related are as follows:

"In the years 1855-'56 the New England Emigrant Aid Company, of Boston, sent several steam mills to Kansas for the benefit of the free-state settlers. They located them at points promising to be business centers, Atchison, Topeka, Lawrence and Manhattan each getting one. By far the largest and best was sent to Quindaro and unloaded from the steamboat at the landing there. During the border war a party of ruffians rolled the two big boilers into the Missouri river and threw in such machinery as a drunken gang could handle. However, the Yankee shippers had carefully plugged the inlets of the boilers, so they failed to fill and sink, and all the machinery was recovered later.

"In the spring of 1858 the Bachelder Town Company (now Milford, in Geary county), including such prominent Riley county men as S. D. Houston, B. E. Fullington and Abraham Barry, made a deal with the New England Aid Company, giving them a share of the town site for the milling machinery at Quindaro. Some pieces of this were so heavy that it was impossible to haul it by wagon over the roads and through the fords as they existed at that time. Fortunately, the Kaw river was then a navigable stream, and a boat was secured to bring the machinery to Manhattan and unload it on a sand bar up the Blue river some eighty rods from its mouth. From there it was hauled across the country on wagons to its destination on the Republican river. Here it was finally sold to three men on long-time payments, and they set it up equipped as a sawmill at a cost of some \$6000. For three years it did a splendid business, and Junction City in its early days was built mostly of lumber from this mill.

"Finally the mill company failed, leaving the Town Company a mortgage on the property, and a dozen judgments to be killed or satisfied. Time and the courts did this. In 1863 the writer bought the plant at a small figure, under contract to build and operate a flouring mill at the place. The Union Pacific Railroad had located its main line up the Republican and across the mill site, and the outlook seemed promising, for the railroad had filed its claims for land withdrawals for a hundred miles up the river. However, after the plans and contracts for buildings and machinery were too far along to be changed, the railroad company changed their route, went up the Smoky Hill instead, and left the mill to its fate.

"In the fall of 1866, the mill, with a daily capacity to grind 300 bushels of wheat, and more corn, was in operation, and for the next nine years never made but one shut-down of over two weeks. It ran night and day a great deal of the time. Compared with our mills of to-day it was but a small affair, but under frontier conditions then existing no other mill in Kansas ran so continuously or drew patronage from so large a territory as this mill at Milford in the later sixties.

"In addition to the grain ground, the sawmill, which was run by the same engine, cut from two to three million feet of lumber in the course of ten years.

"The business was discontinued in 1880, and about that time came the change from stone buhrs to steel rolls, and the mill was dismantled, the buhrs going to Kansas City and the boilers to Junction City."

Here and there we find a pioneer mill that changed systems as improvements were made, but still retained the same management, as the property was handed down from father to son until the present day. Probably the

NOTE 10.—Mahan & Kimber built the first flour mill in Kansas territory, in 1855-'56, at Palermo.—Historical Collections, vol. 11, p. xviii.

oldest and best known is the Emporia Water Mills, more familiarly spoken of as Soden's mill. Cutler's history¹¹ tells us that the first flour manufactured in Lyon county was made in August, 1858, by W. T. Soden. His mill was located in what is now Pike township, then Cottonwood township. In the spring of 1860 he sold this mill and came to Emporia, where he built the Emporia Water Mill. This had one run of buhrs and a capacity of 200 bushels daily. Every year since that time this mill has made and marketed flour.

The original building in which the first flour was ground stands to-day, though very little of it is visible from the outside, it being almost completely surrounded by the several additions which have been built as the business grew. This pioneer building is of typical frontier-settler construction. The main timbers show the marks of the hand ax, having been hewn out by hand from trees cut in the immediate vicinity of the mill. Much of the lumber, including the weatherboarding, is of walnut, showing how plentiful this class of material was in the early days. Flour has been ground in this mill on almost every system from the old stone buhrs to the present-day roller system.

Soden's mill became one of the landmarks in the country about Emporia, the pioneers coming for miles in all directions with their grists to mill, and many of the early settlers of this section and the western country made Soden's mill their camping ground on their way to their future homes.

In 1899 W. T. Soden retired from active management, and was succeeded by his son, J. R. Soden, who still manages and operates the plant, which makes the "Five Roses" flour.

Another pioneer mill, which is probably the oldest mill in the state still operated by the man who built it, was located at Marysville, in 1864, by Perry Hutchinson. He built a rather elaborate tunnel, or water way, to carry the water from the Blue river over to his mill site. On the first floor was a sawmill, while on the second floor were two run of stone, upon which custom work was done. The capacity was 300 bushels every twenty-four hours. The original mill was on the east side of the river, but in 1867 it was rebuilt on the west side. In 1868 five run of stone were put in and the capacity increased to 125 barrels per day. In 1881-'82 a full roller mill was installed, which resulted in a capacity of 250 barrels every twenty-four hours. This was at least one of the very first full roller mills west of the Missouri river. It burned down in 1905 and was rebuilt in 1906, equipped with eight double stand of 9x30-inch rolls, with 300 barrels daily capacity, and Mr. Hutchinson still sells "The Best" flour.

Another one of the well-known mills of the state was built by Mr. C. Hoffman, at Enterprise, in 1868. A dam was built across the Smoky Hill river and a mill grinding 300 bushels per day immediately erected. This mill was farthest west of any in the state at that time. Later, as the character of the wheat began to change and improvements were made in mill machinery, the old stone buhrs were replaced by rolls. These rolls were much different in form from the present styles. In many cases some of the stones were removed and the grinding was done partly on rolls and partly on stones.

In 1881 a new mill was built by Mr. Hoffman, and two rolls were used,

NOTE 11.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 851.

one on bran and one on germ middlings. In 1883 the four stone buhrs used in breaking the wheat were displaced by rolls. The arrangement of the machinery was very different from that now found in a modern mill. Instead of having all the rolls on one floor, the sifters on another and the purifiers on still another, the rolls in this mill were arranged on floors one above the other, and under each set of rolls was a shaker screen which separated the middlings from the rest of the stock. The use of the rolls resulted in an increased production of high-grade flour from a bushel of wheat, and this soon forced all the Kansas mills to install rolls.

The first flour shipped outside of the state by Mr. Hoffman went to Sherman, Tex., in 1873, three cars being shipped to a broker at that point. Prior to that time the mill had been run on "grist" or "toll" trade, the average toll being one-sixth of the wheat brought in, or twenty-five cents per bushel, for grinding, and the farmer usually received about thirty-two pounds of flour per bushel of wheat.

Flour costs were arrived at in a much simpler manner than at present, the basis being to sell 100 pounds of a "straight-grade" flour at three times the cost of a bushel of wheat, *i. e.*, if wheat was 90 cents per bushel, "straight-grade" flour was sold at \$2.70 per hundredweight.

The first export flour was sold by Mr. Hoffman in 1882, and was consigned to a firm in Antwerp, Belgium. This was probably the first shipment of export flour from Kansas. It is of more than passing interest to note that C. Hoffman & Sons Milling Company still ship large quantities of flour to this same firm.

The greatest influence affecting the development of the milling industry in Kansas has undoubtedly been the marked growth in her wheat industry. In 1870 there were less than two and one-half million bushels of wheat raised in the state, while in 1880 it had increased to over twenty-five million bushels, and by 1890 the amount was nearly thirty million bushels.¹² During the last ten years the total production has fluctuated between fifty-four million and ninety-four million bushels, with an average of over seventy-eight million.¹³

However, the milling industry of Kansas has developed primarily because of the *quality* of Kansas wheat rather than because of the large quantity. Nearly forty years ago the Mennonite settlers coming into Marion county brought with them from Russia a small amount of seed wheat. This was a hard red winter wheat, called "Turkey."¹⁴ It proved to be so well adapted to soil and climatic conditions that it multiplied rapidly and soon spread to adjoining counties. Thus began the first steps in revolutionizing the whole wheat industry of Kansas.¹⁵ The early settlers had located chiefly in the valleys along the streams in the eastern portion of the state, and as little or nothing was then known of hard winter wheat, practically all wheat farmers grew the soft varieties. Big May, Little May, Fultz, Mediterranean, Canada Club and other common varieties made up the grists which the pioneer mills ground upon the old stone buhrs. The

NOTE 12.—Fifteenth Biennial Report, State Board of Agriculture, p. 1195.

NOTE 13.—Seventeenth Biennial Report, State Board of Agriculture, p. 992.

NOTE 14.—Fifteenth Biennial Report, State Board of Agriculture, p. 945.

NOTE 15.—Historical Collections, vol. 11, p. 151.

mills were equipped to grind this kind of wheat, and the housewives were accustomed to flour made from it. When the millers attempted to grind the hard Turkey wheat upon the stone buhrs then in use they experienced considerable difficulty, and when the housewives tried to make bread from this flour they had even greater difficulty. Consequently most millers rejected Turkey wheat as unfit for milling purposes; but here and there we find a miller who persisted in his efforts to solve the problem of making a satisfactory flour from it. There were at least two important reasons for the millers wishing to grind Turkey wheat, viz.: It could be bought much cheaper at that time than the soft wheat, and its chemical analysis indicated that it would make a flour of high gluten content.¹⁶ The latter quality caused a great demand for Kansas flour for export. Thus we see the introduction of hard wheat gave an impetus to our wheat industry, which resulted in a surplus for our mills and also supplied the character of flour in demand.

Kansas flour is demanded not only abroad but also in neighboring states.¹⁷ Colorado imported one and a half million dollars' worth of flour in 1909, and most of this came from Kansas wheat. Experts estimate that one-half the bread eaten in Denver and four-fifths of that in Pueblo is made from Kansas hard winter wheat flour.

All this increase in the wheat supply and in the demand for Kansas flour has resulted in Kansas having more good, well-equipped mills to-day than any other state in the Union. The first census of Kansas territory, taken in 1860, shows only thirty-six flour and gristmills, with the average capital invested as a little over \$3000 and the output valued at about \$300,000. The next decade saw the number of mills practically trebled, while the average capital invested and the value of the output were multiplied by nine. The number of mills kept on increasing until we finally had, in 1876, 330 mills. This number has since decreased, the number of small mills decreasing and the number of larger ones increasing, until the census for 1910 shows 255 reporting the manufacture of wheat flour. The total number of barrels of flour produced was 10,887,744, of which 10,858,960 was white flour and 28,780 Graham flour. The total value of the flour was \$52,589,613.

We have 18 mills with a capacity of 1000 to 2000 barrels, 34 with a capacity of 500 to 900 barrels, and 119 with a capacity of 100 to 400 barrels. The remainder have a capacity of less than 100 barrels. The towns which lead in milling are Kansas City, Kan., with a daily capacity of 10,800 barrels; Topeka, 3750 barrels; Wichita, 3460 barrels; Wellington, 3050 barrels; Hutchinson, 2600 barrels; Leavenworth, 2250 barrels; Coffeyville, 1950 barrels; Salina, 1925 barrels; Arkansas City, 1550 barrels; Atchison, 1450 barrels; Newton, 1070 barrels; McPherson, 1070 barrels; Enterprise, 1050 barrels.

Many of the above figures fluctuate from year to year, but they serve to give a general idea of the present milling industry of Kansas.

NOTE 16.—"Kansas hard-wheat flour has qualities that are hard to get from wheat grown in any other section of the country, and that is the strength of the flour. It is very glutinous wheat, and is full of strength."—*The New Kansas Magazine*, Feb., 1892, p. 7.

NOTE 17.—"Western Kansas ships much wheat to California millers, and western and central Kansas mills do a large flour trade to the Pacific."—*Millers' Almanack*, 1911-'12, p. 15.

FIFTY YEARS OF KANSAS AGRICULTURE.

An address by EDWIN H. WEBSTER,¹ Dean of Agriculture, State Agricultural College, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, December 6, 1910.

WHAT a story it tells of conquest and failure! The feature in which we may rejoice is that the failures have been in a large measure overcome, and to-day Kansas is, agriculturally speaking, a wonderful success. Ushered in with the great drought of 1860, met along the way by grasshoppers, chinch bugs, cyclones and blizzards, the name of Kansas became a joke in many quarters of the country. The prosperous years since the nineties have made it a name to conjure by in this day, when Kansas has more money in her banks and more students in her colleges than has any other state in proportion to population.

It is not the purpose of this article to dig up the skeleton or to write with any undue enthusiasm of Kansas' present prosperity, but to state a few facts in plain English for the earnest thought of the present generation of young men who are to be the farmers of the future Kansas. "There is nothing that succeeds like success." There is nothing that so blinds one's power of perception and reason as success attributed to wrong causes. That too many Kansans have attributed our success to the wrong cause is a question worthy of consideration. The most apparent factors of our present-day success are the rise of the value of Kansas land and the rise in value of things the farmer has to sell.

During the sixties, seventies and eighties Uncle Sam was giving the virgin soil of the state to whomsoever came. With a great domain to be had for the asking, the actual value of land was an uncertain quantity. If A. asked too much for his land, B. went farther west and homesteaded; hence A. could not arrive at any definite conclusion as to the actual value of his land. During the late eighties, however, the greater part of the available land was taken up. Then came the period in the nineties when values of everything fell flat, due to the panic of 1893 and the long time necessary to recover from this shock. The years 1893 and 1894 mark the darkest days Kansas has ever known. Added to a crop failure over most of the state were the low prices of everything the farmer had to sell. Since 1893 there has been a gradual and almost uninterrupted rise in the values of all commodities. It took several years for this influence to reach the land itself, but when it did, about 1900, there began an activity in this direction that has continued until the present time. Men who had valued their land at \$10 to \$25 an acre suddenly found it worth from \$15 to \$40, then from \$25 to \$60,

NOTE 1.—EDWIN HARRISON WEBSTER was born near Yates Center, Woodson county, Kansas, February 25, 1871. His father was Rufus D. Webster, born in New York state in 1839, and his mother Harriet Edwards, born in Indiana in 1850. The father died at Fairfax, Va., December, 1910; the mother is still living. Edwin Harrison Webster graduated from the Kansas State Agricultural College in 1896. He has done scientific work as professor of dairying, Kansas State Agricultural College, and chief of Dairy Division, United States Department of Agriculture. He is now director of Experiment Station, Kansas State Agricultural College. He married, April 10, 1900, Eleanor Fryhofer, of Randolph, Kan. They have one daughter. His father's people came from England sometime between 1620 and 1700, settling in New England. His mother's people came from Wales about 1800.

later from \$40 to \$100, and still later from \$75 to \$150 an acre in many localities.

The value of the farm products showed a corresponding increase in value. In 1893 corn was worth 10 to 15 cents a bushel and wheat 30 to 40 cents. From 1907 to 1911 corn was worth from 40 to 60 cents a bushel and wheat 75 cents to \$1.²

The man in 1893 on a 160-acre farm that was worth \$3000, and mortgaged for nearly that amount, with a failure of corn and wheat, worth 12 and 40 cents, respectively, was a wholly different being from the same man in 1908 on the same 160-acres, worth \$10,000, mortgaged possibly for \$2500, with corn and wheat worth, respectively, 50 and 90 cents. In the first case the farmer had absolutely no credit at the bank or at the store; he had practically nothing to sell, and could get little or nothing for what he had. In the other case his credit was A-1 at the bank and he needed to ask for only temporary credit at the store.

There is no denying the fact that this farmer in 1908 was infinitely better off than he was in 1893. His credit had increased with the increased value of his land. In 1893 he was mortgaged to the limit; in 1908 he could borrow two or three times as much on the same land. This fact gave him a feeling of independence and power to act in financial matters. His crops were bringing him from two to three times what they did in 1893, and the ready cash paid his bills, bought modern improvements for his home, and provided him with an automobile.

The two principal reasons given for our agricultural advancement are change of climate and better farming. The first of these—change of climate—is given as a reason by many who ought to know better. The weather records of Kansas do not show any appreciable change in climate. There is to-day no more rainfall, nor less wind, than Kansas had fifty years ago. It is neither hotter nor colder, on an average, than it was then. There has been a change, but that change is not one of climate. It is one of surface conditions. The breaking up of the prairies has caused more of the rain to go into the soil, which in turn has modified the reflection of heat, thus lessening the tendency to hot winds. Trees cover large areas which were once entirely without timber. The presence of trees has modified the climate to some extent, by breaking up the surface winds, retarding rainfall and modifying the humidity of the air. Such modifications of climate as have been noted are due to man's control of the elements, and not due to any fundamental change in the climate itself.

The term "dry farming" has come into existence in the past few years. This is not farming without water, but farming by the utilization of all the water that falls, thus enabling the farmer to take advantage of the situation and to force the elements to work for him instead of against him. The greatest change in Kansas agriculture is due to this ability of man to control things that fifty years ago he knew nothing about.

The second reason for our agricultural advancement—better farming—is worthy of most careful consideration. The explanation given above for

NOTE 2.—Kansas has a population of 1,690,949, an approximate land area of 52,335,360 acres, with a land area in farms of 43,384,799 acres. The value of all farm property is \$2,039,389,910, of which the land alone is worth \$1,537,976,573. There are 111,108 farms in the state operated by their owners, and of these 60,582 are reported free from mortgage debt. The value of domestic animals is \$245,926,421, of poultry and bees \$7,596,081, and of all crops \$203,075,000.—U. S. Census, 1910, *Agricultural Bulletin*.

the apparent change in climatic conditions is a factor in better farming. It would not be amiss in this connection to call attention to the statistical evidence at hand, and analyze that evidence in the light of the facts which it reveals. The chart (opposite p. 64) shows a graphic story of corn and of wheat from 1862 to 1911. Here is pictured the yield of corn and of wheat per acre, the price of corn and of wheat per bushel, the gross income from corn and from wheat per acre, and the number of acres planted to corn and to wheat in the state. This chart tells an interesting story, and to those who have lived long enough in Kansas to have experienced the ups and downs through which the state has passed it will spell tragedy and comedy as they study the variations shown. Here is pictured our successes and our failures. It is not my purpose to explain why yields have varied so materially, nor why prices have varied year by year, but to draw some conclusions from the general tendencies shown in the chart, which represent fifty years of corn and of wheat growing.

Yield per Acre.—It will not take very much studying for one to determine that our yield per acre has not increased, but has rather decreased, during the past fifty years. Taking a period of time before 1893 equal to the time since 1893, and the chart shows that there has been a decreasing yield per acre rather than an increasing one. This fact is well understood by those who are making a careful study of our present agricultural conditions.³ What of our boast that we are doing better farming, in the light of the facts revealed by this chart? It seems quite certain that the prosperity which Kansas has enjoyed for the past eight or ten years can not be attributed to an increased yield of wheat or of corn per acre.

Value of Corn and Wheat per Bushel.—The lines representing the value of corn and of wheat per bushel contain much interesting information. During the war times prices reached unprecedented heights. During the seventies and eighties there was a gradual decline in prices, until in 1893, 1894 and 1895 corn and wheat touched the lowest price per bushel that the state has ever known. From 1894 to 1911 wheat has steadily risen in value, and from 1896 to 1911 corn has shown the same tendency, both crops being worth more than double the value per bushel in 1911 than in the early nineties. In these figures are to be found the explanation of Kansas prosperity during the last decade. By combining the price per bushel with the number of bushels per acre we get the result shown in the chart indicating the income per acre. Here, more graphically than elsewhere, is shown the tendency of Kansas agriculture during the fifty years of her history. A line drawn through the chart from the sixties until the early nineties shows a constantly decreasing income per acre for both wheat and corn. Continuing this line until 1911, it shows a constantly increasing income per acre for the period between 1894 and 1911. The decline in income per acre from the sixties until the nineties is due to a combination of declining prices and de-

NOTE 3.—"In 1907 Germany and Kansas each sowed 5,200,000 acres of wheat, and from their 5,200,000 acres of rejuvenated soil German farmers reaped 145,000,000 bushels, while from our 5,200,000 acres of virgin soil Kansas farmers reaped but 68,000,000 bushels. France is the size of our three greatest wheat-producing states—Kansas, Minnesota and North Dakota. In 1907 France sowed 16,000,000 acres to wheat, as did these three states. Since the introduction of beet culture French soils have been so rejuvenated that from her 16,000,000 acres of wheat French farmers harvested 325,000,000 bushels, while from our 16,000,000 acres the farmers of Kansas, Minnesota and North Dakota harvested but 183,000,000 bushels."—Testimony before the Committee on Finance, U. S. Senate.

creased yield per acre. From 1890 until 1911 the increased income per acre is due solely to the increased value of the products per bushel.

Value of Land.—It is not possible to gather accurate figures as to the value of land in Kansas from 1862 to 1911, but in a general way it is well known that the value of land decreased during the eighties, and that it reached a point in the early nineties at which, in many parts of the state, land practically had no trading value. From 1890 to 1911 land has doubled, and even quadrupled, in value. Land that in the nineties sold for from \$10 to \$20 per acre in 1911 sold for from \$40 to \$75 per acre.

The effect that this increase in value has had upon the farmers of the state has already been discussed. Taking into account this fact, together with the increased income per acre because of the increased prices per bushel, and contrasting this with what is practically a diminishing ratio in yield per acre, there is material for consideration by the residents of the state. The analysis of these facts shows one thing above all else, and that is that the prosperity which Kansas enjoys to-day is due largely to things external. The farmer has had no part in causing the rise in value of farm products, or in the value of the land which he occupies. The only factor over which he has control, that of yield per acre, shows that he has not exercised that control as he should. It has been demonstrated by experiments in many parts of the state that the yield of both corn and wheat can be doubled. In other words, Kansas should be growing to-day from twenty to twenty-five bushels of wheat and from forty to sixty bushels of corn instead of thirteen bushels of wheat and twenty-three bushels of corn. This fact is well worth the most careful consideration of every young man in Kansas who expects to farm.

The value of land to the farmer who occupies it for farming purposes should be based upon its producing capacity. Land that ten years ago was worth \$25 an acre, and is to-day selling for \$75, is producing in bushels no more wheat or corn than it did ten years ago. The man who buys this land at \$75 an acre and harvests thirteen bushels of wheat has three times the capital invested that he had ten years ago. His bushel income remains the same. If the farmer had control over the price that he obtains for his crop of wheat or corn he might be able to insure an income on the 75-dollar land equal to what he had on the 25-dollar land, but the farmer does not have control of this factor. Any serious disturbance in the business world might easily reduce the price of a bushel of wheat or a bushel of corn to one-half of the price reported in 1911. The measure of the farmer's intelligence and progressiveness is shown in his ability to produce an increased acre yield and not in the price received per bushel. That farmers of the state are beginning to think along this line is shown by the ever-increasing demand for information, by increasing interest in farmers' institutes and other educational associations in which the farmer may gain information for use in his farming operations, and by the growing demand for the best literature on agricultural topics.

The young men of to-day who have given the question of agriculture any serious thought are turning to the farm as one of the best and surest means of livelihood that may be found in the state. They recognize that the farmer's future success depends upon his ability to increase his unit of production, and the young man who begins farming with this knowledge

has every prospect for a successful career. On the other hand, the young man who begins where his father left off, the young man who does not recognize the tendency of the times, the young man who thinks that our present success in Kansas is due to some mysterious process of nature, the young man who does not recognize that he must follow up-to-date scientific methods in his work, is the young man who will help to hold the general average of Kansas agriculture at its lowest level. To this type of young man, high-priced land with low-yielding capacity does not offer any great hope for the future. In the efforts that are being put forth by the agricultural press and by many of our local county papers, in the extension work that is being done by the Agricultural College, and in the young men who attend the agricultural colleges in this and other states—in these lies the hope for the future. All of these tendencies are combining with greater force to compel the young man who is to be the farmer of the future to study our present conditions, to see the need of more intensive and intelligent farming, and to realize that in such farming there lies for him and for those like him such a future as can be offered in no other work in life.

The story of corn and wheat through the fifty years of the state's history represents accurately the story of Kansas agriculture as a whole. These two great staple crops are the money crops of the state. As their values fluctuate because of price or of yield, so do the values of live stock and other conditions change.

For the purposes of this article it is enough to point out the great overpowering facts: that the yield per acre has diminished in fifty years, that the value of land has increased enormously since the nineties, and that our future progress in agriculture must be based, not on greater increase in the value of farm crops, but in a greater yield per acre of these commodities.

INDIAN MISSIONS IN KANSAS.

An address by EARL LEON SHOUP,¹ of Holton, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, December 6, 1910.

KANSAS history of significance is usually thought of as dating from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the inauguration of the "storm-and-stress" period in which determined men and Sharp's rifles played so important a part. This was a critical time for the future of the state. Should the new society transplanted to the western prairies be that of the old Puritan type in social, political and educational ideals, or should it take its impulse from the institutions of the South? The struggle in Kansas was but the conflict of two irreconcilable ideas. The one triumphed; and our fifty years of statehood has been a development and an expansion of the principles then decided.

But there is an earlier chapter in Kansas annals fraught with great significance for her subsequent history, and, if anything, more fascinating in interest. This was the period of the establishing of missions among the Indian tribes of the territory. But these must be considered as more than attempts to civilize the native. Those pioneer preachers are to be reckoned among the factors contributing largely to the Kansas of to-day.

When the curtain lifted on the Kansas scene almost a century ago, it revealed a wild and beautiful view — wide expanse of prairie lands; hills and valleys covered with tall, waving grass; fringes of timber along the water-courses. The sole inhabitants were the bands of Indians who lived along the streams and subsisted by means of the chase. In the east were the Kansas and Osages, and farther west the Pawnees, bands of Cheyennes and other western tribes, making frequent incursions on war and hunting expeditions.

Two different classes of men looked upon this vision, and each saw a different possibility. The trader saw the chance of making a fortune through bartering his trinkets and bad whisky to the Indians for furs and pelts. French traders were the first to arrive, these coming mostly from St. Louis. Pierre Chouteau and Manuel Lisa were the most noted of these.

The missionary conceived more. He saw the Indian lifted from his degraded and miserable life to civilization. Then, too, he thought of Christianity:

"Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind,

Yet simple Nature to his hope has given,
Behind the cloud-top't hill, an humble heaven."

He wished to give *him* a God.

NOTE 1.—EARL LEON SHOUP was born at Leon, Butler county, Kansas, May 1, 1886. He is the son of Levi H. Shoup, of German descent, who came to Kansas in 1876 and settled near Whiting, Jackson county. He was formerly of Bryan, Williams county, Ohio. Alice Campbell, the mother, of Irish descent, came to Kansas from Kentucky with her parents in 1870 and settled near Whiting. Earl Leon Shoup graduated from Campbell College, at Holton, and Washburn College, Topeka, in 1911. He has always lived in Kansas, except eleven months in New Mexico. He taught a district school in Jackson county, and is now engaged in the county high school at Kingman, Kan.

Before mentioning the work of the missionaries in particular, it is better to give a sketch of one of the most characteristic of them. If one were to name the person who above all others had a guiding hand in the Indian affairs of the territory, it would be Isaac McCoy.

Born in Pennsylvania and reared in the frontier settlements of Kentucky and Indiana, he was peculiarly fitted for the work that he took up. After a short time as a young minister he became greatly interested in the condition of the Indians about him. At his solicitation, he was appointed, in 1817, the first Baptist missionary to the Indians, and was sent to the Miamis in Indiana.

He founded the missions among the Miamis, Ottawas and Pottawatomies in Indiana and southern Michigan, drawing about himself a band of young workers, among whom were Johnston Lykins, Jotham Meeker and Robert Simerwell, who, inspired by their leader, devoted their whole lives to the cause of Indian reform, and afterwards formed the nucleus of the Baptist missionaries in Kansas.

McCoy's activities were by no means confined to the work of teaching. In 1823 he conceived the scheme of setting aside a large tract of land in the West, to which all the Indians of the United States should eventually be removed. This he thought to be the only way of saving them from destruction. Here, away from the baleful contact of white men, they could be raised to civilization. He had in mind a federation of all the tribes of the territory, and finally the formation of an Indian state.

It was not the scheme of a dreamer; it was formulated by one who knew the Indian character as scarcely any other person ever has, and it became his life work. Never once, to the day of his death, did he lose sight of his one great object—to civilize and Christianize the Indians. To this he devoted himself, unconditionally, all that he had—family, property and friends. Space forbids telling of his almost superhuman efforts to bring about success; of his oft-repeated trips to Washington and other cities of the East, through the wilderness in the dead of winter; of his frequent addresses in all parts of the country; of his lobbying at Washington. Suffice it to say, he won the support of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and other influential men, members of both branches of Congress, and the result of his efforts was the act of May 26, 1830, providing for the removal of the Indians to the West.

McCoy was appointed surveyor and agent for the removal.* He defined the boundaries, which include the eastern half of the present state of Kansas. His scheme also included the establishment of missions and schools and the appointment of an adviser to the Indians. Finally, there was to be a district set apart for the seat of government of the Indian territory, soon to become a state. With almost startling exactness his scheme was carried out. In 1837 he was given permission to survey a district of seven square miles for the capital. This he located on the Marais de Cygnes river, in what is now Miami county.² The town of Osawatomie is located within the district assigned for the Indian capital by McCoy.

He surveyed, or had surveyed, most of the Indian reservations;³ made

NOTE 2.—The Historical Society has in its collections a map of Missouri, 1850, which shows a part of the adjacent Indian territory, on which is located the "seat of government," as well as various Indian reservations and villages.

NOTE 3.—This work began in 1830, when land for the Delaware Indians was surveyed.

treaties, acted as personal adviser for the natives, and on more than one occasion prevented intertribal war. McCoy's chief assistants in the survey were his sons, Doctor Rice McCoy and John Calvin McCoy, and John Donelson, a nephew of Mrs. Andrew Jackson.

Soon after the passage of the act a large number of Indians were congregated in the eastern part of the territory. The total number in the whole territory was given as: native tribes, 21,660; emigrant, 73,200; total, 94,860.

About this time their location was something as follows: The Wyandots were north of the Kaw river, next to the Missouri. North of these were the Delawares, whose villages were near the Kaw; the Kickapoos; and in the extreme northeast corner of what is now Kansas were the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes. South of the river were the Shawnees, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Osages, Quapaws, and the remnants of several tribes.

Most of these were in the most miserable condition; and one of the first duties of the missionary was to coöperate with the government officials in allaying their distress. This was one of the very important services they performed.

The churches were not slow in seeing their opportunity, and soon a number of mission establishments were in successful operation. Only a few of these can be mentioned here.

Just at this point it is interesting to note that America's first Christian martyr, a missionary to the Indians, met his death in Kansas. This was Fray Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan friar, who accompanied Coronado on his expedition to the Quivira villages. When Coronado returned, Father Juan remained behind as a missionary, and was killed by the Pawnees, it is thought, in 1542.⁴

The first missionary station was the one established by the Presbyterians on the Neosho river, among the Osages, in 1824. But this and several others by the same denomination in these parts were soon abandoned.

In 1830 the Shawnee Methodist mission was established a few miles southwest of where Kansas City now stands, in what is now Johnson county. Three large buildings were erected, and in 1855 the so-called "bogus" legislature met in one of these. This was a manual-labor school; a large farm was worked, and Indians taught both to read and to work. Rev. Thomas Johnson was the founder, and for most of the time the superintendent.

Near by was the Shawnee Baptist mission, established in 1831 by the Rev. Mr. Lykins; and the Friends' Shawnee mission, begun in 1834. It was at the Baptist mission that the first book was printed in Kansas—an Indian primer of twenty-four pages, printed by Rev. Jotham Meeker in 1834. He afterwards did much printing for the missions and Indian agents. In 1837 he removed his press to where Ottawa now stands, and founded a mission among those Indians, which he faithfully superintended till his death in 1854.

The Presbyterian station among the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes was another important one. This was established in 1837, near the present town of Highland, by Rev. Samuel Irvin and wife.

At the same time that Thomas Johnson was starting his Shawnee mission his brother, Rev. William Johnson, commenced his labors among the

NOTE 4.—For an account of Father Padilla, see *Historical Collections*, vol. 10, p. 84. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911, vol. XI, p. 385, gives a brief account of the "protomartyr of the United States."

Kansas. He was first at their village, a few miles east of the site of Topeka and north of the river. In 1835 he founded the Methodist mission, among the same tribe, on Mission creek. There was also a most efficient station here, conducted by the Baptists, founded by Dr. Johnston Lykins in 1848.

There were Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian or Catholic missions among the Delawares, Kickapoos, Weas and Piankeshaws, Pottawatomies, Wyandots, and Sacs and Foxes, which did an aggressive work. There was a Methodist mission located on the site of Osawatomie,⁵ which John Brown and his men were in a few years to make immortal; also another famous one at the old trail town of Council Grove.⁶

But one of the most successful enterprises was the Catholic station on the Neosho river, among the Osages. In 1822 Father de La Croix visited this tribe and baptised two Indian children—the first ceremony of this kind within the state. In 1827, 1829 and 1830 Father Charles Van Quickenborne visited the Osages and preached; and later, in 1847, Rev. John Schoenmachers established the Osage mission. Substantial buildings were erected, and subsequent success won for the mission the name of the "Cradle of civilization in the Neosho valley."

There were other Catholic missions, but the next in importance was the St. Mary's mission, among the Pottawatomies.⁷ This was a Jesuit station, established in 1838 on Pottawatomie creek, in what is now Miami county. It was moved into Linn county in 1839, where it remained until the removal of the Pottawatomies north of the Kaw in 1849. It was then established at St. Mary's, Pottawatomie county. Here an efficient mission school was run, with an able corps of teachers, and so continued till 1869.

From our viewpoint, it seems as if the missionaries were doomed from the first to fail. But not so. If the government had always been able to keep its promises to the Indians—to have assured them a permanent home, and kept out undesirable traders who proved to be the worst of foes to the interests of the Red Man—there is every reason to believe that the project of Indian reform would have succeeded. There was always a class of men who for selfish interest kept before the public and the government an impression of the futility of any effort to civilize the Indians.

Many of the schools had as many as fifty pupils, and several had more. The young Indians made fine progress; so much as to call forth the wonder and praise of government inspectors and chance visitors from the East. Those thus trained became the leaders of their tribes; and when they finally left Kansas for a home farther south in the territory, they could count, as Kansas' only good gift to them, the life service of these consecrated men and women missionaries.

The missionary's contribution to Kansas was more than religious. His entrance marked the beginnings of the moral forces in the state. It is characteristic of Kansas that in building her foundations she did not think only of her material prosperity, and later bring in education and culture; but here the teacher preceded even the homesteader.

NOTE 5.—This mission was established in 1837, and Frederick B. Leach was appointed missionary.

NOTE 6.—This mission was established when the Kaws moved to their new reservation, and was in charge of T. S. Huffaker and Rev. Henry Webster.

NOTE 7.—Established by Rev. Christian Hoecken.—*The Dial*, June, 1890, p. 1.

Some of the more direct services of the missionaries were: religiously, they constituted the nuclei of the churches as they developed later, and, educationally, they founded the first of the splendid schools for which Kansas has since become famous.

The first school of higher learning was the Western Academy, founded at the Shawnee Manual Labor School in 1848. It was attended by students from eastern Kansas, and there were a score or more of pupils from Missouri. The first teacher was Rev. Nathan Scarritt.

Three of our colleges and universities grew directly out of mission schools: Highland University, Highland; Ottawa University, Ottawa; and St. Mary's College, St. Marys.

To the missionaries, also, we owe the first printing plant and the first Kansas book.

Finally, we are indebted to the missionaries for the example of those who placed the welfare of men above that of mere gain; men who, without hope or thought of pecuniary reward, endured the hardships of savage life and remained true to their cause until the end. Surely such are fitting founders of a great commonwealth.

PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION IN KANSAS.

An address by CHARLES E. HILL,¹ professor of political science, State Normal School, Emporia, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, December 6, 1910.

IT WOULD be hard to find a state with more progressive measures than Kansas. But that does not mean our state has been strikingly original in its lawmaking; it means, rather, activity in gathering, assimilating and applying the best thought and experience of other states.

In the case of appropriation bills, the governor can veto any item and the rest of the bill becomes law; but when the President vetoes part of a bill he thereby vetoes the whole bill. This arrangement Kansas adopted in 1904; yet Colorado had it in her constitution of 1876. Kansas has blazed the way in the solution of the liquor problem,² and to-day has the best prohibition law and the best enforcement thereof of any state. Wisconsin adopted a state-wide primary in 1903, as did eleven other states before Kansas adopted one in 1908. In the adoption of the inheritance tax law Kansas stands thirty-seventh. The commission form of city government was evolved in Texas about ten years ago, and Kansas is using an adaptation of the Des Moines plan. Oklahoma had a guaranty-of-deposits law the year before Kansas. Many people outside the state express the belief that Kansans are radical, changeable, erratic. Kansans are not; they are conservatively progressive.

Any law that touches our pocketbooks is one of prime interest. In 1907

NOTE 1.—CHARLES EDWARD HILL was born at Rochelle, Ogle county, Illinois, September 27, 1881, the son of Peter K. Hill and Engeborg Hill. He was educated at the University of Michigan, and adopted the profession of teaching. Before coming to Kansas he lived in Illinois, Iowa and Michigan. He came to Kansas in 1907, settling at Emporia, where he accepted the professorship of political science in the Kansas State Normal. In 1911 he was married to Jane Blair.

NOTE 2.—The Maine liquor law was passed in 1846; in 1851 it was amended; in 1856 repealed; in 1859 prohibition was readopted, and in 1884 made part of the constitution. The question was resubmitted by the legislature to popular vote September, 1911, and repeal defeated by a narrow margin.

the taxes of the state amounted to \$20,497,603, a per capita contribution of \$12.41. Kansas has one of the best systems for collecting this tax. At the head is a commission of three, appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate; the salaries are \$2500 for each; the term of office four years; and partial renewal of the commission obtains. This commission has supervisory power over all tax matters in the state. It provides uniform tax books in the counties and in the offices of state treasurer and state auditor. It requires the county assessors to meet at least once in two years for discussion and instruction. Whenever the commission finds it necessary to obtain evidence, witnesses may be compelled to attend, and the county attorneys and the attorney-general are at its service. It assesses all railroads, telegraph and telephone lines and property, express, sleeping-car and private car companies doing business in Kansas, gas and oil pipe lines, street railroads, electric lines and property. County and township assessors may be removed at the instance of the commission.

The county assessor is chosen by the qualified voters for two years, and he must have been a resident taxpayer for at least four years previous. In counties of less than 12,000 population the county clerk is *ex-officio* county assessor, and the county commissioners fix his salary. In other counties the salary varies from \$5 a day to \$1200 a year, according to the population of the county. The county assessor shall appoint the trustees as township assessors, but he may suspend these for cause, and after a hearing before the commission they may be removed. In cities of the first and second class he appoints such deputy assessors as may be necessary.

The property itself is assessed at actual valuation. Neighbors or other persons may be put under oath to testify as to the property owned. If the neighbor refuses he shall be fined from \$10 to \$500, and may, in addition, be imprisoned for not more than six months. Property omitted from the assessor's list is taxed a double amount. The estimate of the value of real estate is verified by a board of review, which the county assessor appoints in every assessment district. The board of equalization for the county is the county commissioners; for the state it is the State Tax Commission.

The proof of the success of this plan, which was made largely in 1907, may be derived from the 1908 report of the Tax Commission. In 1904 the Federal Census Bureau estimated the true value of all property in Kansas at \$2,253,224,243. The last assessment under the old plan (1907) shows the total assessed valuation at \$425,281,214, or not quite 19 per cent of the Census Bureau's estimate in 1904. The next year (1908) the first under the new plan, showed the total assessed valuation to be \$2,451,560,397, representing an increase of 476.4 per cent over the 1907 valuation—a startling index of the success of the law.

A subject of difference between the two great parties in the last state campaign was the inheritance tax, placed upon the statute books in 1909. The law divides heirs into two classes. Class A includes husband, wife, lineal ancestor or descendant, adopted child and descendants, and son-in-law or daughter-in-law of the decedent. All inheritances going to members of this class below \$5000 are exempt, but inheritances not exceeding \$25,000 shall pay a tax of 1 per cent; \$25,000 to \$50,000, 2 per cent; \$50,000 to \$100,000, 3 per cent; \$100,000 to \$500,000, 4 per cent; and all sums above \$500,000 pay a tax of 5 per cent. Class B includes brother, sister, nephew or niece of the decedent. Inheritances of a member of this class below \$1000 are exempt, but all

sums below \$25,000 pay 5 per cent; \$25,000 to \$50,000, 7½ per cent; \$50,000 to \$100,000, 10 per cent; \$100,000 to \$500,000, 12½ per cent; and all sums in excess of \$500,000 are subject to a tax of 15 per cent. If no will of the decedent is filed for probate, then the Tax Commission, through the county attorney or through the attorney-general, shall ask the probate court to appoint an administrator. If property is transferred by deed, grant or gift in contemplation of death, the tax shall be a lien on the interest of the beneficiary. The county treasurer retains a small sum, ranging from 5 per cent to 10 per cent, for payment of county officers; the rest of the tax is forwarded to the state treasurer for the use of the state.

The income from this tax falls upon those who are able to bear it; it is just; and the income from it is sure and will increase with the age of the state. Since March 16, 1909, until the present the Tax Commission has charged and certified to the county treasurers for collection an aggregate of \$148,786.26.

By the guarantee-of-bank-deposits law any state bank with a surplus equal to 10 per cent of its capital may participate in the assessment and benefits of the act. The bank shall deposit with the state treasurer bonds or money to the amount of \$500 for every \$100,000 or fraction thereof of deposits eligible to the guaranty. The bank commissioner shall during January of each year make assessments of one-twentieth of one per cent of the average guaranteed deposits as shown by the last four statements; the minimum assessment in any case is \$20; and this assessment shall continue until the guarantee fund reaches \$500,000. Should the fund become depleted, then additional assessments will be made, but not more than five assessments shall be made in one year.

If a bank should fail the bank commissioner shall take charge, and shall issue to each depositor a certificate of the amount deposited, bearing either the contract rate, which shall not exceed 3 per cent; or if there is no contract, 6 per cent interest. The bank commissioner shall publish the date of payment of the certificates. If the assets of the bank are not sufficient he shall draw a check upon the state treasurer, to be countersigned by the auditor of state, payable out of the bank depositors' guarantee fund, in favor of each depositor for the balance due. Should a bank fail to pay its assessment, then the bonds deposited may be sold, and the bank shall be examined. If found insolvent, the bank commissioner shall take charge; if found solvent, its certificate as a guaranteed bank shall be canceled and a card at least twenty by thirty inches, with plain type, showing such withdrawal, shall be exhibited in the banking rooms. It shall be unlawful for any bank under this act to receive deposits continuously for six months in excess of ten times its paid-up capital and surplus, and a violation of this provision shall mean a cancellation of the bank's rights under the guaranty of deposits.

Only a financial stringency will reveal the full value of the guaranty law. However, 398 banks are now participating in the guaranty fund, and the cash and bond funds aggregate \$335,000.³ Two great results have been accomplished. The people, by reading the arguments between the national banks and the state bank commissioners, have become informed; and secondly, the national banks have found it safest to organize into an insurance

NOTE 3.—At the end of February, 1912, the bank commissioner's office showed 440 state banks guaranteed and \$358,500.59 in the guaranty fund.

company for the guaranty of their depositors. Thus depositors reap the benefit of the fullest protection in both the national and state banks.

In 1895 Kansas made a strict gambling law. Every person who shall set up or keep any table or gambling device, or shall keep a place for playing any game of cards for money or property, shall on conviction be guilty of a felony and be punished by imprisonment and hard labor for one to five years. All places so used are declared nuisances and may be perpetually enjoined, under suit in the name of the state, brought by the attorney-general, county attorney or by any citizen of the county where the nuisance exists. Every person who bets money or property at any place to which persons resort for gambling purposes shall be guilty of a felony and subject to imprisonment and hard labor in the penitentiary from one to three years. Every person who bets money or property at any gaming table or gambling device, or upon the result of any game of skill or chance, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of from \$10 to \$100, or by imprisonment in the county jail for ten to thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment. Betting on elections or holding a stake are punished by a fine not exceeding \$50.

The pure food law provides that any manufacturer who adulterates with any poisonous or deleterious substance or misbrands food, drugs or medicines shall upon conviction of the first offense be fined \$300 or be imprisoned one year in the county jail, or both. If any one keeps or offers for sale any such adulterated or misbranded food, drug or medicine he shall be fined \$50 or be imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court. The dean of pharmacy at the Kansas University has supervision of examination of drugs. The chemistry departments at the Kansas University and Kansas Agricultural College have supervision of the examination of foods. The reports of examinations are made to the secretary of the State Board of Health, and the county attorneys throughout the state are at his service.

Whoever shall knowingly sell to any person, or to any cheese or butter manufactory, any milk diluted with water, or adulterated milk from which any cream has been taken, or shall keep back that part of the milk known as strippings, or sell milk the product of diseased animals, or use poisonous or deleterious material in the manufacture of cheese or butter, shall be fined \$25 to \$100 and be liable in double the amount of damages to the person upon whom such fraud has been committed.

Every place occupied or used for the sale, manufacture, packing, storage or distribution of any food or drug shall be properly lighted, drained, plumbed, ventilated, screened, and conducted with strict regard to the influence of such conditions upon the health of the employees and upon the purity and wholesomeness of the food and drugs. The State Board of Health is authorized to make and publish such rules and regulations as are necessary in food and drug inspection and to carry out the provisions of this act; and any person or association violating such rules and regulations shall be fined not to exceed \$100.

The execution of the law is vested largely in the State Board of Health, which shall appoint four food inspectors and two drug inspectors, to serve during the pleasure of the board. The board shall also appoint an assistant chief food inspector and an assistant chief drug inspector. The standards of quality, purity and strength for foods and drugs shall be those

adopted by the United States Department of Agriculture until other standards are prescribed by the State Board of Health; and the secretary of the State Board is authorized to coöperate with the United States Department of Agriculture in the enforcement of the national pure food law.

The laws of 1909 reveal the beginning of tuberculosis legislation in Kansas. The disease is declared infectious and communicable. Upon every physician in the state is placed the duty to report in writing to the county health officer, or in cities of the first class to the city health officer, within twenty-four hours after the disease becomes known, the patient's name, sex, color, occupation, place of last employment and address. Any person may forward sputum to the state bacteriologist for free examination. When any apartments or premises become vacant because of the death or removal of a tuberculosis patient no one shall live in those apartments or premises until they shall have been disinfected according to rules made by the Board of Health. The penalty for endangering others through sputum or other bodily discharge is a fine of not more than \$10.⁴

Cattle infected with tuberculosis shall be segregated and quarantined. If the live-stock sanitary commissioner shall have reason to believe or receive notice that the disease exists in any of the domestic cattle of this state, he shall notify the professor of veterinary science of the State Agricultural College, who shall in person or by deputy make an examination. The infected animals may be sold only subject to the rules and regulations made by the Live-stock Commission. The penalty for violation is a fine of \$25 to \$100.

The prohibition amendment of 1880, together with supplementary legislation, especially that of 1901 and 1909, and their strong enforcement, made Kansas a prohibitory state. By the last law the manufacture, sale or barter of any spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented or other intoxicating liquor is made a misdemeanor. The penalty is a fine of \$100 to \$500 and imprisonment in the county jail for thirty to ninety days. The enforcement of the law is vested in the county attorneys, attorney-general and assistant attorney-general, who are given power to issue subpoenas for witnesses, compel testimony and to prosecute. It shall be the duty of sheriffs, mayors, marshals, police judges and police officers to notify the county attorney of any violation and to furnish the names of witnesses.

All places where liquors are made, sold or given away, or where persons are permitted to go for the purpose of drinking, are declared to be common nuisances, and every person who maintains or assists in such nuisance shall

NOTE 4.—In September, 1909, the State Board of Health, under chapter 379, Session Laws of 1907, abolished the common drinking cup on railroad trains, in railroad stations and in all public and private schools and state educational institutions. In April, 1911, a ruling was made which included all hotels and lodging houses in this prohibitory measure. Since the question was taken up by the Kansas Board of Health many states have fallen into line, and the forbidden common drinking cup is no longer regarded as the offspring of freak legislation.

September 1, 1911, the use of the common roller towel in hotels, railway trains, railway stations, public and private schools was prohibited by a ruling of the Board of Health. This measure has called forth the following ebullition from *Judge*:

"Roll on, thou stiff and dark old towel—roll!
A hundred hands are wiped on thee each day;
Thou bearest mystic records, like a scroll,
And finger prints of all who passed thy way.
And where be those who said thou shouldst not stay?
The New York traveling men who bade thee hence,
The Kansas people, who did sternly say,
'Each his own towel—count not the expense,'
They pass—but thou still roll'st thy length immense."

be fined \$100 to \$500 and imprisoned in the county jail for thirty days to six months for each offense. Any person, without cost or giving bond, can ask for an injunction against such nuisance. A common carrier can deliver liquor shipped from another state only to the person to whom the liquor is consigned, and with a written order by the consignee. The penalty for violation is a fine of \$100 to \$500 and imprisonment for thirty to ninety days.

The anticigarette law provides that cigarettes and cigarette paper can not be sold or given away by any person or company. The penalty for violation is a fine of \$25 to \$100. Furthermore, every minor person who shall smoke or use cigarettes, cigars or tobacco in any form on a public road, street, alley, park, or in any public place of business, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and fined \$10. And every person who permits such minor person to use tobacco in any form on premises owned or managed by him shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and fined from \$25 to \$100.

The antilobby law is an important protective measure. The secretary of state shall keep two legislative dockets—a docket of legislative counsel and one of legislative agents. The counsel are persons who examine witnesses, make oral arguments or submit briefs before the legislature or the legislative committees. The agents are persons employed or retained by any person, firm or association to promote or oppose legislation. The petitions, orders and bills which the counsel or agent is working for or against shall be entered opposite his name on the docket. The paying of a fee to counsel or agent contingent on the passage or defeat of a measure is forbidden. No agent or counsel can appear upon the floor of either house when in session, except upon invitation of the house extended by vote. The penalty for violation of the act shall be a fine not to exceed \$5000, or imprisonment in the county jail of not more than one year, or both, and the court may bar a counsel or agent from acting in such capacity again for three years. The attorney-general prosecutes. The act does not apply to municipal or other public corporations and their representatives.

At a special session of the legislature in 1908 Kansas enacted a statewide primary law. It provides that all candidates for elective office, including those for United States senator, shall be nominated by a direct primary. But the act does not apply to special elections to fill vacancies, nor to school-district meetings for the election of officers, nor to elections in cities of less population than 5000. The time for holding the primary for all candidates to be voted upon at a general election is the first Tuesday in August of the even-numbered years. This date will have to be moved forward to April or May if the plank in the last Republican platform [1910], providing for nomination of delegates to the national convention by direct vote of the people, be enacted into law, as the national conventions usually meet in June or July. Candidates for office in cities of the population of 10,000 or more are to be nominated at an election held on the first Tuesday of March, annually; but all first-class cities having the commission form of government shall hold their primaries in odd-numbered years on the second Monday preceding the municipal elections.

No candidate for a state office or for United States senator shall have his name placed upon the ballot unless at least forty days prior to the election he shall have filed a nomination paper signed by at least 1 per cent and not more than 10 per cent of the total vote of his party in the state. If for a district office, the paper must carry signatures equal in number to

at least 2 per cent and not more than 10 per cent of the party vote. for a subdistrict or county office, the paper shall have at least 3 per cent and not more than 10 per cent of the party vote in such subdistrict or county. If for a county precinct committeeman, the signatures shall equal at least 10 per cent of the party vote in the precinct. If for a city office, the signatures shall equal at least 5 per cent and not more than 10 per cent of the party vote. The basis of the percentage is the party vote at the last preceding state election. The papers are filed with the secretary of state, county clerk or city clerk, according to the territory represented by the office. A separate official primary ticket of each party shall be provided for use at each voting precinct. A voter can cast his ballot for any candidate on his party ballot only. The conduct of the election and the canvassing of the returns is the same as at a general election.

Government by commission is the most recent step in the evolution of city government. Any city of the first class, upon filing a petition having on it the names of 10 per cent of the voters, or any city of the second class filing a petition having on it the names of 40 per cent of the voters, calling for an election, may adopt this plan of government by a majority vote. A city of the first class so adopting it must maintain it for at least five years; a city of the second class so adopting it must maintain it for at least four years. This plan does away with ward politics, for the five commissioners in cities of the first class and the three in cities of the second class are chosen by the voters of the entire city. The commissioners' salaries range from \$250 to \$4000 a year, so able men can afford to devote at least part of their time to the business of the city.

In first-class cities the mayor serves as commissioner of the police and fire departments; the other four serve as commissioner of finance and revenue, commissioner of waterworks and street lighting, commissioner of streets and public improvements, and commissioner of parks and public property. All of these commissioners are chosen in odd-numbered years and hold office for two years. In second-class cities the mayor serves as commissioner of the police, fire and health departments; the other two serve as commissioner of finance and revenue and commissioner of streets and public utilities. One is chosen annually and serves for three years. Thus the law provides for division of labor and offers an opportunity to develop skill. It also locates responsibility, which is not so easily done in the mayor-and-council system. The appointment of officers is vested in the board of commissioners. The recall exists in the first-class cities, and applies to commissioners and appointive offices alike. An election for the recall of an officer may be had upon filing a petition bearing the signatures of voters equal in number to 25 per cent of the total number of votes cast for mayor at the last election.

The power to pass ordinances is vested in the board of commissioners, with the initiative and referendum as safeguards. In cities of both the first and second classes, if a petition for an ordinance be signed by electors in number not less than 10 per cent nor more than 25 per cent of the number of votes cast for mayor at the preceding election, then the commission shall within twenty days pass the ordinance without change, or submit the same at the next general city election occurring not more than thirty days after the clerk's certificate of sufficiency is attached to the petition. But if the petition in a city of the first class contains 25 per cent, or in a city of the

second class contains 40 per cent, of the voters' signatures, and the commission does not pass the proposed ordinance, then the commission shall call a special election. If a majority of the ballots cast favor the proposed ordinance it shall become law, and such ordinance may be amended or repealed only by vote of the electors. However, the board may propose an amendment or a repeal at any succeeding general election.

The commission form of city government, hardly ten years old, has been authorized in twenty-seven states. Among the Kansas towns which have adopted it are Topeka, Parsons, Coffeyville, Leavenworth, Wichita, Independence, Hutchinson, Anthony, Iola, Emporia, Newton, Pittsburg, Abilene, Wellington and Kansas City.⁵

The legislature of 1911 passed a law which is familiarly known as the "blue-sky law," and which gives the bank commissioner supervision and control over any and all investment companies, domestic and foreign, doing business in the state. This law provides that all investment companies, before offering for sale any stock, bonds or other securities, except those specifically exempted in section 1 of the act, shall file in the office of the bank commissioner, together with a filing fee, a statement showing in detail the plan upon which it proposes to transact business; also an itemized account of its actual financial condition, the amount of its property and liabilities, and such other information as the bank commissioner may require. The company must also file copies of its charter, articles of incorporation, constitution, by-laws and all papers pertaining to its organization. The bank commissioner is empowered to make a detailed examination of the business affairs of the company, and its books must be open at all times to his inspection and investigation. All agents that these companies may employ to do their business must first register with the bank commissioner and pay a fee, and the authority granted them by this registration is revokable at any time by the commissioner. Semiannual reports must be made to the bank commissioner, and failure to report causes forfeit of the company's right to do business in the state. Severe penalties are provided for violation of the law, fines of from \$100 to \$10,000 may be imposed, and imprisonment for from ninety days in the county jail to ten years in the penitentiary.

This idea of Hon. Joseph N. Dolley, the bank commissioner, has attracted world-wide attention, and, without waiting for much time to develop, began to show practical value. Much enthusiastic commendation has been given the law by business interests and all sorts of publications everywhere. The February number of *Current Literature* gave very complimentary attention to it, saying that one hundred million dollars is about the sum pilfered from the pockets of the American people annually by the sale of "wildcat" securities. The post office puts the sum even higher. Though nearly every state and territory will incorporate the rankest fake proposition, only one state—Kansas—seriously attempts to protect its citizens from stock-selling pirates. In every state a purchaser of fake stock may sue for the recovery of his money, which is about as satisfactory as the privilege of suing a

NOTE 5.—The following Kansas towns have adopted the commission form of government, the list being complete to November, 1911: Anthony, Abilene, Caldwell, Chanute, Cherryvale, Coffeyville, Council Grove, Dodge City, Emporia, Eureka, Girard, Hutchinson, Independence, Iola, Kansas City, Leavenworth, Marion, Neodesha, Newton, Parsons, Pittsburg, Pratt, Topeka, Wellington, Wichita, and Junction City.

pickpocket for the recovery of your watch. There are also statutes against obtaining money under false pretenses. But nine times out of ten the fake stock scheme is framed up with sufficient ingenuity to make conviction extremely doubtful. The Post-office Department, *Current Literature* further says, is the only effectual barrier between the widow's mite and the set of thieves promoting wildcat stock-selling campaigns. If the fraud involves the mails, and complaint is made to the Post-office Department, prosecution will follow. But the department can not act until the swindle is well under way, and a great many victims lament their vanished fortunes.

State Bank Commissioner Dolley has virtually stopped the swindle as far as the limited power of a single state can accomplish this end. Reports of frauds of this description drifted into Mr. Dolley's office with increasing frequency from year to year. People, he says, usually came to him for information after they had parted with their money. Mr. Dolley started an investigation into the entire question, and discovered that there were no less than five hundred agents selling wildcat stocks in Kansas. They were getting anywhere between three and five million dollars out of the people of the state for values chiefly fictitious. With the coöperation of the newspapers and banks, Mr. Dolley succeeded in persuading the legislature to pass the "blue-sky law," so nicknamed because it was designed to prevent the swindling of people through sales of stock based chiefly on "atmosphere." The law is a real law with real teeth to it. The "blue-sky law" went into effect March 15, 1911; and some idea of the extent of the fraud at which it was aimed may be gathered from the fact that within six months the bank commissioner received more than five hundred applications to sell stocks or bonds in Kansas—and out of about five hundred and fifty applications he approved just forty-four. "No doubt the most outrageous schemes simply withdrew from the state without any attempt to get a license, so that," a writer in the *Saturday Evening Post* says, "the five hundred and odd that did apply and were rejected represent, so to speak, the upper crust or the more plausible of the blue-sky fraternity."

UNIVERSITIES OF FIFTY YEARS AGO AND THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS TO-DAY.

IN ORDER to furnish some perspective for a picture of the University of Kansas in the year 1911 we present herewith a survey of the general condition of university life and instruction fifty years ago, about the time of the opening of the University of Kansas, together with a condensed statement of the status of the University at the present time.

Institutions called universities have been in existence for more than seven hundred years, and there has been an unbroken continuity in their development for that length of time; but it is probable that their development has been greater, quantitatively and qualitatively, in the last half century than in any other fifty years since Abelard and Irnerius laid the foundations of the universities of Paris and Bologna in the twelfth century.

The growth and changes that have come to universities since Kansas came to statehood, like changes preceding this time, have been both in form and in content. The fields of university activity have been enlarged, and

within each field there have been fundamental modifications, corresponding in a rough way to the changing currents of the world's economic, scientific and social thinking. As yet it would be too much to say that the universities create and dominate these currents of thought, though it is true that they more and more assume initiative and leadership in all fruitful lines of the world's thinking.

The history of the change in the meaning of the term university is both interesting and typical of the changes that have come in the university's scope and fields of activity. At first the term university was used to include persons associated in the work of scholarship. *Universitas magistrorum et scholarium* is the form used in the early papal bulls and royal proclamations addressed to the early universities; and this phrase was really the official name of the guild of scholars, in all ways analogous to the trade guilds which existed everywhere in the days when universities were being founded. Later, by a sort of metonymy, the word university came to mean the institution itself and the impersonal elements of which it is composed rather than the persons connected with the institution. Just what necessary elements enter into the true conception of a university has been a difficult matter to determine, and is not yet a matter of agreement. For instance, the German definition of a university is altogether different from the English idea, and the American university is different from both. This change in the meaning of the word university is paralleled by an opposite change in the significance of the word faculty, now universally used to mean the body of teachers giving instruction in a school or department, which formerly meant the subject taught, as the faculty of grammar or the faculty of dialectic. While in the meaning of university the emphasis was changing from the personal to the impersonal elements, the meaning of faculty, from an impersonal, was taking on a personal significance.

When Kansas came to statehood, a half century ago, all the great universities of the Old World had been established, many of them for centuries. Some of them were decadent, but with possibilities of splendid revival that have since been realized. Many of the early foundations had been given up, and some of the European universities were then, as now, relatively weak and unimportant. It is worthy of note that while no European university of first rank has been founded in the last fifty years, by far the larger number of the best American institutions of higher learning have been established within that period. Practically, there are two exceptions to the above statement. Fifty years ago the University of London was an examining and degree-giving but not a teaching university; in the last years of the nineteenth century it resumed the teaching function which it had given up sixty years before, and now in the magnitude of its organization and its influence it is worthy of the great city and empire which it represents. And in France, for sixty years after 1808, the action of Napoleon in organizing higher education in the form of separate faculties, independent of each other and all dependent on the central government at Paris, remained the policy of the French government. So that the present University of Paris, now the largest university in the world, is in the second decade of its corporate existence. While practically the splendid growth of the Universities of Paris and London as unified, teaching universities has been made within the last dozen years, nominally their existence reaches far back

of the fifty-year period whose end we are trying to compare with its beginning in the matter of higher education.

To sum up in a general way the conditions of European universities at the time Kansas was admitted to the Union, they were few in number and sparsely attended, the students being drawn almost wholly from the noble, well-to-do or professional classes. As was said above, France was at this time without organically connected, unified universities, having, instead, unconnected state faculties in law, medicine, theology, letters and sciences. Save the two ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge, England had only the unimportant University of Durham, founded in 1832. Germany had the largest number of universities of any European country—twenty; of these the University of Berlin was easily the most important. Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden and other countries of Europe generally had their university foundations from the Middle Ages, more or less modified to meet modern conditions. Generally speaking, these European universities were for men only. Europe has always been behind America in the recognition of the educational rights of girls and women, though in America fifty years ago there were very few institutions of college or university rank that admitted women students. Oberlin College and Antioch College, under the leadership of Horace Mann, have the honor of being the first colleges in America to give to women the right to be trained in educational institutions of the highest rank.

In the European universities a half century ago there were two points in which they were conspicuously different from American institutions of higher learning: the students coming up for university study were trained in well-organized preparatory schools of high grade, of which the German *Gymnasias* and the English public schools, such as Eton, Rugby and Winchester, are typical; secondly, professional instruction had a far larger place in European universities than in corresponding American institutions. It goes without saying that at the present time the difference between American and European institutions is in both these particulars much less marked.

The most obvious fact, as one endeavors to compare the present-day American university with its predecessor of fifty years ago, is that in the strict sense there was no university in America at that time. The oldest and the best of our educational institutions then was a college associated or bound up with some loosely connected professional schools. To speak with accuracy, then, one should call the institutions of higher learning of that time colleges rather than universities. The unifying of educational forces and agencies into a homogeneous and well-balanced whole, the development of the true university character and spirit, was in America the work of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. And the comparison involved must be that of a college, or at most a university in embryo, with an institution that in its aims and in its material, scientific, intellectual and spiritual equipment and resources represents for us the true university ideal, different from, though not inferior to, the university ideal that has been evolved by other enlightened peoples.

To understand the long strides that have been taken within the half century it will be well to set forth with clearness and order and in some detail the aims and the standards and principles that dominated the best American colleges at the beginning of the period in question.

First. The aims of the American college of that time were disciplinary and cultural rather than informational; to develop through intellectual application and concentration a general power or capacity which had the quality of being transformable to meet the needs of later life, rather than to develop directly a specific skill in the concrete activities of life. The college was considered a preparation for life rather than a noble participation in life. Vocational schools existed, but they were few in number and pitifully inadequate, measured by our present-day standards; and the close correlation that nowadays exists between the college and professional schools, for the good of both, was then lacking. All of the earliest colleges in this country were founded for the express purpose of training ministers, and this purpose is still manifest in the conduct of many colleges under the auspices of religious denominations.

Another way in which the aim of higher education of a half century ago differs from the present is in the number whom it was intended to reach. The training of the college was for those who expected to practice the professions and those who were able to live lives of leisure. It was not expected that the college would appeal to business men or craftsmen, and it seldom did. It was the theory of that day that the college did not have a message for the hewers of wood and the drawers of water in the world's industries, and that these workers did not need the higher education—that it would unfit rather than fit them for the work they had to do in the world. The idea that higher education is helpful to all classes had not yet been accepted, nor the truth that power through discipline may be gained in the use of scientific and utilitarian subjects as really as through humanistic and philosophical subjects.

Second. The college of fifty years ago had a fixed and rigid curriculum. It had not yet occurred to the directors of these institutions that the personal equation needed to be taken into account in selecting the studies suitable for the development of mind and character. Clear and exact reasoning is a necessity for every college student; therefore every college student should study mathematics and logic. Facile and forceful expression are necessary for all; so all should study rhetoric and foreign languages. Everyone should be somewhat familiar with the phenomena of matter and force; therefore physics and chemistry should be included in the college curriculum. And in this way study after study was added until the curriculum was complete, each study tested by the needs and capacity of the average man. The trouble with the fixed curriculum is that it does not make allowance for the wide deviation from the average—the one whose large capacity in some line is not satisfied by the moderate provision of the curriculum, and the one whose interest and ability in some line of required work is markedly lacking. In the latter case the work in the field for which there is a disinclination might be mastered, but the expenditure of energy and time would be out of all proportion to the result gained. The bases of the differences noted here might be age, sex or environment. On the side of those who favored the fixed curriculum were the arguments of economy and ease of administration, often no small considerations to the colleges of fifty years ago.

Third. One of the most marked exceptions to the general rule of the fixed curriculum was the University of Virginia. This institution was the first in America to take a decided stand in favor of what is now called the

elective system. That this institution committed itself to the elective principle in such a large way from its foundation is due directly to the influence of Thomas Jefferson, and indirectly to the influence of the elective principle, *Lernfreiheit*, as administered in German universities.

The influence of the University of Virginia and of American scholars who came back from studies in Germany, filled with admiration for the freedom in the choice of studies that they found there, was felt among other American colleges, and various proposals for lessening the fixity of the curriculum and attempts to give greater freedom in the choice of studies in colleges were made. Gains were made here and there, but these were generally lost through reaction. Harvard, which was later, under Eliot, to be the great leader in the development of the elective system, went farther in this direction in the first half of the nineteenth century than any other American institution except the University of Virginia; but by 1856 the ground gained was practically all lost, and in 1861 it seemed that American colleges had tried the elective system and had practically given it up as unsuitable. These words from the report of President Sparks of Harvard College, in 1852, probably represent the view of the majority of American educators fifty years ago: "The voluntary system, as it has been called, is still retained to a certain extent, rather from necessity than preference. The number and variety of the studies for which the university has provided instruction are so large that it is impossible for any student, within the period of four years, to give such a degree of attention to them all as will enable him to acquire more than a limited and superficial knowledge, from which little profit can be derived." Although written with the opposite intention, these words form, as President Eliot says, an unanswerable argument for the elective system.

Fourth. Fifty years ago in the universities of Europe the faculties of professional instruction were closely associated with the general faculty of arts or philosophy. In the German universities they were coördinate faculties of the same institution, as they also were in the universities of Holland and the Scandinavian countries. In English universities much of the professional instruction was given in the colleges and was included in the work leading to the bachelor's degree. But in France, as has been said, the faculties were separate and independent of each other, and, nominally, had no connection except through the ministry of instruction in Paris.

Conditions in America were between these two extremes. Many professional schools, especially schools of theology and medicine, were independent and not connected with the universities in any way; and where professional schools did form parts of these institutions the connection was not close and the relation of the schools not well defined. Within the half century under survey, it has come to pass that the number of professional schools connected with universities (a) have greatly increased in numbers; when we name theology, law, medicine, pharmacy, engineering, architecture, forestry, music, dentistry and veterinary, the list is still an incomplete one; (b) have multiplied the students attending these courses more than tenfold; and (c) have increased the efficiency of the courses in an almost equal ratio.

All of these results have come about largely because of the close relationships that have been established between the professional schools and the

general training of the college, which through the whole period has been the core or the heart of the American university. Here educational history is repeating itself; for in the medieval universities a student was not received into the superior faculty of law, theology or medicine until he had completed the general studies of the so-called inferior faculty, the arts faculty; and in American universities there is a reversion to this idea in the requirement that is becoming more and more common that students are received into the professional schools only after taking, in whole or in part, the college course.

Fifth. Another element in the life of American universities, not all, but a majority of them—a picturesque feature of universities of the present day that was almost wholly lacking in the institutions of a half century ago—is coeducation. In our country this has been brought about through the development of state universities supported by public tax, with the manifest inequity of providing higher education for men and not for women, and the manifest economy of providing education for the two sexes in the same institution. All civilized nations have been moved to make more generous provision for the higher education of women; but in no other country of the world has so large an extension of the equality of opportunity met with such an enthusiastic response and so adequate a return.

Sixth. As compared with the democracy that obtains in all forms of education to-day, the universities of fifty years ago were relatively undemocratic. At that time the establishment and development of the great state universities, supported by all the people and appealing to all the people, had not gone far enough to become the great democratizing influence that it has since become. It was in 1862, the year after Kansas came to statehood, that the national Congress passed the law for the establishment of the agricultural and mechanical colleges, and these institutions, in many cases developed as departments in state universities, have been powerful agencies in making higher education in America more democratic. However, with the principles of democracy so deeply ingrained in the fabric of our political, social and industrial life, a more democratic type of higher education than was known a half century ago was inevitable.

And so, looking from our noble foundations of higher education in America with more than four hundred thousand students, their elastic courses, their appeals to popular interest and their incitements to popular advancement, their development of high ideals for professional life, and their stimulation of the best qualities in manhood and womanhood across the five decades that have elapsed since Kansas attained to statehood, one can realize the tremendous strides forward that have been taken and the great contrast between the conditions and the institutions of higher education now and then.

ARVIN S. OLIN.²

NOTE 2.—ARVIN SOLOMON OLIN, professor of education at the University of Kansas, was born October 19, 1855, at Eden, Clinton county, Iowa, the son of Nelson Olin and Harriet Holley Olin. The father was born at Perry, N. Y., May 26, 1827, and died at El Dorado, Kan., December 28, 1908. The mother was born at Gainesville, N. Y., December 18, 1827, and died at Earlville, Ohio, April 11, 1866. Before coming to Kansas the subject of this sketch lived in Iowa, California, Ohio and Michigan. He attended the common schools in all the states named, the Ottawa University, the University of Kansas, Clark University, and the University of Chicago. He belongs to various educational organizations, and has been president of the Kansas State Teachers' Association (1903), and member of the State Board of Education. He has been engaged in educational work in Kansas since May, 1873, when he began teaching a district school at Ridgeway, Osage

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS IN 1912.

Forty-six years after its opening to receive students the University of Kansas ranks nineteenth among the universities of America, judged by attendance; or, if comparison were made upon the basis of equal organization, perhaps fifteenth. For instance, Nebraska, which ranks in statistical tables ahead of Kansas, is credited with the attendance of her Agricultural College, which is not separated from the university. Furthermore, attendance statistics, to be fair, must show the number of weeks each student is in attendance. Short-course students can not fairly be counted against full-year students. The actual student-week attendance at the University of Kansas shows the use made of the University by the people of Kansas to be proportionately much greater than the numbers counted merely by enrollments.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND FACULTY.

For the year 1911-'12 the attendance at the University of Kansas is over 2400; of these about 400 will graduate. The number of first-year students is about 800. Serving these 2400 students there is a large force of men and women, including all from chancellor to janitor. About 165 of these are regular teachers on salary. The University has 4100 living alumni and about 20,000 former students altogether.

COST OF LIVING.

The instruction and service of the University has always been practically free to the people of the state. Including the nominal fee of \$15, a student can live at the University for \$186 for the school year. In fact, many students who board themselves go through on much less than this. Probably the average is between \$250 and \$300. Despite the increasing standard of living, the general tone and tendency of student life is simple and moderate. No Kansan with the mental capacity need enter life without a higher education when the cost is so low and the means of self help so accessible. At least half of the students earn all or some portion of their own expenses in or out of school.

INSTRUCTION.

The prime aim of instruction at the University of Kansas is integrity of character. Research scholars are developed if possible; keen students are developed if possible; but honest thinkers and workers who will try to give back to the world more than they receive—such products are the hope of the University of Kansas.

Instruction at the University is given by recitation, by lecture and by laboratory experimentation. Instruction by lectures is largely limited to the two upper classes of the college and to higher work in the professional schools. Recitation work is supplemented by much laboratory work, and by some apparatus in almost every department. In recitation classes a mandate of the regents limits the number to 40, but in most classes the attempt is made to reduce this to 25. For some subjects even this number is too large. Aside from the daily recitation, results are tested by irregular quizzes and by final examinations in each semester. Candidates for higher

county. He served as first professor of education in Ottawa University and the University of Kansas, also as superintendent of schools, Ottawa, 1889-'90, Kansas City, Kan., 1890-'93. September 6, 1882, he was married at Lawrence to Martha Davis, in 1911.

degrees must write dissertations presenting the result of special studies, and stand a final general examination.

ENTRANCE STANDARDS.

The organic unity of the public-school system of Kansas makes the scholarship of the University very largely dependent in quality and advancement upon that of the Kansas high schools. In view of the youth of so many Kansas high schools, the average of University scholarship is not yet what it should and will be; but both parties to this relationship recognize their mutual obligations and are working together for the raising and broadening of standards. They can not afford to grow apart. The ideals of the University inspire the high school. The practical necessities of the high school must be considered by the University. The University is doing its part in this matter by furnishing as rapidly as possible well-equipped teachers and offering expert inspection and advice. The high schools are showing their good will by seeking close relations with the University and by sending their graduates to it in ever-increasing numbers. The graduate of the Kansas high school lacks in accuracy and thoroughness, but he is marked by adaptability and mental alertness. While keeping these latter qualities, the training of the future must try to strengthen the former.

Fifteen units of high-school studies, practically four years' work, are required for entrance, but the University accepts this on the certification of the high school authorities. The amount is that required by all the better institutions in the United States.

COURSES OF STUDY.

The 275 teachers and assistants and honorary lecturers offer each year about 600 different courses of study in some 50 departments. In the professional schools the student's entire course is mapped out, with the exception of a very small margin. In the college the student is required to take a minimum of work in several groups of study, as physical science, mathematics, modern language, during the freshman and sophomore years; in the junior and senior years his choice is free, subject to a maximum limit of one-third of all his work in a single group, as mathematics, while at least one-sixth of his entire work must be spent in some one department. The aim of these regulations is to secure a wise combination of concentration and distribution of studies.

RELATION OF THE COLLEGE TO THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.

It is the declared policy of the university to base the work of all the professional schools upon the freshman-sophomore work of the college. The schools of medicine and education have already adopted this standard; the other schools are preparing to adopt it as soon as feasible. In this way, in medicine and education the student will receive a B. A. at the end of four years, and in engineering B. S., and the professional degree at the end of six. For students who can afford it, a full college course of four years preceding the professional school work is recommended.

The candidate for the B. A. degree is permitted to select from the more general studies of a professional school from one-eighth to one-fourth of his entire course.

DEGREES OFFERED.

The graduate from the college of arts receives the degree A. B., regardless of the special field of his studies; from the school of medicine, M. D.;

from the school of law, LL. B.; from the school of engineering, B. S.; from the school of education, B. S. in Education; from the school of pharmacy, Ph. G.; from the school of fine arts, Mus. B. or B. of Painting. Graduate study of one year or more leads to the degree of A. M., while the degree of Ph. D. is attained by original research during not less than three years of graduate study. Holders of the degree B. S. in Engineering may receive the degree M. S. after one year of graduate study, and C. E., E. E., M. E., Min. E. or Chem. E. after three years of professional work and on presentation of a practical engineering thesis.

According to the constitution of the state of Kansas, the University must have departments of agriculture and teaching. Geographical reasons established the Agricultural College and Normal School at other points, but these are by the intent of the constitution parts of the University. Either this, or the University, which has indeed established a school of education, should open a school of agriculture also.

The government of the University is vested in a board of seven regents, a chancellor and a faculty. Experience has distributed the functions of management as follows: The regents administer the general politics, the appointments and the finances of the institution; the chancellor³ is the executive, and by his membership in both bodies shares in the functions of both regents and faculty; the faculty administer the curriculum, the work of teaching, and the relation of students to the same. In all matters appeal lies to the regents, with whom final authority is lodged.

The faculty has become, for practical purposes, the council and the faculties. For general University affairs the faculty, which is too large and too transient to administer such matters, is represented by the council, made up of all heads of departments, now forty-five in number. The separate schools of the University have each its faculty, consisting of all instructors in that school, with an executive officer called the dean at the head. Deans are appointed by the regents.

PHYSICAL PLANT.

The physical plant of the University of Kansas consists of about 171 acres of campus, 164 being at Lawrence and 7 at Rosedale, and 21 buildings, as follows: North College, Fraser Hall, Blake Hall, Spooner Library, Chancellor's Residence, Natural History Museum, Green Hall, Snow Hall, Fowler Shops, Repair Shop and Water Laboratory, Heating Plant, Robinson Gymnasium, Chemistry Building, Medical Hall, Haworth Hall, Marvin Hall, Power Plant and Mechanical Engineering Laboratory, Administration Building; and at Rosedale, Bell Hospital, Clinical Laboratory, State Hospital. These buildings have a total of about 570 rooms, large and small, for laboratory, lecture and office purposes.

In addition to the usual department apparatus, the University has valuable collections in entomology, paleontology, North American mammals, ornithology, and mineralogy, some of these ranking among the best in the world. The library contains about 75,000 volumes.

NOTE 3.—The following have served as chancellors of the University: Richard W. Oliver, Lawrence, 1865-'67. John Fraser, Agricultural College, Penn., 1868-'74; died June 4, 1878, Alleghany City, Penn. James Marvin, Meadville, Penn., 1874-'83; died July 9, 1901, Lawrence. Joshua Allen Lippincott, Carlisle, Penn., 1883-'89. William Cornelius Spangler, Lawrence, acting chancellor 1889-'90, 1901-'02; died, Lawrence, October 22, 1902. Francis Huntington Snow, Lawrence, 1890-1901; died September 20, 1908. Frank Strong, University of Oregon, 1902 to present time.

The University buildings are heated by steam and lighted from a central plant, the tunnels and installation representing a very considerable investment. The estimated value of the entire University plant is \$1,500,000.

STUDENT LIFE.

The life of the students of the University of Kansas is as nearly as possible that of high-minded young people of their age elsewhere. They average a little above eighteen at entrance and twenty-two at graduation. They live in private homes in Lawrence, as the state has built no dormitories, and the University supervision provides only that these homes shall be in good sanitary condition, and that men and women students shall not room in the same house. Whatever the tone and conduct of the students, it is largely what they bring from their homes; but they are a picked lot of young people, and their conduct is, as a rule, good. They go about their business and their amusements very much like other young people, only somewhat more earnestly.

Their business is to study, but as this is the routine of life less is heard about it than of their avocations and their amusements. A broader interpretation of education than once prevailed properly includes much of what is sometimes called sport. Thus the systematic pursuit of physical culture, including even games; the cultivation of ability in acting and debating; even organized social intercourse—all contribute to the education of the student. But in these latter pursuits the students take more the initiative, and hence there exist some fifteen fraternities and sororities—self-perpetuating social clubs—three or four debating clubs, two literary societies, three dramatic clubs, a band, an orchestra, a mandolin club, a glee club, the athletic association with branch clubs for each field of sport, the men's and women's government associations, the graduate club, the archeological club; German, French, Spanish and Italian clubs, and department clubs in many other departments; a country club, class and school organizations, several social clubs, and a great number of dining clubs. With these and other transient organizations, opportunity is offered for every student to cultivate sides of his nature not represented by the work of the curriculum.

PUBLICATIONS.

The University of Kansas publishes a *Science Bulletin*, numbering with its predecessor, the *University Quarterly*, fifteen volumes; the Geological Survey of Kansas, in ten volumes, No. 10 in press; the Mineral Resources of Kansas, in seven volumes; entomological bulletins, in twenty-four numbers; University extension bulletins, in ten numbers. The Alumni Association publishes monthly *The Graduate Magazine*. The undergraduates publish a daily, *The University Kansan*; two monthlies, *The Kansas University Lawyer* and *The Oread Magazine*; a quarterly, *The Quill*; an annual, *The Jayhawker*.

SPIRIT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The spirit of the University of Kansas is thoroughly democratic, both among students and faculty, and between students and faculty. There is none of the cloistered aloofness that was once characteristic of the scholar and the student. Rank signifies nothing save a greater demand for service. No lines are drawn between chief and assistant, between teacher and learner; all are Kansans, all trying to make themselves better men and better citizens.

RELIGION.

The University is undenominational. This is far from meaning that it is nonreligious. The teachers of the University believe in religion in the life. Religion is everywhere treated as a prime interest of men, and serious thought about it is cultivated. Every department of instruction is a field for genuine, non-sectarian religious culture. But the time has long passed when church denominations tried to control or interfere with appointments or management. Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Buddhist find fair treatment and tolerant respect for their beliefs.

DOES IT PAY?

It costs the state about \$175 a year to educate each of the students, a per capita cost less by \$75 than that of the average better universities of the country. Considering the standing of the University, it is beyond question that the state is receiving better returns for its money invested in higher education than most of the states. To each graduate, then, an education that costs in his four years \$640 more than he personally pays is given. Are not these graduates worth much more than that to the state?

In our own state the entire development of the institutions and standards of higher education has been within the fifty-year period that we have been discussing; and it is gratifying to our state pride to say that the ratio of students in institutions of higher learning to the entire population of the state is larger than that of any other state in the Union. In Kansas one person in every 112 is in attendance at an institution of higher learning. In other words, almost one per cent of the population of Kansas is attending college or university. The ratio in the United States at large is 1 to 229, less than one-half of one per cent. The statement of such a fact about Kansas is a revelation of the character and a prophecy of the future of our state.

W. H. CARRUTH.⁴

NOTE 4.—WILLIAM HERBERT CARRUTH was born on a farm near Osawatomie, Miami county, Kansas, April 5, 1859. He is the son of James H. and Jane Grant Carruth. From his father he inherited a strong love for books and study, working his way through school and college and graduating from the University of Kansas in 1880. Having served as assistant in modern languages during his student days, upon the completion of his course he was elected professor of modern languages, which position he filled until the growth of the University required its division into two departments, French and German, he retaining the latter. In 1886 he studied German at the Universities of Berlin and Munich; in 1889 he received his master's degree at Harvard, and doctor's degree in 1893. Doctor Carruth is a man of many activities and a delightful writer in both prose and poetry. He has been a member and director of the Kansas State Historical Society for many years. He was married in 1882 to Miss Frances Schlegel, who for eight years was professor of French and German at the University of Kansas. She died at Lawrence September 3, 1908. He married, June 10, 1910, Katherine Kent Morton, daughter of Howard Morton, of Tescott, Kan., one of the survivors of the battle of the Arickaree.

THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.

An address by LYMAN B. KELLOGG,¹ the first principal, delivered February 15, 1910, at Founders' Day celebration.

FORTY-FIVE years ago to-day a small band of eighteen students and one teacher assembled for the beginning of the actual work of this Normal School.

The school had no buildings nor grounds. It borrowed from school district No. 1 of Lyon county the use of the upstairs room of the stone school-house in the village of Emporia, then a town of about 400 or 500 inhabitants. The school had no seats, desks or other school furniture. Long settees were borrowed from the Congregational church for the use of the students. A small table from a notary's office and a yellow-painted arm chair from the county treasurer's office served the needs of the teacher. A Webster's unabridged dictionary and a small Bible, the property of the teacher, were on the table, and constituted the Normal School library.²

There was no speech making at the opening exercises that day, and no visitors. But later in the day Rev. G. C. Morse,³ secretary of the board of directors, and several citizens of the town came in to see how the new school was getting started. The parable of the sower was read from the Bible and the Lord's Prayer repeated by the teacher and students; and so the State Normal School of Kansas commenced an educational work which has been going on ever since in a steadily increasing tide and volume.

Two of the students of that first term, Mary Jane Watson and Ellen Plumb, were teachers of ability and experience before attending the Normal School, and constituted its first graduating class of 1867, and were afterwards members of its faculty, Miss Plumb in the model school and Miss Watson in the normal department. Another student of that opening day

NOTE 1.—LYMAN BEECHER KELLOGG was born September 28, 1841, at Lorain, Lorain county, Ohio, the son of Hiram Kellogg and Delia Beecher. The father was born in Cortland county, New York, and died at Fremont, Neb., in 1870; the mother was born in Connecticut and died in McHenry, Ill., in 1863. Mr. Kellogg was educated in the public schools and the State Normal University, Bloomington, Ill. His first wife was Abbie Horner, who died in 1873. His second wife was Jennie Mitchell, the daughter of Rev. D. P. Mitchell. She was born March 4, 1850, and died at Emporia May 9, 1911. The following are his children by the first wife: Vernon L. Kellogg, Palo Alto, Cal., and Fred H. Kellogg, Santa Rosa, Cal.; children of the second wife: Charles M. Kellogg, Santa Rosa, Cal., and Mary V. and Joseph M. Kellogg, of Emporia, Kan. Three are graduates of the Kansas University, one of Stanford, and one of Cornell. Mr. Kellogg has held the following positions in public service: Principal State Normal School, Emporia, 1865-'71; member of the state house of representatives, 1877-'79; probate judge, Lyon county, 1879-'85; state senator, 1885-'89; attorney-general, 1889-'91; and regent of the State Normal eight years, ending in 1907.

NOTE 2.—The Kellogg library, completed in 1902 at a cost of \$60,000, provided with modern library equipment, is admirably adapted for research work. Over 27,000 books, selected with reference to the teacher's work, are catalogued and ready for instant reference. The entire library force have had library training in the best schools of the country. This enables them to give helpful guidance to the students.—Forty-seventh Annual Catalogue, Kansas State Normal School, p. 18.

NOTE 3.—REV. GROSVENOR C. MORSE was born at Acworth, N. H., April 19, 1827. Graduated from Dartmouth College and Andover Theological Seminary. He was married to Abby P. Barber, of Massachusetts. He arrived in Kansas October 1, 1857, and settled at Emporia. With the exception of two years, he labored under the direction of the Home Missionary Society. He was a member of the "Andover Band." He died July 13, 1871.

was Ellen Cowles, who is now on this platform as the presiding officer of the exercises of this day, Mrs. George Plumb.⁴

Within a short time after that opening day there were more students—forty-two, all told—and the room in which the school was held was comfortably supplied with school furniture, and all were diligently at work. During that first fractional school year, beginning in February and ending in June, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant, Abraham Lincoln gave up his life, and the great War of the Rebellion was brought to a close.

At the end of the school year in 1865 there were fitting public exercises, including an anniversary address by Judge D. J. Brewer,⁵ of Leavenworth, then a young man, now one of the greatly honored justices of the supreme court of the United States at Washington. In order to reach Emporia, Judge Brewer was compelled to travel by stage, first from Leavenworth to Lawrence, one day, and then from Lawrence to Emporia, a night and a day. At that time Emporia's only connection with the outside world was a triweekly stage from Lawrence. The address of Judge Brewer on that occasion was a memorable one, and, if you will permit me, the Normal School has never had a more scholarly or eloquent address during all of the

NOTE 4.—ELLEN M. COWLES was born in Michigan, the daughter of Francis M. Cowles, and came to Kansas in 1859, settling in Lyon county. She was married to George Plumb, now railroad commissioner, August 22, 1867. She is the mother of eight children, five of them living, as follows: Mrs. Margaret P. Rodrick lives on the home farm with two children; James R. Plumb is a farmer in Lyon county, married, with three children; Miss Inez Plumb, a professional nurse, at home in Emporia; Joseph C. Plumb, at Lewiston, Mont., a wheat raiser; Mrs. Kitty A. De Long and two children, living five miles northeast of Emporia, whose husband is a prominent horse and cattle raiser. The Plumb family reached Kansas in March, 1857, and they were the first to raise a board shanty on the town site of Emporia, while to-day the story of the Plumbs is wider than the state.

Mrs. M. L. Hollingsworth (Maggie Spencer) writes a letter from Brownsville, Ore., and published in the *Emporia Gazette* of April 12, 1912, a portion of which is as follows: "I am a representative of one of the most 'numerous' families of those early times in Lyon county—the well-known Spencer family of twelve children, ten of them daughters, who bore their full share of taming the wilds and laying the foundation for a free state and a great commonwealth that were the common heritage of the pioneers from 1856 through the thrilling times of the sixties. I think I am safe in saying that we furnished more pupils for the schools, more charter members for the State Normal, and later more teachers for the schools, than any other family in the county, if not in the state. I was a student at the old Congregational church before the days of schoolhouses, and remember with what anxiety we looked to the completion of the new stone schoolhouse on Constitution street, where Mary Jane Watson and Ella Spencer were, I think, the first teachers. The upper room of this building was the cradle of the State Normal School, and I was privileged to be one of the 'first eighteen' of that great institution, and I hope to be among those who celebrate its golden anniversary in a few more years. Those olden days—yet those 'golden days'—bring such a flood of memories, of joy and sorrow, of trials and pleasures, much greater than I could possibly recount on paper. I must, however, mention the names of a few, many of whom still are residents of the old campground. Maggie Brown, the belle of our young set, soon was claimed as a bride, and became Mrs. D. S. Gilmore. Ellen Cowles, Ellen Armor and I were left to 'chase the antelope over the plain.' The champion horseback rider became Mrs. J. S. Watson, and the prize student drew one of the prizes from the Plumb family and became Mrs. George Plumb. Last, and not least, without charm or talent, the writer became Mrs. B. F. Hollingsworth, and is the mother of four daughters and a son, and while ministering to the family needs has been identified with all the interests, moral, religious and educational, in the communities in which she has lived. One of my earliest recollections of the new town was hearing of the marriage of Miss Anna Watson to Mr. Randolph, which seemed a great event to us. The marriage of Miss Murdock and Mr. Stotler seemed another important event in the community life. In those days of the early sixties some of the brave boys of Emporia fell on the field of battle, while others came marching home victoriously. Among the victory-crowned were the Plumb boys, the Murdock boys, Lemuel Heritage, L. A. Phillips, I. N. Spencer and many others, with Colonel Plumb at the head. I think I heard Colonel Plumb make his maiden speech at a flag presentation ceremony in the early days of the Civil War, which stirred my soul and made me wish I could be a soldier, even timid girl that I was. Experience has taught me, however, that not all the battles were fought in the sixties, nor all the victories won, and that it is not necessary for all of courage and valor to face the cannon's mouth. There is fighting all along the line, and real heroes are needed as much to-day as in the sixties."

NOTE 5.—DAVID JOSIAH BREWER was born in Smyrna, Asia Minor, June 20, 1837, the son of the Rev. Josiah Brewer, who was missionary of the Congregational Church to Turkey. His mother was Emalie, daughter of Rev. David Field, of Stockbridge, Mass., and a sister to Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic cable fame, and Stephen J. Field, at one time

forty-five years of its existence than it had on that day. I say this with grateful recollection of the masterly address of President Richard Edwards, of the Normal University of Illinois, on a later occasion, and the long line of splendid educational addresses of later years delivered from this platform.

And now, before closing this branch of what I am trying to say in this paper, let me stop long enough to pay my tribute to the students of those early years. I think they were equal to those of the present time in good, hard student work, in enthusiasm, and in devotion to the high calling of the teacher's profession.

Kansas is both old and new. Its soil was first trodden by white men in the winter of 1541. The Spanish flag accompanied the feet. This was the expedition of Coronado. Over a hundred years later, 1682, La Salle descended the Mississippi and took formal possession of all the country watered by it and its tributaries for his sovereign, Louis XIV of France, in whose honor it was named Louisiana. The first French expedition to actually set foot in Kansas was that of Du Tisné, in 1719, who was sent up from New Orleans to explore the new possessions. He is supposed to have entered the state in what is now Linn county, and to have proceeded as far west as the Neosho river in this county, and then to have gone to the northwest beyond where Junction City now is. He set up a cross, with the arms of France on it, in this state not far from where Zebulon M. Pike later first raised the American flag at an Indian village in Republic county.⁶

France ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1763; in 1801 Spain ceded it back to France; and in 1803 Thomas Jefferson purchased it from Napoleon. And so, after having been swapped back and forth between Spain and France, the ground upon which the Normal School buildings stand became American soil, as part of the Louisiana Purchase from France. Noble L. Prentiss once said that as accurate a mathematician as Senator John J. Ingalls figured it out that the United States paid France for this land at the rate of one one-hundredth of a cent an acre. The original Normal School grounds of twenty acres, therefore, cost our government one-fifth of one cent, all told.

After acquiring the Normal School grounds from France in 1803, the United States, by treaty with the Wyandot Indians at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, in 1842, agreed to give to certain members of the tribe, among them one Francis A. Hicks,⁷ a section of land apiece, to be selected by them out

chief justice of the supreme court. Soon after his birth the parents returned to Connecticut. He graduated from Yale with high honors in 1856. He read law with his uncle, David Dudley Field, and took a course at the Albany Law School. He graduated in 1858, practiced a few weeks in Kansas City, Mo., and after making a trip to Denver and Pike's Peak, settled in Leavenworth in September, 1859. In 1862 he was elected judge of the probate and criminal court of Leavenworth county. In 1865 he was elected judge of the district court, first judicial district. He next served as county attorney, and then as superintendent of city schools, and was the first president of the State Teachers' Association. In 1870 he was elected as associate justice of the supreme court of the state. In 1884 he was appointed judge of the United States circuit court, and in 1889 associate justice of the supreme court of the United States. In 1896 President Cleveland appointed him to represent the United States upon the Venezuela Boundary-line Commission, and he was also one of the five members of the British-Venezuela Arbitration Tribunal. He was married October 3, 1861, to Miss Louise Landon, of Burlington, Vt. Mrs. Brewer died in June, 1899. Justice Brewer married June 5, 1901, Miss Emma Minter Mott, of Burlington, Vt. He died March 28, 1910, and is buried at Leavenworth.

NOTE 6.—It is somewhat in question to-day whether Claude Charles du Tisné really entered Kansas. He came very close to the eastern boundary of the state, and may have crossed the southeastern corner. Research work in the library of the Historical Society, following the statements of du Tisné, would show that the Pawnee villages were, at the time of his visit to them, on one of the Cabin creeks near what is now Vinita, Okla.

NOTE 7.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, 1904, p. 536.

of the public lands of the United States west of the Missouri river. Pursuant to this treaty and a later one signed by representatives of the Wyandots at Washington, D. C., the remnants of the tribe were induced to leave their hunting grounds and villages and remove to a reservation set apart for them at the mouth of the Kaw river, where they established an Indian village upon the site of the old town of Wyandotte, now Kansas City, Kan.

Francis A. Hicks having died, his right to select and locate the section of land was sold and transferred by the executor of his estate to George W. Deitzler, the first president of the Emporia Town Company, who located this Indian right, or "float," as it was called, upon section 10, in township 19, range 11, in Lyon county, Kansas, and on May 7, 1860, the United States, by James Buchanan, President, issued a patent for this section of land to the "heirs of Francis Hicks." The original town site of Emporia occupies the south half of this section 10. George W. Deitzler deeded the portion of the land upon which the Normal School is located to Anna J. Allen on October 1, 1860; from her the land went to Giles T. Filley, of St. Louis, Mo., and on March 26, 1866, Mr. Filley deeded the original twenty acres to the state of Kansas for the Normal School. It consisted of a strip of land twenty rods wide, fronting on Twelfth avenue, at the head of Commercial street, and extending north 160 rods to the north line of section 10, the old "Indian float," and being a part of the Louisiana Purchase from France.

I now invite your attention to the fact that not only did we acquire the Normal School grounds from France, but that we acquired the name "Normal School," and also the very methods, foundation principles and scheme of organization from the same source.

On February 18, 1909, just three days after we were assembled in this Albert Taylor Hall, celebrating the beginning of this school, a notable banquet and celebration of the fifty-second anniversary of the enactment of the law establishing the State Normal University of Illinois was held at Bloomington, in that state. The principal address at that banquet and celebration was by a man now of mature years, J. H. Burnham, a graduate of the class of 1861 of that normal school. I remember Mr. Burnham very well as a fellow student of mine in that normal school. He was senior classman when I was a member of the entering class.

Mr. Burnham's address on that occasion was clean-cut, logical, accurate, and in every way a notable address for what I have already called a notable occasion. His subject was, "Some of the Influences that Led to the Founding of the Normal University." Mr. Burnham assumed in his hearers, as I shall here, a general knowledge on the part of his audience of the history of normal schools and normal education in Europe and in this country. But in the course of his address he called attention to a scrap of history not usually mentioned. I shall let Mr. Burnham tell this incident of history in his own words, by quoting literally from his address. Mr. Burnham said:

"I have inherited from my grandfather a bound volume of the *Massachusetts Monthly Magazine* for the year 1795. This magazine, like all publications of those times, gives its readers the very latest European news, which news had traveled, not under the waves by ocean telegraph or over the waves by wireless, but by the slow and tedious sail vessel, buffeting against the waves of the stormy Atlantic

"The dark and bloody times of that awful French Revolution were just

over, and the national convention had passed into the hands of energetic, enthusiastic, cultivated leaders of the best public opinion. With all of the faults of that frenzied convention, its members at times enacted some of the grandest laws the world has ever seen, and in spite of its bloody actions this convention was really a powerful factor in the cause of human liberty. The reign of terror, after the passage of this act, never again became the terrible engine of the preceding years. In the April number of this magazine for the year 1795 I find this heading in capital letters: 'Normal Schools: Account of a New Institution in France.' The word 'Normal,' which has been applied to the newly established schools in France, is drawn from the dictionary of geometry. It expresses probably a level, but in the figurative sense it announces that in these schools all knowledge relative to arts, sciences, belles-lettres, etc., will be taught to every citizen, whatever branch he may choose to apply to. In order to obtain this grand object the convention wished the teachers and professors should be formed [organized], and these schools are thus established to qualify teachers for the whole republic."

"The magazine then says: 'The following are the statutes resolved on by the representatives of the people with the normal schools of Paris, on the 15th of January, 1795,' and I will quote from the statute as given:

" 'Article third. The principal object of these conferences shall be reading and examination of the elementary schools or the republic.'

" 'Article fifth. The sittings of the normal school shall be employed alternately in unfolding the principles of the art of teaching, as explained by the professors, and in conference on these principles among the professors and pupils.'

"A list of the studies to be taught then follows, which is very similar to the studies pursued to-day in our own normal school, and it is added:

"The second sitting of the normal school took place on the 22d of January.'

"A careful reading of article 3 and article 5 will show that the French national convention, in its normal and public-school act, gave the world almost identically the normal idea upon which our normal schools are acting to-day, which is, teaching our teachers to teach. Perhaps it will be proper to state that in 1795 the French people were magnetized and blinded by the idea of national and military glory, and that within a few months this new-born normal-school idea was buried under Napoleon's magnificent plans for European control.

"Carlyle, in his 'French Revolution,' says: 'Gone are the Jacobins, into invisibility, in a storm of laughter and howls. Their place is made into a normal school, the first of its kind seen; it then vanishes.'

"Looking backward, it seems as if France then stood at the parting of the ways; the way to peace and a magnificent future prosperity appeared to follow from their new public-school and normal-school law; the road to suffering, sorrow and despair certainly was followed by giving way to the blandishments of a Napoleon."

This is the end of the quotation from the address. You understand that it is Mr. Burnham and his old *Massachusetts Magazine* and Carlyle that have been doing the talking.

In the proceedings of the national convention of France of January, 1795, as contained in the *Massachusetts Magazine* of the following April, Horace Mann, Edmund Dwight, Father Pierce and their educational friends may well have found the inspiration for their glorious fight and victory for normal education in Massachusetts.

The normal educational stream of life flowed from the Bridgewater Normal School of Massachusetts to the Illinois Normal School, two of its presidents, Richard Edwards and Edwin C. Hewett, having been graduates of the Bridgewater school. The same life-giving stream flowed from the Illinois Normal School to this Kansas Normal, two of its presidents, Albert

R. Taylor⁸ and Jasper N. Wilkinson⁹ having been students at the Illinois Normal, and also its first principal and associate principal, Henry B. Norton,¹⁰ of blessed memory.

In the course of years the Illinois Normal University has become a larger school than the Bridgewater Normal School, and this (Emporia) school is larger than the Illinois Normal. But the debt of gratitude of New England to Horace Mann and his associates, and, if you will permit the suggestion, to the national convention of France of 1795, and the debt of Illinois to Massachusetts, and of Kansas to Illinois, can never be adequately repaid.

But we are doing our best to pay this indebtedness. On July 13, 1909, as you remember, J. M. Rhodes, a graduate of this school and one of its honored teachers, went to New England to start a new normal school at Keene, N. H., which is, figuratively, only a stone's throw from the old Bridgewater Normal School. You also remember that J. E. Clock, also a graduate of this school, went back to New England ten years ago as president of the State Normal School at Plymouth, N. H., a position which he still holds, greatly to the benefit of that state. You further remember that while Illinois gave to Kansas a president of this school for eighteen years, in the person of Albert Reynolds Taylor in his early manhood, Kansas has paid this debt by giving to Illinois the same Albert R. Taylor in his prime, as the honored president of the James Milliken University, at Decatur.

On July 5, 1859, there assembled in a large hall over a warehouse, on the wharf or levee of the Missouri river landing at the then straggling village of Wyandotte, a body of fifty-two young men, nearly two-thirds of whom were under thirty-five years of age, who had been delegated by the voters at their homes to make a constitution for the state. This was the famous Wyandotte constitutional convention.¹¹ It was in session for twenty-one days, and the result of their labor is now the organic law of this state. John J. Ingalls, father of Regent Sheffield Ingalls of this institution, was one of the active members of that convention. He was then a young man, twenty-six years of age, and afterward served with great distinction as United States senator for Kansas. W. E. Griffith, who was the first state

NOTE 8.—ALBERT REYNOLDS TAYLOR, president James Milliken University, Decatur, Ill., was born at Magnolia, Ill., October 16, 1846, the son of John Taylor and Mary Ann Mills. He married Frances Minerva Dent, of Winona, Ill., October 16, 1873. He was president of the Kansas State Normal from 1882 to 1901, lecturer before chautauquas, and the author of many publications.

NOTE 9.—JASPER NEWTON WILKINSON was born in Vinton county, Ohio, September 19, 1851, son of Jackson Wilkinson and Mary Morrison. He removed to Illinois in 1864, and graduated from the Illinois Normal University in 1874; married June, 1879, Nellie B. Reynolds; taught district and high schools at several places in Illinois. He came to Kansas in 1884 and served as training teacher, Kansas State Normal, until 1901, and in this year became president of the State Normal. He resigned the presidency in April, 1906, and went to Oklahoma, where he engaged in business.

NOTE 10.—HENRY BRACE NORTON was born in Gaines, Orleans county, New York, February 22, 1836. He was educated at a classical school in Rockford, Ill., at Beloit College, Wisconsin, and in 1858 entered the Illinois Normal University, where he graduated in 1861 with high honors. He was principal of the model school in this institution one year, then taught a year at Warsaw, Ill., and edited the Bloomington *Pentagraph* one year. He married Miss Marian Goodrich in 1864. He was county superintendent of schools of Ogle county, Illinois, and came from that position to Kansas as vice principal of the Normal School in 1865. Resigning in 1870, he became one of the founders of Arkansas City, but in 1873 he returned to Emporia and the Normal, remaining until 1875, when he went to California, teaching in the San José State Normal School. He died June 22, 1885.

NOTE 11.—For list of members of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, with biographical data, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 11, p. 43, note 2.

superintendent of Kansas, and whose portrait is downstairs hanging on the walls of the general office, was a member of that constitutional convention, and served as chairman of its committee on education.

The daily sessions of that convention were attended throughout the entire twenty-one days of its existence by a quiet, motherly, soft-spoken woman as an interested spectator. She was not a member of the constitutional convention, and had no vote nor voice in its proceedings. It is said that she frequently brought her knitting work, and would sit through a session, sometimes alone and sometimes with a neighbor woman, placidly knitting, but keeping a comprehending mind upon the proceedings. She had a purpose in being present. If you will turn to section 23 of article 2 of the constitution of this state you will find the following:

"SEC. 23. The legislature in providing for the formation and regulation of schools, shall make no distinction between the rights of males and females."

This was one of the things that Mrs. Clarinda I. Howard Nichols¹² sought to obtain by her attendance at the convention. You will find in the constitution a provision to the effect that mothers and fathers shall have equal rights in the custody and control of their children, and that men and women have equal property rights in Kansas—more of the fruits of this good woman's attendance at the Wyandotte convention. You understand now why women attend the State Normal School, the State University, and the State Agricultural College, and vote at school meetings, the same as men.

But we are now more especially interested in the Wyandotte convention because it is in the proceedings of that body that we find the first official recognition of normal education in Kansas. In section 2 of article 6 of the constitution there is a mandate requiring the legislature to establish a uniform system of common schools and schools of higher grade, embracing normal, preparatory, collegiate and university departments. You observe that it is the normal departments that are first mentioned for the schools of higher grade.

NOTE 12.—MRS. CLARINDA IRENE HOWARD NICHOLS was born in Townshend, Vt., January 25, 1810. Her early efforts were directed in the cause of education, and she became a teacher in public and private schools, and founded a young ladies' seminary at Herkimer, N. Y., in 1835. Her second husband being an editor, she was brought prominently into the newspaper field in her native state. She came to Kansas in 1854 to look at the country, with a view of finding a home for her children, and moved here in 1855, settling at Quindaro, Wyandotte county, in the spring of 1857. In territorial days her voice was ever ready to help for the freedom of Kansas. In 1871 she moved to California, where she resided until her death, which occurred at Potter Valley, January 11, 1885. She left four children, Mrs. Frank Davis, Cavendish, Vt.; C. H. Carpenter, Kansas City, Kan.; A. O. Carpenter, Ukiah; and George B. Nichols, Potter Valley.

In Susan B. Anthony's "History of Woman Suffrage," pages 171, 172, is the following tribute to Mrs. Nichols:

"To Clarinda Howard Nichols the women of Kansas are indebted for many civil rights they have as yet been too apathetic to exercise. Her personal presence in the constitutional convention of 1859 secured for the women of that state liberal property rights, equal guardianship of their children, and the right to vote on all school questions. She is a large-hearted, brave, faithful woman, and her life speaks for itself. Her experiences are indeed the history of all that was done in the above-mentioned states" (Vermont, Wisconsin, Kansas, Missouri).

Mrs. Nichols is quoted as follows:

"From 1843 to 1853, inclusive, I edited the Windham County *Democrat*, published by my husband, George W. Nichols, at Brattleboro. Early in 1847 I addressed to the voters of the state a series of editorials setting forth the injustice and miserable economy of the property disabilities of married women. In October of the same year Hon. Larkin Mead, of Brattleboro, 'moved,' as he said, 'by Mrs. Nichols' presentation of the subject' in the *Democrat*, introduced in the Vermont senate a bill securing to the wife real and personal property, with its use, and power to defend, convey and devise as if 'sole.' The bill, as passed, secured to the wife real estate owned by her at marriage, or acquired by gift, devise or inheritance during marriage, with the rents, issues and profits, as against any

By the Wyandotte constitution slavery was denied, and free schools, with provision for normal education, were provided. No educational propaganda was required, as it had been in Massachusetts and Illinois to educate the people in favor of professional training and special preparation for the teaching profession. Pursuant to the mandate of the constitution, the legislature passed an act in 1863, two years after Kansas was admitted into the Union under the Wyandotte constitution, establishing the Normal School at Emporia.

The story of the location of the State Normal School at Emporia is substantially as follows: The location of the State University was the prize contested for by several towns at the session of the legislature of 1863. The two towns receiving the greatest support for the University were Lawrence and Emporia. Upon the final vote Lawrence had one more vote than Emporia, and was successful. Hon. C. V. Eskridge¹³ was a member of the house of representatives from Emporia that winter, and made a gallant fight for the University for Emporia. After the University was lost to Emporia, Judge L. D. Bailey,¹⁴ then a justice of the supreme court, who had come to Kansas from Massachusetts, and knew about normal schools, suggested to Mr. Eskridge that, having lost the location of the University, he might have the legislature establish a normal school at Emporia. It is said that Mr. Eskridge inquired, "What is a normal school?" and being assured that it was something the state could establish as a state institution, fell into the plan with good will. Judge Bailey drew up the law, copied largely from the normal-school law of Massachusetts, and the next day following his defeat for the University Mr. Eskridge introduced the bill locating the Normal School at Emporia.

The legislature was willing to do anything it could to salve the defeat, and the bill was passed without opposition and with very little consideration, the legislature believing a normal school to be a good thing if Massachusetts had it. And so the Normal School was located at Emporia, and the legislature proceeded to other business. Whatever may be said about Mr. Eskridge's previous knowledge of normal schools, it is to his credit

debts of the husband; but to make a sale or conveyance of either her realty or its use valid, it must be the joint act of husband and wife. She might by last will and testament dispose of her lands, tenements, hereditaments, and any interest therein descendable to her heirs, as if 'sole.' A subsequent legislature added to the latter clause moneys, notes, bonds and other assets accruing from sale or use of real estate. And this was the first breath of a legal civil existence to Vermont wives.

"In 1849 Vermont enacted a homestead law; in 1850 a bill empowering the wife to insure in her own interest the life or a term of the life of her husband, the annual premium on such insurance not to exceed \$300; also, an act giving to widows of childless husbands the whole of an estate not exceeding \$1000 in value, and half of any amount in excess of \$1000, and if he left no kin the whole estate, however large, became the property of the widow. Prior to this act the widow of a childless husband had only half, however small the estate, and if he left no kindred to claim it the remaining half went into the treasury of the state, whose gain was the town's loss, if, as occasionally happened, the widow's half was not sufficient for her support.

"In 1852 I drew up a petition, signed by more than 200 of the most substantial business men, including the staunchest conservatives, and taxpaying widows of Brattleboro, asking the legislature to make the women of the state voters in district-school meetings.

"Up to 1850 I had not taken a position for suffrage, but instead of disclaiming its advocacy as improper I had, since 1849, shown the absurdity of regarding suffrage as unwomanly. Having failed to secure her legal rights by reason of her disfranchisement, a woman must look to the ballot for self-protection. In this cautious way I proceeded, aware that not a house would be open to me did I demand the suffrage before convicting men of legal robbery through woman's inability to defend herself."

NOTE 13.—For biographical sketch of Hon. Charles V. Eskridge see Seventeenth Biennial Report, 1909-'10, Kansas State Historical Society, p. 90.

NOTE 14.—For biographical sketch of Judge Lawrence D. Bailey, see Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 133.

that in the early days of the school the institution had no better friend than he, and that his services as a member of the board of regents were of the greatest possible service to the school.

In 1864 another act was passed, providing for a governing board, then called a board of directors, now a board of regents, and setting forth the work to be done by the school. I invite your attention to the following sections of these acts of the legislature, in order to show how well the framers of these organic acts understood the true purpose of a normal school. Section 1 of the act of 1863 is as follows:

"SECTION 1. That there be and is hereby established and permanently located at the town of Emporia a state normal school, the exclusive purposes of which shall be the instruction of persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching, and in all the various branches that pertain to a good common-school education, and in the mechanic arts, and in the arts of husbandry and agricultural chemistry, and in the fundamental laws of the United States, and in what regards the rights and duties of citizens."

Section 12 of the act of 1864 is as follows:

"SEC. 12. Lectures on chemistry and comparative anatomy, physiology, astronomy, and on any other science or any branch of literature that the board of directors may direct, may be delivered to those attending the said normal school in such manner and on such terms and conditions as the said board may prescribe."

You have noticed, of course, that the primary object and purpose of the Normal School, as shown by these early laws of 1863 and 1864, is the instruction of both men and women in the art of teaching. All else clusters around this idea of teaching the teachers. Their minds are to be improved by an enlarged and liberal course of study; but it is all for the purpose of adding to their efficiency as teachers. And I am happy to record that this Normal School through all the years of its existence has never departed from the true and exalted purpose of the professional training of good teachers for the schools of this state. But did you also notice how closely the Kansas laws founding this school follow the proceedings of our old educational friends of the national convention of France of 1795 (as shown by the old *Massachusetts Magazine* of April, 1795) in mapping out the work of those normal schools of the French Revolution—"the first of their kind," as stated by Carlyle?

The first appropriation bill for the Normal School was passed by the legislature of 1864. The amount of the appropriation was \$1000. It was to be used exclusively for the salaries of teachers.

The Rev. G. C. Morse, Congregational minister of this town, was chosen secretary of the board of directors at its first meeting, which was in October, 1864, and authorized to employ a principal for the school. This he did in December, 1864, by coming to the Bloomington, Ill., Normal University where I was then teaching and hiring me to come to Emporia to serve in that capacity. It was the understanding that I should come to Kansas in January, 1865, and we were to get the Normal School going as soon thereafter as possible. I came accordingly, and on February 15, 1865, forty-five years ago, this institution began its actual work of trying to educate teachers for the schools of Kansas.

This brings us to the date which we are in the habit of celebrating as Founders' Day, February 15 of each year. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of this date special exercises were planned and carried out, including a his-

tory of the State Normal School from its beginning to that date. This history was printed in a book of something like 200 pages, and may be found in the Library building. Attorneys have a habit of incorporating in their pleadings other documents by reference thereto as exhibits. With your permission, and following the lawyer's habit, I now make that book a part of this document, as fully and completely as if herein written out in full. Of course, I spare you the reading of that history at this time.

What I have said in this paper will, I trust, point out that some of the influences that led to the founding of this school began prior to February 15, 1865. You will also permit me to say that the founding of this institution is now in progress; to be strictly accurate, I consider that it has only fairly begun. Forty-five years in the history of an institution of learning is not very long. Last summer President Schurman of Cornell University received and accepted an invitation to attend the 500th anniversary of the founding of the University of Leipzig, in Germany. The two-line newspaper item to this effect probably attracted my attention more than it otherwise would have done from the fact that one of my sons had been a student of the Leipzig school and another son is now studying at Cornell. But the item in question led me to reflect somewhat upon the life and growth of educational institutions as a part of the life and growth of states and nations. Harvard University, at Cambridge, Mass., was opened to students in 1636; Yale, at New Haven, Conn., was started in 1700; Columbia University, at New York, was founded in 1754. None of the schools I have mentioned shows signs of decrepitude; all are in full vigor of youth, as compared with the Mahommedan University at Cairo, Egypt, with its 8000 students, which was founded in 975 A. D., and is just now bestirring itself to found advanced courses of study and take on a new and more vigorous growth.

The great forward movement of this institution, now in active progress, including the expansion of its courses of study to meet the growing needs of the state; the erection and equipment within the past few years of the Library Building, the Training-school Building, Norton Science Hall, and the new Physical-training Building, or Gymnasium; the splendid attendance and good work of the students, the great ability and harmonious working together of the faculty—all constitute a part and portion of the *founding* of the school.

The seers and prophets of this institution, Henry B. Norton of the past, and Joseph H. Hill of the present, beckon the Normal School on to the glorified coming of its future days of strength and usefulness.

THE WESTERN STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT HAYS.

By legislative act of February 26, 1901, the Western State Normal School was created as a part of the normal-school system of Kansas. No action was taken toward starting the school that year because of the controversy over the title to the land. This was settled so that the school could begin work in the summer of 1902. On June 23 the formal opening occurred, with William S. Picken and Anna Keller as teachers. Thirty-four students were present.

Work was begun in the old fort hospital building, which served its purpose until the autumn of 1904, when the school moved into a building pro-

vided by the legislature of 1903. The present buildings have cost \$75,000, and \$30,000 more is to be spent the coming summer for an electric light, heating and water plant.

The first course of study provided for two years' work. This was lengthened to three years in 1905, and to four years in 1908. In 1907 a model district school was established especially for the training of teachers who are to work in the rural districts. A building is now being erected for its use on the reservation.

The first legislature gave \$12,000 for the support of the school for the biennium 1901-'03. The appropriation for 1910-'11 is \$98,000. The institution has in addition the rentals from the reservation.

The total number of students in attendance for the year 1902-'03 was 121; for the year 1908-'09 was 402.

There are at present fourteen teachers.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. xi, p. 577.

The appropriation for 1912-'13 is \$129,500, \$40,000 of which is for the erection of a building to be used as a model agricultural high school, dining hall and library. The total enrollment in 1911 was 464.

III.

THE ELEMENTS.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE TERRIBLE BLIZZARD OF 1886.¹

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by O. P. BYERS, of Hutchinson.²

THE autumn and early winter of 1885 were of the grandeur possible only to the western plains. The enchanting haze of the Indian summer was never more resplendent, thrilling the soul of the lover of nature and making the distant landscape seem a phantom.

The morning of December 31 dawned clear and mild, with a low barometer, and a peculiar yellowish purple bordering the northern horizon. Early in the forenoon a single fleecy cloud from the northwest and a very rapidly rising barometer foretold a coming storm. By noon a light rain was falling. The temperature in a few hours had fallen below zero. The storm, gaining force hourly, continued throughout the night, and by morning it might very truthfully be said the state was frozen solid. This in itself was not unusual, nor was it seriously feared, but as the storm did not abate during the second day or the following night the situation became alarming. The

NOTE 1.—Notwithstanding the word "blizzard" is generally taboo in Kansas, there is an occasional atmospheric condition which attracts local and temporary attention. At the present writing, about March 1, 1912, this contribution of our friend at Hutchinson concerning experiences in January, 1886, emphasizes and brings to mind a condition of vital historical interest if not of value. The latest edition of Webster's Dictionary gives this definition: "Blizzard: A dry, intensely cold, violent storm, with high winds and fine, driving snow, such as those which originate on the eastern slope of the Canadian Rocky Mountains." This definite location of the origin of the nasty thing relieves Kansas of all responsibility. But a comparison between January, 1886, and January and February, 1912, shows a remarkable gain in Kansas in preparedness for such buffeting from without. The record for January, 1886, shows from fifty to one hundred people frozen to death—nearer the latter number—and cattle by the tens of thousands destroyed in two weeks of zero weather, while in practically two months of greater snowfall and more continuous zero temperature we can learn of but a half dozen deaths and the loss of but a few hundred head of cattle in January and February, 1912. This shows a great gain in Kansas in conquering the plains, and by these comparisons in recorded history we learn. The first news of any seriousness concerning the blizzard of 1911-'12 was from Hutchinson, December 29, 1911, announcing that W. D. Nifton had found the dead body of his wife near Fowler, in a snow-storm, with a five-year-old son clinging to her breast. Mrs. Nifton taught school a few miles from home, and attempted to reach home with a horse and buggy on the afternoon of the 28th. Her husband and the neighbors searched all night for her. Rough weather began with an all-day snow Saturday, December 30, 1911. Sun-

NOTE 2.—OTTO PHILIP BYERS was born at Tampico, Howard county, Indiana, May 2, 1863, the son of Jasper J. Byers, M. D., and Sarah E. Byers. He was educated in the high school at Russiaville, Ind. Before coming to Kansas he lived at Kokomo, Ind. He located in Kansas August 31, 1878, and has lived at Brookville, McPherson, Carbondale, Detroit, Wamego, St. Marys, Solomon, Abilene and Hutchinson, in various railroad capacities on the Union Pacific, Rock Island and Hutchinson & Southern. He has been a telegraph operator, station agent, train dispatcher, train master and superintendent. He was with the Union Pacific from September 10, 1878, until July 23, 1887, when he became connected with the Rock Island. December 15, 1905, he resigned to become general agent of the Dawson Fuel Company, of Dawson, N. M., for Kansas and Colorado. He is also interested in the Kansas Flour Mills Company and in the Pratt Light and Ice Company. January 8, 1885, he was married to Mary Rowe, at Solomon. They have a son and daughter. Their home is in Hutchinson.

temperature continued to fall until it then reached twenty degrees below zero. Neither had the terrifying wind abated in the slightest. The atmosphere had assumed a peculiar blackness characteristic of such storms, and the fine, driven snow made breathing most difficult. Day after day the storm continued, each cessation quickly followed by another storm, making it practically continuous. The temperature did not rise to zero from the first night to the last, the latter part of the month, and generally ranged from fifteen to thirty below.

A complete failure of crops the previous season had left the settler on the high prairie in no position to provide against such an emergency, even

day morning, December 31, it was 3 degrees below zero. The first instance of railroad trains stalling was on the 30th of December. Not a single train moved on the Great Bend and Scott City branch of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad for three days. Trouble began on the railroads Tuesday, December 26, 1911. January 1, 1912, the snow was nineteen inches deep on the level, and the drifts before the week ended were twenty feet deep. Two feet of ice and snow was reported from all parts of western Kansas, and drifts of ten and twelve feet everywhere. A boy in Morton county spent two whole days in a snowstorm going seven miles, January 5, 1912. About the same date over 300 head of cattle were lost in the neighborhood of Dighton. Near Sharon Springs, January 5, two engines collided on the Union Pacific, with three engines and a snow plow. About January 4 the mercury was 7 degrees below zero for five days at Dodge City. A Santa Fe train that had been snow-bound since December 26 was released on the 4th of January. On the morning of January 6, 1912, at Topeka, it was 14 degrees below zero. Weather so cold, snow so solid, that flocks of famished jack rabbits were raiding farmyards and feed lots and invading granaries in Lane, Ness, Hodgeman and other counties in western Kansas. January 6 eleven deaths occurred in New York city from cold during the night. Sunday, January 8, several of the churches in Topeka were closed. That morning it was 6 degrees below zero. On the 11th the worst blizzard prevailed in southwestern Kansas, with wind from fifty to sixty miles an hour, and the temperature reported from 5 to 15 below. One cattleman says: "There are 400,000 head of cattle in western Kansas in the same condition as ours. They represent a valuation of approximately \$40,000,000. In the last three weeks the owners of these cattle have suffered a loss of not less than \$4,000,000." Loss from dying cattle seemed much greater along the southern line of the state than farther north. In the isolated farmhouses about the western part of the state the full extent of the damage done the cattle interests will never be known. At Topeka the mercury was 19 below at eight o'clock A. M. on January 12; January 13, at Topeka, eight P. M., 5 below. About January 12 the mercury at Great Bend and Rush Center was 22 degrees below, and farther to the west it was a couple of degrees lower. Up to January 19, Ness City had no train for twenty-three days. The first train in carried sixty-five sacks of mail. Some fine stories of generous hospitality by the settlers toward belated travelers came from all along the road. The railroad companies bountifully supplied all, but frequently, where trains could be reached, wagonloads of fried pork chops, coffee and bread were carried to the passengers by farmers. The Santa Fe alone paid \$35,000 for feeding passengers. Sunday, February 25, brought another great snowstorm, covering the ground from six to eight inches; a gale of wind also prevailed, and the snow was heavy with water. Railroad officers said it was the worst storm of the season. The street-car service in Topeka was closed practically for forty-eight hours, and one hundred men with picks and shovels were engaged night and day in opening the tracks. Seven inches of snow fell on this Sunday. On the Missouri Pacific, near Hoisington, February 28, five locomotives used in bucking snow toppled over, all being chained together. Saturday morning, March 2, there was another fall of snow; 7.7 inches came again, demoralizing the roads. At the end of this storm, or for the week following, there was fifteen inches of snow in Topeka, and to the westward a much greater covering. As near as can be ascertained, there were but seven lives lost in western Kansas because of the storm: Jacob Brunk and T. C. Bidwell, near Larned; Walter Falls, a ranchman, and Mrs. Nifton and son, in Clark county; E. S. Taylor, in Ness county, and J. P. Smith, of Liberal. Near Wagon Mound, in New Mexico, a freighter or farmer was found, March 5, sitting upright in his wagon, dead, with the team still attached.

S. D. Flora, the weather observer at Topeka, says the total recorded fall of snow from October 27, 1911, to March 5, 1912, was 32.1 inches. The second greatest fall was recorded in 1900-'01, when 29.1 inches were recorded. The third greatest was in 1892-'93, and the amount was 28 inches. In 1904-'05 the fourth greatest fall was recorded; it amounted to 25.7 inches. The record extends over a 25-year period. There have been some single instances of heavy snowfalls in the state. On November 9, 1888, a fall of 9.5 inches was recorded; February 17, 1893, the snow reached a depth of 9 inches; February 27 and 28, 1900, a total of 18.7 inches fell within 24 hours; March 6, 1912, was the coldest March 6 in the past 25 years. He further says that the winter of 1911-'12 has not ranked high as the coldest. The year 1911 was the warmest twelve months on record. On January 15, 1888, the minimum temperature was 20 degrees below zero; February 20, 1889, 13 below; January 19, 1892, 23 below; January 24, 1894, 14 below; February 7, 1895, 14 below; February 12, 1899, 25 below; and February 13, 1905, 22 below, while in Smith county on that day the mercury fell to 40 degrees below zero, the coldest weather ever recorded in Kansas.

The six coldest winters in the past twenty-five years, as shown by the records of the Weather Bureau, follow: 1898-'99, average temperature, 25.7; 1909-'10, 26.1; 1908-'10, 26.1; 1887-'88, 26.2; 1892-'93, 26.5; 1911-'12, 26.7.

had he been forewarned. Never before had a storm of such intensity or duration been experienced.³ But little provision was made by the average man of that day for wintering his stock; in fact, because of the scarcity of feed, the animals were generally turned out to shift for themselves. It was as much as the homesteader could do to provide for his family, meager as their requirements were. Thus, in the sparsely settled western half of the state, in such a storm there was almost no chance of life for stock, and but little for man, except those who had dugouts, and only then when they were fortunate enough to reach them before the storm attained its height.

Individual cases of perishing, suffering, escaping and heroism in well-known instances would fill a volume.⁴ A systematic search of dugouts, shanties and prairie was made as soon as possible. A number of people were found in their homes frozen to death, and the ones alive were in bed, where they had been for days, as their only means to escape freezing. Many were found on the prairie, where they had become lost and perished. Much as the town people suffered, they fared well compared with the settler. Widely separated from one another, in the desperation of almost certain death, many attempted refuge with more fortunate neighbors, and generally with disastrous results. Several perished attempting to reach home. One of the most remarkable cases was a homesteader in north-western Kansas. He and his team of two horses were found frozen to death within fifty feet of his dugout. Animal instinct had guided the horses home, but so impossible was it to see even a few feet, he either believed himself lost on the prairie and the animals unable to go further, or he perished on the road home. His family, in the dugout only a few feet away, knew nothing of his presence for two days.

A well-known case of an entire family perishing was that of a farmer

NOTE 3.—"The most fatal storm known in the history of Republic county was the great Easter storm of April 13, 14 and 15, 1873. The wind blew like a hurricane from the north, with rain and snow, and the thermometer for the first day stood at freezing point. One family, six miles east of Belleville, fearing that their frame house would be carried away, went to a neighbor's, who lived in a stone house, for safety. The husband of one of the families was in Waterville, and the other had gone to another neighbor for assistance, but the latter, believing there was no danger, would not take his team from the barn. When the husband returned he found his house blown down and the two families, seven in all, scattered about the prairie, frozen to death. The pouring rain had saturated their clothing, which was soon frozen, encasing their bodies in ice. One woman was found, with a babe in her arms, sitting against a wagon wheel, around whose spokes her hair had been caught and fastened with sleet. She was dead, and the child, which was still alive, soon expired. The frame house that was deserted was not materially injured by the storm. The wind blew so strong that no beast could face it without soon becoming exhausted."—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1033.

NOTE 4.—"Mayor W. A. Miller, of Anthony, does n't think that the recent cold spell was much to talk about. Still, it was enough to remind him of the winter of 1885-'86, which he spent on a claim south of Ashland. January 8, 1886, he took Mrs. Miller to town for a visit with friends in Ashland. Returning, he went duck hunting along the Cimarron, took off his shoes and waded across to a friend's home on the south side, where he took supper and visited until 11. They were in a dugout and heard no storm; but when his host looked out and reported a bad storm blowing, Mr. Miller started for home in spite of his host's protests, and, arriving at his 10 x 12 sod house nearly frozen from facing the icy gale from the north, built a fire in the stove and turned in after he was thoroughly warmed. He put his clothes in bed to keep them warm, so dressing would not be so chilly in the morning. Sometime in the night he was awakened by an unusual noise, and found that the roof had blown off his sod shanty and the snow and crumbly dirt from the sod roof was sifting in in great style. He got into his clothes and reached for his woolen comforter to wind about his neck, and found it had gone with the roof. He started for a neighbor's house, that was 200 yards distant in a protected place, and lost his bearings in the flying mist of dust, ice-like needles, and a wind that hurt every breath he took. He finally groped his way back to his house; then he got down on his hands and knees, groping with his bare hands in the blood-congealing darkness for the little path worn in the buffalo grass that led to the neighbor's house. He found it and crept along it to light and warmth. His left cheek and ear were badly frosted and it was a long time before they were healed. Twenty-four people were frozen to death in that county that night."—Anthony *Republican*, January 19, 1912.

who started from the little town of Oberlin, in northwestern Kansas, for his claim, with his wife and six children in a wagon. A few days later all were found on the prairie frozen to death.

A pathetic case was discovered of two girls who lived with their mother on a claim in western Kansas. The girls attempted to go to the house of their brother on an adjoining farm, but became lost and perished. The mother was found in her home several days later, so badly frozen that she died.

One evening a man was reported lost at Wallace. A coil of rope was secured, one end tied around the body of a volunteer, who made a circle of probably two hundred yards. The other end of the rope was held inside the building. Fortunately the lost man was within this radius, and was brought in almost frozen stiff; in fact, amputation of a limb was afterwards necessary. The searcher knew that without this rope, if he got ten feet away from the building he would never find it again.

Jack rabbits and birds of every description were found all over the prairie frozen to death. Almost every town was destitute of fuel. Corn soon became the substitute for coal, and toward the end of the storm even that was becoming exhausted. It finally became a question of provisions. Business was suspended and schools dismissed almost the entire month. Waterworks systems in the various cities and towns were frozen and useless; newspapers published could not be delivered by carrier, and even the post offices were idle. Telephone systems were at that time confined to cities entirely, and were practically of no service. Families huddled together in one room, with the balance of the house battened in every way possible, against the raging storm, passed anxious days in isolation. From the third day it was realized live stock on the wind-swept plains would be almost a total loss. The snowfall was not extraordinary in depth, except drifts, which were frequently ten feet high.

Every railroad in the state was completely paralyzed.⁵ Cuts were drifted full of fine snow driven by the high north wind. Trains were stalled, and the crude appliances for clearing the tracks were useless. Be it remembered, the modern rotary snowplow of to-day was as unknown

NOTE 5.—Specials to the *Topeka Capital* show the condition of railway traffic from January 4 to 17, 1886:

"COLBY, KAN., Jan. 4.—On account of the fury of the storm all travel has ceased."

"KANSAS CITY, Jan. 4.—The overdue trains are delayed on account of the storm west of here. Trains were made up on the Santa Fe and Union Pacific in western Kansas to bring in passengers from the blockaded through trains. The weather is growing colder here to-night"

"BROOKVILLE, KAN., Jan. 6.—One of the most disastrous snow blockades in the history of the Union Pacific railroad has just been cleared away, although it required the combined efforts of all the section men between Lawrence and Brookville for nearly sixteen hours with shovels and picks to clear the track. The scene of the blockade was in a deep cut of about twenty feet and a quarter of a mile in length, just west of here, where the snow had drifted before the blizzarding gale that swept over this part of the country last Sunday, filling the cut up level with the high bank on both sides, and delaying all trains for the past three days. Eleven engines with their combined force could not effect a passageway through the snow bank, but were effectively deadened, as they could neither move forward nor backward on account of 'bucking' the solid mass of snow too fast. One engine was so completely buried in the snow that you could not even see its smokestack, and another, in the effort to force a passage, was butted square across the track. A passenger train of several coaches was sandwiched in the line of engines, causing much inconvenience to the passengers, who were compelled to take refuge at the hotels. But now all the engines have been extricated and the track completely cleared, and the trains will be run on usual time in a day or two."

"KANSAS CITY, Jan. 6.—The snow blockade on the western roads has been raised. The last of the delayed trains arrived to-day."

"COUNCIL GROVE, KAN., Jan. 8.—The Missouri Pacific passenger train was wrecked by the snow in Downing cut, eight miles north of town, after passing here last evening,

then as the wireless telegraph or airship. Some four or five days after the beginning of the storm the tracks were partially cleared, but before trains could be moved into division points they were again blockaded. Engines were off the track and so disabled from snow service that the attempt to use them further in cleaning tracks was abandoned altogether, and the slower method of shoveling out the cuts resorted to. So deep were the drifts, it was frequently necessary to form "benches," the man down on the track pitching the snow up to a man standing on the first bench, he in turn pitching it to another man on a bench higher up, who cast it out. Oftentimes a cut thus cleared would again be drifted full within a few hours by the high wind. No attempt was made to run freight trains after the first day, and after the first week all effort to move even passenger trains across the western half of the state ceased entirely. But three passenger trains entered Denver from the east during the entire month.

Old engineers, who had for years passed over the same track daily, became lost before they had gone five miles from their starting points. Not a marker could be seen in broad daylight. In numerous cases they ran by the stations, unable to see the depots twenty feet away. Because of the great danger of running by or the impossibility of seeing signals, the dispatchers were obliged to abandon the telegraph as a means of moving trains. It became a custom for engineers to ride facing the rear, and through the vacuum created by the movement of the train, locate themselves by some familiar telegraph pole. They had no other means of forming any idea whatever as to where they were. Probably not in the history of railroads has a similar condition existed.

Men soon became exhausted from working day and night. Employees in all capacities were pressed into snow service. Box cars heated with temporary stoves were the sleeping quarters, and the subsistence such eatables as could be found. So crowded were the cars, unbelievable as it may seem, men were frequently seen standing perfectly upright, sound asleep and snoring.

Ten or twelve full-grown steers were found standing frozen to death on

and Conductor John A. Browne and Mail Messenger John Pullman started to walk back to this town for assistance. In walking over the bridge near town Pullman slipped and fell, breaking the bone of his left leg. Conductor Browne carried him to the city, a distance of several miles. The wind was blowing a blizzard, and the thermometer this morning indicated 22 degrees below zero. The train was imbedded in a snow bank all night, and was brought back to this place this morning. The passengers were all comfortably cared for by the trainmen."

"KANSAS CITY, Jan. 8.—The mercury reached 15 degrees below zero here this morning. Through traffic is entirely suspended on the overland roads, though several local trains are kept moving."

"KANSAS CITY, Jan. 11.—Notwithstanding the statement current to-day that the snow blockade on the western roads had been raised, it appears that the difficulty has not been removed. Another snowstorm was reported to-day from the vicinity of Emporia and Ellsworth, Kan. The Missouri Pacific and the Southern Kansas roads are cleared, but the overland through trains are still blocked."

"DODGE CITY, KAN., Jan. 11.—The heavy snow and bitter north winds of the past ten days have caused the most serious apprehension among cattlemen as to their probable losses. Up to this time but few have come in from the range country, but within a few miles of here no less than five hundred head have drifted to the river, where they perished in attempting to cross, or drifted up to fences, where they remained until frozen to death. A gentleman in from a ranch south of here reports seeing cattle on his way up that were standing on their feet, frozen. The water holes are frozen over, the grass is snowed under and the weather is cold, with every prospect for more snow. The loss of live stock is bound to be very heavy on the Arkansas river, as cattle are drifting down from the Kansas Pacific road."

"KANSAS CITY, Jan. 16.—The additional snowfall yesterday and last night in western Kansas caused fresh trouble on the Santa Fe and Kansas Pacific roads, and both were blockaded to-day some 200 miles west of here. The Burlington & Missouri River from Denver, due here this morning, arrived this afternoon."

the track in a cut in the Harker hills. They had drifted in with the storm and became covered with snow. A snowplow was stalled but a few feet from them.

In western Kansas a passenger train was stopped on the level prairie by an obstruction ahead. Snow began drifting around the wheels, and in a few hours there was a solid drift up to the windows of the coaches the full length of the train. Several days later, when it was released, it was found the wheels were frozen to the rails. The cars had to be uncoupled and broken loose one at a time.

The morning of the second day of the storm the Santa Fe had several trains of cattle in western Kansas, east bound, in the usual course of business. They were rushed to Dodge City and unloaded for safety. The management congratulated itself upon thus getting them into a feeding station, which Dodge City was at the time. The next morning less than twenty-five per cent of the animals unloaded were alive. Leaving them in the cars meant certain destruction, and the railroad followed the only course that offered even a hope of saving them.

Each railroad issued a general order on the third day, refusing shipments of freight of every character. This order remained in effect almost the entire month.

Many farmers reversed positions of animals each day, where more than one stood in a stall, to prevent one side becoming frozen. With all the protection possible to give them, their eyes, nose, ears and hoofs were frozen. For days at a time it was impossible to get out to feed sheltered stock, and watering them was not attempted.

Numerous stage routes were still in operation at that time. A number of stages became lost and wandered miles from their routes. A stagecoach came into the military post of Camp Supply, Indian Territory, with the driver sitting on the box frozen to death. The passengers inside knew nothing of the death of their driver until after they had alighted at their destination.

Freighters plying between the railroads, interior towns and remote military posts were caught on their routes and obliged to seek any possible shelter. Many turned their animals loose, and even then perished.

The entire country south of the Platte river was open. Nothing was left any animal but to drift with the storm. When they reached the right-of-way fence of the Union Pacific railroad they could go no farther. There they froze to death in drifts along the fence. For several years afterward it was a matter of common remark that one could have walked from Ellsworth to Denver, a distance of more than four hundred miles, on the carcasses. Skinning these animals for their hides became an industry the following month.

South of the Santa Fe railroad there were no fences. From the southwestern ranches animals drifted across the Rio Grande river into Mexico and were never recovered. Range animals found after the storm, in many well-authenticated cases, had drifted several hundred miles. The canyon or ravine was their only possible refuge. Into these they drifted and piled up, too weak to go farther. If not smothered by other animals piling on them or being covered with snow, they were imprisoned by snow drifting around them until they could not move. Many thus starved to death before they

were found. Antelopes, and even wolves, drifted with the cattle and piled up with them.

A well-known firm of southern Kansas ranchmen had a few weeks prior to the storm purchased 2500 cattle and placed them on their ranch for the winter, giving their notes in payment. A week after the storm struck, when it was possible to get out on their range, they found the cattle all dead, themselves \$45,000 in debt and with no means of paying it. Not even the hides were saved. Of 5500 cattle on a ranch in southwestern Kansas, 5000 perished, entailing a loss of more than \$100,000. The loss of entire herds was not uncommon, and fortunate was the man who did not lose more than half of his herd.⁶ Another ranchman was offered \$25,000 for his cattle a few days before the storm. After the blizzard he sold the remnants for \$500.

That commercialism will invade misfortune, and even death, was never better illustrated. Speculators originated the plan of buying of the unfortunate ranchmen, for a very small sum, all the cattle of their brand they could find alive. Such contracts were freely executed, the plains searched and cattle gathered. The animals found alive were so weak, however, that it is doubtful if the ones seeking to profit by the misfortunes of others actually made anything.

The net result of this storm was the most unprecedented loss of live stock ever experienced on the plains. The history of the state tells us of no catastrophe that has ever cost the loss of life and suffering produced by that terrible January, 1886.⁷ What planetary or atmospheric situation may have arisen, beyond the well-known barometric condition of the time, to have produced such an intense and continued blizzard has never been known. A weird story and sad commentary upon a land heralded everywhere as one of mild winters of short duration!⁸

The pioneer of that day, of limited means at best, constructed but a makeshift upon his claim, which was for barter always. The "move on"

NOTE 6.—The *Topeka Capital* in one issue, January 16, 1886, chronicles the loss, by freezing, of nearly 1000 hogs and of twenty-four horses owned by a man in Mitchell county. "Quail, prairie hens and rabbits in large numbers are reported to have been frozen."

A notice in the *Newton Republican*, republished in the *Capital* of January 17, says: "Capt. Reuben M. Spivey is in from the west. He reports great losses in stock. Cattle and sheep wandered with the storm to the wire fence by the side of the railroad, and there perished by hundreds and thousands. He saw 1500 dead sheep at one place."

A special from Garden City to the *Capital* of January 19 says: "It is estimated that there are 10,000 dead cattle between this city and the White Woman river."

NOTE 7.—J. C. Emahizer, a prominent business man of Topeka, says: "I was living in western Kansas at that time [January 9, 1886]. It was one of the worst blizzards Kansas ever experienced. In one county, Thomas, there were thirty-five persons frozen to death during that storm. The temperature was 16 degrees below zero, I believe, but it was the terrible wind that made the storm so bad. There was snow on the ground, and the wind stirred this up and blew it through the air like it was snowing. One could travel with the wind pretty well, but one could not go against it and live. In Thomas county three men were frozen to death in a wagon, in spite of the fact that they huddled up together in the bottom. The horses found their way home, but the three men were dead. The day after the storm two boys who had gone out to look after the family's stock the night before were found frozen to death, sitting back to back in an effort to keep warm."

NOTE 8.—A diary kept by Mrs. Sarah P. Ladd, a pioneer of Wyandotte county, shows that in December, 1855, the temperature fell below zero seven mornings; in January of the same winter zero weather was recorded ten mornings. In December, 1856, the Missouri river was frozen over for twenty days; in January of the same winter the mercury was below zero six times. In 1859 the Missouri river was closed to navigation on account of ice as early as December 2. The following winter the Kaw river was filled with ice on November 24, and boats could not run on the Missouri after December 22. In 1862 both rivers were icebound from Christmas to March 10.

spirit was his religion. A 10 x 12 shack of cheapest material, poorly put together and scantily furnished, was his domicile. No human being could have survived this storm in them, and many of the fatalities were directly due to this fact.

The uninviting dugout, of rattlesnake and other reptile legend, alone could provide security in such a storm. Families living in them, having sufficient provisions and fuel, suffered but little discomfort.

The February following was comparatively mild and bore little evidence of the arctic conditions of the preceding weeks. The writer, an eyewitness to many of these scenes and tragedies, hesitates to record them. the extraordinary nature, severity and duration of the series of storms that memorable month make the well-established incidents resulting therefrom almost beyond belief. In a continuous residence of more than a third of a century upon the Great Plains, never has he, before or since, seen anything that even remotely approached it.⁹

Even such extraordinary disasters are not without their moral. While the result of this storm was to largely depopulate the plains and to financially ruin almost every ranchman, its lesson has never been forgotten by the ones who remained. It has resulted in the settler making proper provision for the winter, and has marked the end of the open-range method of turning animals loose at branding time in the fall, to care for themselves as best they can during the winter, the survivors being gathered at the spring roundup. The ranchman of to-day has his range fenced, hay provided, and, with the advent of cottonseed cake in abundance, has little fear of storms or cold weather.

The modern rotary snowplow, with a capacity of moving at a speed of four miles an hour through the deepest drifts, instead of the dangerous and uncertain wedge plow attached to the front of a locomotive, together with the vast improvement in the government Weather Bureau, especially in the dissemination of storm warnings, have made the railroad of to-day practically immune from snow blockades.¹⁰

NOTE 9.—In a paper before the Kansas Academy of Science, 1907, on the "Climatology of Kansas," Mr. T. B. Jennings, director of the Weather Bureau in Kansas, says:

"In 1780 the Kaw river remained frozen from one full moon to the next. During the winter of 1796-'97 'all streams remained frozen for thirty suns.' These traditions are borne out by conditions that prevailed in our neighborhood: In the cold of 1780 Bayou St. John (New Orleans) was frozen over. In 1796-'97 the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were frozen over below Cairo, Ill., the minimum temperature at Cincinnati being 14 degrees below zero in December and 18 degrees below in January. January and February, 1831, were 'bitter cold,' and in December, 1831, 'all streams were frozen,' and at the same time the Mississippi was frozen over for a distance of 130 miles below the mouth of the Ohio river. February, 1838, was always referred to by Indians as a 'cold moon.' The mean temperature at Fort Gibson, I. T., was 15 below the normal for that month. The winter of 1855-'56 was one of the severest ever known in this latitude. The mean temperature for January, 1856, at Fort Leavenworth was 10.1 degrees, and at Fort Riley it was 11 degrees. January, 1857, was also cold, the mean temperature at Fort Leavenworth being 12.1 degrees, and at Fort Riley it was 9.4 degrees. January, 1862, 1863, 1873, 1875 and 1886 were exceptionally cold, as shown by records at Forts Leavenworth and Riley."—*Topeka Daily Capital*, December 8, 1907.

NOTE 10.—Among many interesting stories of the condition in western Kansas the past winter is that of Ben Starr, the veteran trapper of Pawnee creek, who came into Larned March 1, 1912, with his dog team and sledge on his annual trip to market his furs and pelts.

The great snow made conditions in central and western Kansas similar to those of Alaska, and Larned was suddenly transformed into a Hudson Bay trading post, which gave Starr and his dogs a proper setting. Two hundred and fifty furs were in the sled load. Hides of skunk, mink, muskrat and badger, with a few civet cats and coons, made up the cargo. More often Ben Starr takes them to his nearest railway station, which is Burdette. Not a train moved on the Jetmore branch of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe for a week, and snow drifts from four to twenty feet deep in the highways blocked all vehicle traffic in western Pawnee and Hodgeman counties. Being under contract to deliver

Likewise are the settler and ranchman protected by advance notice of approaching storms, through the medium of the rural telephone system now found in even the most remote sections of the country, and by the intelligent reading of his own barometer.

FROM A DIARY KEPT BY E. D. SMITH OF MEADE, KAN., IN 1886.

I begin on December 31, 1885, and continue, for it is not possible to understand why I called ten to twenty above zero warm without knowing the state of the weather I had been used to that winter.

DECEMBER 31, 1885.—Left Atlantic, Iowa, for Dodge City, Kan., via Des Moines and Kansas City, thermometer marking twenty-five degrees below zero.

JANUARY 1, 1886.—Arrived at Kansas City at 7:30 A. M. Weather warm and hazy. Put in time seeing the city. Drizzling rain began at 8:30; had a tedious wait at depot for train west, which left at 10:30, and at 10:10 went aboard Pullman and ordered bed made, retired at once and was soon asleep.

JANUARY 2, 1886.—Woke at 6 A. M. After a good wash and a brushing up, felt better than I have for months. At Newton, Kan., had breakfast. Country level, wind blowing hard, some snow falling. . . . Hutchinson is favored with good building stone, and has some fine stone buildings. Snowing. At 10:15, Raymond: A frontier town in appearance; and here we passed the first cut since daylight, about six feet deep. It is now snowing big flakes, thick and fast; a regular blizzard to look at, but not cold. Word came here that the road is blocked between here and Dodge City; that it snowed all day yesterday in the mountains and western plains; that the storm is traveling east, while we are going west, plunging into it. The snow is worse as we progress, the wind now blowing a gale; at every stop the car rocks as though it would leave the track. It is hard work to get through the drifts with two engines. Kinsley: Word comes that we can not possibly get through to Dodge City. I just talked with Buffalo Jones, who knows the track from here west, and he says we will sure stick near old Fort Dodge. Toot! stop—what is up now? Back up and gather headway for a drift, says a brakeman. Forward, full speed, with our two engines [it is not recorded in the journal, but a snowplow was placed on the front engine some distance east of here]. The snow flies off in fine shape; we slacken speed, almost stop, barely move; we are stuck. No, on again—we are safe now, says Jones—and soon the roundhouse at Dodge appears through the driving, howling blizzard.

We stop as the engines scream a warning. What is up now? Only a train on this track, and only about twenty feet ahead of us. (The snow was blowing so thick that the light from a headlight could not be seen a hundred feet.) They are stuck, snowed fast, and we back up to take a siding to reach the platform. But, as there is a drift on this track, we stop, and after waiting some time we (Cummins, a friend of mine) catch

his pelts by March 1, he loaded them on a home-made sledge and harnessed his big coon dogs and started on the trip, leaving his home near Burdette at 7:30 o'clock in the morning. Starr made the twenty-four-mile drive to Larned in just nine hours, arriving with his strange team and cargo at 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon. Ben Starr makes a good living trapping for furs and pelts along the Upper Pawnee, in connection with a skunk farm, where he has about two hundred of the animals. For the skunk pelts he gets \$1 to \$4; mink, \$2.50 to \$8; coon, \$1 to \$3.50; badger, 50 cents to \$1; opossum, 50 to 60 cents; muskrat, 15 to 50 cents; civet cat, 15 to 40 cents.

our grips and plunge out into the snow and storm. (This was about 4:30 P. M., but the trainmen and others were carrying lanterns, and lights were burning in the buildings.) About one hundred yards from our engine we strike the station platform. Good, we are in Dodge! Now for a hotel. We are told that there is a first-class house just across the street. (This was the old Cox place.) After two or three trials we get started, and soon find ourselves in a drift waist deep, but finally get through safe. But my! how it snows! and the wind—well, I have lived twenty years on the prairies, but never saw anything to approach this.¹¹

JANUARY 3, 1886.—Still blowing, and the trains all on the track just as they were last night; drifts everywhere; the snow as fine as flour, and sticks like glue. Get a good breakfast and try to look around at the town, but the snow is too deep. The railroad hands are busy rigging a snowplow onto an engine to clear the tracks in the yards. It is finished at noon. Three engines, big six-wheelers, start to clear the tracks near the depot. Many of the passengers have never seen a snowplow at work, and get places to see the machine work. One man stands on the bottom step of a passenger car, just by a deep drift. Here they come, throtties wide open, and strike the drift. It is a grand sight; the flying snow hides the engines. I imagine it resembles a monster whale thrashing the water into foam.

In the midst of this scene, and while we are enjoying the sight, a scream heard above escaping steam and the rush of snow from the plow—a scream as of some poor human in mortal agony—pierces the ear, causing the heart to stop beating, as the thought of some poor mortal crushed under the wheels crosses the mind. But the plow is gone, and the passenger car on the siding is buried nearly to the tops of the windows with snow; and now our traveler who stood on the car step crawls out from under the snow; it was his voice which rose in that awful scream as the plow went by. He has seen a snow plow in action.

The stage which should have arrived from Meade last night has not been heard from. Two corpses of men who perished in the storm last night have been brought in, and another man is so badly frozen that he is not expected to recover.

This storm is nothing like an Iowa blizzard except to look at, for it is not cold; the mercury stands at 20 above (this thermometer was under a porch on the south side of the hotel, and I heard some say that out in the open the cold was as low as zero); the snow is soft and very fine.

JANUARY 4, 1886.—Still in the snow, and won't be able to get away today; am putting in the time seeing the town. There are some good buildings here and a good business is being done. This is a loading point for the freighters to the south, the territory, and also to northwest Texas. Today the freight wagons are coming in in long strings, some loaded with

NOTE 11.—According to S. D. Flora, the windiest day in Kansas on record at the Weather Bureau was March 27, 1890, when the wind blew exactly 96 miles an hour for five minutes. Quoting the record book, Mr. Flora says:

"This will ever be remembered as the day of the great storm. From eight o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon the wind blew at a rate from 15 to 36 miles an hour from the south. Suddenly it shifted to the northwest, and from 2:30 o'clock until 3 o'clock blew at the rate of 64 miles an hour. At 3 o'clock it was blowing 72 miles, and at 3:10 it reached the maximum of 96 miles an hour. Five minutes later it had dropped back to 84 miles an hour, and from 3:30 until 6 the velocity was 60 miles an hour. The air was filled with dirt, gravel, cornhusks and twigs. Later in the day a small rain fell, mixing with the dirt in the air. The west and north sides of buildings were plastered with the mixture, giving them a muddy appearance."

January 29, 1909, was another windy day, the maximum reaching 58 miles an hour. Plate glass windows were blown in and much other damage done.

bones to sell at \$6 per ton. (These wagons had been caught in the blizzard on the south side of the river, where there was a road house, or trail stopping place, with corrals, and a dance house.) [Here I leave out a portion of the diary, which is only of my personal adventures and of no interest to others.]

JANUARY 5, 1886.—And yet we can not go, as the snow is still deep in the canyons of Crooked creek and the Cimarron. A dull day and nothing happening.

JANUARY 6, 1886.—Started to Meade Center this morning in a three-seated hack, with four horses. It is frosty, wind in the south. I am well wrapped up (this last observation means that I was dressed for a day's drive with thermometer at thirty degrees below zero). I have a seat in the back of the covered hack, where the wind can't reach me. The passengers consist of a traveling man from Wichita, a wholesale tobacco man from St. Louis, and a real estate man who lives in Meade Center, with Cummins and myself. We made the trip from Dodge to Meade Center in about eight hours; changed horses twice—once at Mulberry and again at Fowler.

JANUARY 7, 1886.—Got here, Meade Center, last night just at sundown. Found the town rejoicing over the location of the county seat at this place. The citizens of the town, assisted by a few cowboys, were celebrating and proceeded to paint the town red, and they got on the finest and richest coat of vermilion I ever saw. If there was a sober man, except three who came in on the hack, he was not in evidence at the hotel. Woke up this morning to find the worst blizzard blowing which I ever saw. Chimneys blown off the hotel and no fires. Went out in the storm to find breakfast; found a restaurant, about 10 A. M., firing up. Ate in a room, with snow on the floor; only removed my gloves; had my breakfast with overcoat, cap and heavy woolen scarf on. Snow in every room in town except the one I have. . . . There had been much suffering from the cold, many deaths from freezing, and thousands of cattle have perished in the storm.

JANUARY 8, 1886.—Storm abated; still cold, but the men are opening the street and looking over the results of the election of the 5th.

JANUARY 9, 1886.—A little warmer, but still cold. Found to-day that Heber, a land attorney here, is from Audubon and acquainted in Atlantic.

JANUARY 10, 1886.—No change and no mails; drifts as high as the houses.

In March, 1886, after the unprecedented and wide-area "blizzard" of the preceding winter, Colonel Jones, in his itinerary, says:

"As I drove over the prairies from Kansas into Texas I saw thousands upon thousands of carcasses of domestic cattle which had 'drifted' before the chilling, freezing 'norther.' Every one of them had died with its tail to the blizzard, never having stopped except at its last breath, then fell dead in its tracks. When I reached the habitat of the buffalo not one of their carcasses was visible except those which had been slain by hunters. Every animal I came across was as nimble and wiry as a fox. As Watt meditated over the mystery of steam lifting the lid of the teakettle, I commenced to ponder upon the contrast between the qualities of the white man's domestic cattle and those of the red man's cattle (buffalo). Young Watt exclaimed, as he watched the effect of the powerful vapor, 'Why not chain this great giant?' I thought to myself, 'Why not domesticate this wonderful beast which can endure such a blizzard, defying a storm so destructive to our domestic species? Why not infuse this hardy blood into our

native cattle, and have a perfect animal—one that will defy all these elements?"

"I was in the right mood to thus soliloquize and appreciate an animal which could withstand such a terrific ordeal, having personally suffered severe losses in the great storm of the previous winter. I had been caught out in it myself at its beginning while hunting antelope. The wind blew a perfect hurricane; the snow was twisted and hurled in all directions until its initial mass, a foot in depth at least, was blown in the air, leaving the ground bare, where it was completely pulverized by the energy of the contending elements into an impalpable powder, filling the lungs of everything animate; drifting through their hair, alternately melting and freezing, until horses, mules and domestic cattle perished by tens of thousands. Woe unto the man who chanced to be caught in its mad career! Many did it overtake who yielded to its fury. By good luck, familiar with the nature of these terrible storms, I made my way to a 'claim-shanty,' leaving five dead antelope on the prairie, not daring to linger a minute to gather them in. I was just in time to save myself and team.

"I remained there as long as the fearful storm lasted—two nights and a day—and saw everything had to be protected or yield to its fury. Imagine my astonishment when I discovered that the buffalo alone were exempt; and I then commenced to calculate the worth of this remarkable but almost extinct animal. With my pencil I noted these points: The buffalo is king of the blizzard; he was constructed for the fitful climate of the Great Plains; he was made for the use of a race that had nothing else to depend upon, and must surely be nearly a perfect creation. His flesh is far superior to that of any domestic animal under similar conditions; his robe is a 'solid comfort' when the wintry blasts howl. The hair of the animal's head and forehead is heavy and springy, serving perfectly the office of a mattress and pillow. Its tallow is as rich and palatable as butter; the flesh, when dried, serves for bread; the hide, when tanned, makes good shoes, rope and leather. Its fur is softer than lamb's wool, and when woven into cloth is the lightest and warmest fabric ever manufactured. The under fur is like swan's down, and makes a perfectly waterproof hat when converted into that article. The rain is shed from it as rapidly as from a duck's back; it is this wise provision of nature so close to their bodies which keeps the animal constantly dry and warm. While domestic cattle are stricken down by the deadly venom of the rattlesnake, the buffalo receives its fangs in the long hair and wool covering their head and legs, and then trample the serpents into the earth with their sharp hoofs. Its fleece may be carded off every spring, after having fulfilled its purpose of a winter's protection to the animal, woven into the finest fabrics, knitted into hosiery, and made into robes and blankets which kings and princes delight to recline under."¹²

The following newspaper accounts of the blizzard of 1886 tell a terrible story of suffering and death in some of the western counties of the state:

"The weather the past week has been somewhat "eccentric" for Kansas weather, being most of the time unusually disagreeable. On Saturday, January 2, the first snowstorm of the season set in and lasted for nearly twenty four hours. Some four or five inches of snow fell, accompanied by heavy wind, making travel impossible until Sunday afternoon. The weather settled somewhat on Monday and remained pleasant until Wednesday night, when another storm, perhaps a little more severe than the first, began. It also lasted nearly twenty-four hours, and on Friday morning the weather again assumed its usual serenity. Both storms appear to have been general, not only throughout the southwest, but all through the Missouri and upper Mississippi valleys. Trains were everywhere delayed, and on many of the western roads travel was entirely suspended. A number of wrecks

NOTE 12.—"Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure," Henry Inman, comp., pp. 47-49.

are reported on railroads in the northwest, due to the excessive snowfall and consequent bad condition of the roads. Altogether the storm was the most severe that has visited the west and northwest in many years."

"One of the most remarkable cases of endurance on record is that of Frederick Arning, an old man who became lost in the snow last week and for nearly four days and nights was out on the prairie without shelter and without food. Mr. Arning, who was fifty-nine years old on the 6th of January, is naturally somewhat feeble, and for that reason his exploit seems all the more wonderful.

"On the evening of January 1, shortly after the sun went down on the first day of the new year, Mr. Arning, who had been visiting a neighbor some three miles northwest of Ivanhoe, started for his son's house, about a mile distant in a southwesterly direction. The evening was clear and pleasant, and he walked carelessly on until he finally thought he had traveled about far enough to reach his destination. Then he noticed that he had lost his bearings and had missed the trail. He turned to retrace his steps, and started in what he supposed was the direction of his son's house. He again missed the trail, and then realized that he was lost. Wandering about for several hours, he was unable to find the house; and then, about nine o'clock, to make matters worse, the snowstorm came up. The atmosphere grew suddenly cold, and the air was soon filled with blinding snow, making it impossible to distinguish objects even a few feet distant. Striking out, in what direction he did not then know, Mr. Arning kept walking until daylight. When day dawned on Saturday morning the storm was still raging with all its intensity. Hungry, cold and weak, the old man realized that to pause would be but to die, and with the fortitude of a stoic he pressed on through the blinding storm.

"All day long he walked, never halting until, late in the evening, he found himself in front of a deserted sod shanty. He entered, and found nothing inside except the bare walls and floor, but he felt that any shelter was better than none, and he took possession. Part of the roof was gone, and the snow blew in with every gust of wind. Taking a part of the roof boards, he made himself a bed consisting of a solitary pine plank, and then improvised covering out of similar material. In these quarters and in this manner he passed Saturday night, his extreme weariness inducing the sleep which otherwise would have been denied him. Sunday morning the storm had ceased, and Mr. Arning on looking around discovered that he was in the sand hills, although he did not know whether near the Cimarron southwest of Ivanhoe or the Arkansas north of town. However, he again struck out toward the rising sun, and spent Sunday in trying to find some ranch or settler's shanty. For three days and two nights he wandered among the sand hills endeavoring to find his way out; but, as he now supposes, he continually doubled upon his tracks until he was completely bewildered and lost. With not a moment's sleep during this time, not a bite to eat, nor a drink of water, since he began his unwilling journey, he suffered the most extreme pangs of hunger. Besides this, the snow and continued cold weather chilled him through, and the second day his feet became frozen.

"With death almost staring him in the face throughout his entire journey, no one but himself can realize the thoughts he must have endured. But he did not despair nor falter, and with an energy that would have been almost miraculous in men of younger years and greater vitality, the old

man passed on, hopeful to the end, until on Tuesday evening he came in sight of a ranch about twenty-five miles south and a few miles west of Ivanhoe. Here he saw the first human being and tasted the first food since he left his friend's house ninety-six hours before. The men at the ranch kindly cared for him until Wednesday, when he was taken to Loco, a few miles distant on the stage route. From there he took the first stage for home, and arrived at Ivanhoe Wednesday afternoon.

"Mr. Arning was missed the first day after the storm, and searching parties were out looking for him until his return. Notwithstanding his perilous experience, he is now apparently in his usual good health, with the exception of his feet, which are both frozen."¹³—*Ivanhoe Times*, January 16, 1886.

"FOUR FROZEN TO DEATH IN THOMAS COUNTY.

"The Colby *Cat* of the 14th inst. gives the details of the freezing to death of Isaac Griffith, Alfred and Fred Gould and Samuel Stewardson.

"Wednesday evening, the 6th inst., while returning from Colby to his home, near Otterbourne, Mr. Griffith approached his house within one hundred yards; his mule team then made several circles and drifted south with the storm. The neighbors turned out Friday to hunt for him. He was not found till Saturday. He was in his wagon, about three miles from home, stiff in death. Mr. Griffith was about forty years of age, a disabled Union soldier, industrious and strictly temperate, and well thought of by all his neighbors. He leaves a wife, mother and five children. Funeral services took place on Monday at the residence of the mother of the deceased.

"Alfred and Fred Gould were brothers, age seventeen and nineteen years. They had just moved down from Oberlin with the household goods of their father's family. The night of Tuesday, the 5th, they stayed at Colby. The next day they started, with their mother, for their claim in the western part of Thomas county, the father already being there. Before the storm commenced they had reached the place of J. D. Hughes, twelve miles from Colby, where they determined to put up for the night. After supper the boys decided to walk to the claim, a distance of four miles, to spend the night with their father, taking with them a lantern. They went in the direction of the claim, but the storm being so severe, turned them, and they went with the storm, leaving their lantern within a few feet of a deserted sod house. On Friday searching parties were sent out, but the search developed nothing until Sunday at 11 o'clock, when the bodies were discovered by Sheriff Kingery, about four miles from their father's claim. A jury was summoned and the verdict was 'Frozen to death.'

"As many of our readers as have been used to attending the different

NOTE 13.—In the summer of 1871, H. C. Friedt and U. S. Fordyce, young men from Fort Wayne, Ind., went into camp on the Solomon river near Stockton. On Thursday, the 16th of November, a hurricane of wind from the northwest came up. The men made the best preparation they could, but Fordyce was frozen to death the first night. To keep from freezing Friedt walked all day Friday and all that night. When Saturday morning came there was no abatement of the storm. Saturday night the wind seemed to be stronger than ever, and Friedt was compelled to keep moving without nourishment. Sunday morning the storm ceased, and by noon the sun was shining and so warm that the ice began to melt from his hair and beard. Knowing there was a camp of herders thirty miles to the north, he started to find them, and crept the distance with hands and feet frozen. He was delirious when found by the herders, who took him to their camp and thawed his feet with snow. His high boots, trousers and stockings were frozen so they had to be cut off, and the flesh of his feet and ankles was frozen so hard that it rang like solid ice when a knife was struck against it. For three months he was blind. He is a shoemaker to-day in Osborne, and moves about on his knees.

district and state conventions will readily recall Samuel Stewardson, who for years has been Thomas county's delegate. He had red hair, and seemed possessed of a sunny disposition. Mr. Stewardson had been in Colby, and on Wednesday night started for home, nine miles east, on horseback. He stopped at the residence of A. B. Jardine, three miles east, and this was the last seen of him. The eastern portion of the county was aroused, and search commenced on Friday, and has continued up to the present date without result. His horse was found on the south Solomon, near Nathan Byars', with the bridle tied to the tree of the saddle, and also the place where he had turned his horse loose; and his tracks were found, evidently bent in the direction of home, but the tracks were lost in a gulch. There is hardly a question of doubt that he has perished and is covered with snow.

"ONE IN SHERIDAN COUNTY.

"Henry Upson, a young man who has made his home with C. Geisenheimer, on Prairie Dog creek, in the northwest part of Sheridan county, was frozen to death on the prairie during the gale of Wednesday of last week. His body was not recovered until four days later. He was unmarried, but has relatives residing in Oberlin. Mr. C. E. Mathews brought the information to Coroner Robinson on Tuesday evening, who left immediately for the scene and held an inquest on Wednesday. Mr. Mathews also reports that on the same night an unknown man and a span of horses were frozen to death on the prairie in the northeast part of Thomas county.

"*The World* presumes that the man referred to in the northeast part of Thomas county was the Mr. Griffith, who has been noticed by the *Cat*.

"FOUR IN GREELEY COUNTY.

"H. O. Ward and George Chapman, of Syracuse, and Isaac Staffle, of Windom, Kan., started Wednesday, the 6th, for Greeley county. They were caught in the storm twenty miles from Syracuse. After turning their teams loose they started to walk back. Chapman perished from the cold shortly after starting, and Staffle got within five miles of town and died. Ward got in at four o'clock Thursday evening with both feet frozen, and will lose them. Staffle's body was found yesterday. Chapman's body and the team are still out. Hundreds of cattle have perished. Twenty-five head can be counted from the bridge, frozen in the ice. Geo. L. Chapman, of Hector, in Greeley county, whose untimely death by freezing was mentioned in the daily *Sentinel* of yesterday, was well and favorably known in this city, being an enterprising young man. He was one of the proprietors of Hector, Greeley county, and only a few days ago received his commission as postmaster of said town, the first and only post office in the county. His prospects for a bright and prosperous future were flattering and his loss will be deeply felt in that county.

"M. F. Israel and two other men, one of whose names was Bodeck, started on the 6th inst. from Leoti City, Wichita county, to Horace, in Greeley county, where Mr. Israel had some land and was interested in the town site. They traveled until the storm set in so severely as to cause them to stop. Our informant, Mr. Vanlandingham, of Greeley county, says they then took off two wheels of their spring wagon, thus letting down one side of the vehicle and forming as effective a windbreak as was possible under the circumstances. The three men then lay down. One of them had

no overcoat. Israel and Bodeck survived until well along in the night. The survivor hugged the ground closely. The other two did not. He was badly benumbed, and could scarcely extricate his hair and clothes from the frozen ground; but when the storm had cleared away on Thursday, and he saw his shanty at Horace, he managed to rise, go to it, knock in the door, build a fire, and go to living again.

"SEVEN IN WICHITA COUNTY.

"We are without the particulars. The Garden City *Sentinel* says that a family of seven—father, mother and five children—were frozen to death.

"PERHAPS TWO IN SCOTT COUNTY.

"Elmer E. Smith, a young man about twenty-eight years of age, who came here last August and took a claim about five miles southwest, was in town Wednesday, the 6th, to get his mail and do some trading, and, although friends advised him not to go until morning, he started out on foot to his claim about dark. Nothing was heard of him up to Friday night. A party was made up of about sixty of our citizens Saturday morning to search for the missing man, when, after a search of about two hours, the body was found, cold and stiff.

"John Miller, of Cimarron, and M. H. Powlson, of Comanche county, were on their way to this place from Cleveland; having been to Wa Keeney to file on land. They camped about thirty miles north of here on Wednesday evening, and when they arose next morning the snow was so deep and the wind blowing such a gale they could make no headway with the team, and, cutting the halters, left the horses to take care of themselves. Wrapping their blankets around them, they proceeded on foot for some distance, when Mr. Miller's strength was exhausted and he dropped down in the snow, saying that if he must die he would die where he was. Powlson did all he could to encourage him to go on with him, but it was to no avail. Powlson then proceeded on his weary journey, hoping to find help and then return to his companion. Miller crawled into a snow drift and fell asleep. Waking up next morning, he found that both his feet and his right hand were frozen. He traveled for a few miles and came up on Smoky Hill river, where he found the camp of Isaac Ruddock, Wm. Copeland and Charley Bailey, of this city, who are prospecting for coal. Mr. Ruddock, on hearing his story, came to Scott City to procure aid for the relief of the sufferer and to search for the missing man. A number of our citizens turned out, and diligent search failed to find the body of Powlson, but it is believed that his fate is the same as that of Elmer Smith. Mr. Miller was brought to town and is receiving proper attention under the care of Doctor Mitchell. Robert Creamer, while coming from Israel's place, two miles east of town, Thursday evening, lost his way and froze both feet and one hand. He will not lose the use of both of them, however, as they are not frozen to the bone.

"FOUR IN SHERMAN COUNTY.

"Fred Boyd, aged about twenty-three, who came there from Saginaw, Mich., and Jacob Koenigheim, aged twenty-two, formerly from Lancaster, Ohio, left Gandy Wednesday afternoon, the 6th, in a one-horse sled to go to Voltaire, a distance of six miles. Returning in the evening, they were overtaken by the storm. They stopped at the house of Mrs. Douglas, not far from Gandy, and were urged to turn the horse loose and stay, as it was not

safe to proceed. This they refused to do, and, having obtained a lantern, set out for Gandy. They soon lost their way, however, and went adrift with the storm. The horse has been found, some distance from the road, in a creek, where he had broken through the ice and then froze to death, standing with the harness and the lines stretched behind as if the driver had dropped them shortly before. Koenigheim, who owned the horse, has not been found. Boyd drifted with the storm almost due south about twelve miles, when he succumbed, and was found yesterday, lying on his back with his hands and feet thrown up. His features are so deformed and swollen that he could not be recognized by them, but papers on his person told who he was. His remains were taken back to Gandy, and Mr. J. Mourer came through to Wallace and telegraphed to the friends of Boyd and to the postmaster at Lancaster, Ohio. Boyd's brother replied: 'Bury the body, particulars by letter.' The postmaster replied: 'Koenigheim left here three years since for Iowa City, Iowa.'

"The other two are from Voltaire, which place they left shortly before noon on Wednesday to come to Wallace for lumber, each driving a team to a two-horse wagon. The elder of the two was a man named Kerns, aged about twenty-four, and the other a boy named Harper, about fourteen. They passed through Gandy about noon on their way. They had but thirteen miles to come to reach Dowling's ranch, where they could have found shelter, and the storm did not strike until six o'clock or after, central time, so the conclusion is that they had lost their way. All that is known of them is that their wagons were found at the gate to Dowling's pasture, about three miles north of the ranch. From there they had gone with their horses to an old sod house, some distance from the gate, where one side of each harness was found, but nothing else. Two horses, one from each team, were found at the ranch when the storm had abated, one of them with the harness on and reined up, the other with the bridle on. What became of the men or the other two horses is as yet a mystery. Kerns came from Missouri, and young Harper has friends in Atwood, Kan. In addition to the above, three men left Voltaire the day before New Year's to go to Colby, and have not returned or been heard from. Fears are entertained that they are lost. They are Bert Hendricks, Monte Brashier and John Vandever.

"DOUBTFUL WHERE HE DIED.

"On the 6th inst. August Johnson, a Mr. Wright, and a man whose name we have not learned, were hunting close to where Gove, Lane, Scott and Logan counties come near cornering, but in which one of the counties is not known. Wright has started, or is about to start a mule ranch in that locality. The men were lost in the storm. Johnson froze to death, Wright's right hand was frozen so as to render necessary the amputation of the fingers, and the other man's feet and hands have been amputated. The amputation in these cases was deferred, we hear, until Monday of this week.

"REPORT FROM NESS COUNTY.

"Mr. W. A. Owens, the mail carrier between Ness City and Buda, was in Wa Keeney this week, and called at the *World* office. While here he related that one family, consisting of a father, mother and five children, who resided two and one-half miles northeast of Manteno, Ness county, had frozen to death. Upon finding them it was discovered that they had burned

up all their fuel, and also the furniture; and after this was gone, having no place to resort to without exposure to the severity of the elements then prevailing, they all retired to bed in hopes of keeping warm, or at least comfortable, until relief could be obtained, but none came save through death, which indeed presented a picture sad to behold. This family, no doubt, went to sleep hoping the elements would abate, but the sleep was one that knew no waking. How terrible an incident of this nature must be to friends and relatives of these poor unfortunates. Mr. Owens also stated that a man and wife who were in a wagon, having camped in a draw east of and near the place where the family had frozen, were found dead, having encountered the inevitable."—*Western Kansas World*, Wa Keeney, January 23, 1886.

"SHERLOCK, January 12.—I have no news, except of the storm, and am so hemmed in that I know but little more than what I can see.

"We have had the most terrible storm I have ever witnessed. Perhaps my own experience will give the reader a fair idea of its destructive character. It commenced first on Tuesday night. The last of December was a beautiful day, clear, bright and warm, and New Year's day was quite comfortable; but about eight o'clock the wind shifted to the northwest and struck all this region furiously, accompanied with snow which fairly darkened the whole atmosphere, the snow being very fine. The temperature was exceedingly cold, but I had no means of ascertaining the degrees. It became so dark that objects could be seen only at a very short distance. At my own place we have a very warm, dry "dugout" barn, in which we shelter the horses; but the range cattle dropped down on us, and, climbing upon the barn roof in their famished state, crushed it in, and the horses narrowly escaped destruction. We then got them under the shelter of the dwelling house as a partial protection. This storm commenced on the night of January 1, and by Tuesday had so subsided as to make travel quite reasonable, and Wednesday cleared off a beautiful day; but about eight o'clock that night the wind almost instantly shifted from the south to the northwest, and thenceforward for about thirty-six hours such a storm howled over all this region as the "oldest inhabitant," or any other man, never witnessed. Prominent objects could not be seen ten feet distant.

"We did our best for the protection of the horses by placing the plow team of my brother on the south side of the house, which is in "L" shape, and therefore the best protection possible from the northwest wind. Another horse we left under the protection of the partial roof of the demolished "dugout" barn, and the donkey on the south side of a sod structure. By the morning no human being could stem the fury of the storm. The horses had almost perished, and their lives could only be saved by taking them into the house. The donkey was alive, but died before the storm abated, and one horse was ten feet under a snow drift, into which I excavated a hole much like what bricklayers call a "manhole," and through that reached the animal, beating back and tramping the snow until I made a space about four feet by eight, and there fed and watered him for three days, until he died. As soon as I could get out I found that my nearest neighbor, Mr. Stillwagon, was digging the dead animals out of a barn, having lost four horses, and that nearly his whole herd of cattle had gone to the winds, of the number dead unascertainable. Mr. Tracey, four miles

off, lost a span of mules. Nearly all Captain Ballinger's cattle, one hundred head, are reported lost. Mr. McKeever said of 180 head he had found less than seventy alive, and more than thirty dead. A negro on Captain Ballinger's ranch is reported severely frozen; two men are reported frozen to death near Syracuse, and others are reported as having perished in different directions.

"These are meager reports, and are merely given to illustrate the condition in all this region, where the losses must be very heavy. I hope, however, that they are exaggerated.

"Frequently snow drifts are six feet in depth. I can not estimate the average, but it has seldom been equaled in this latitude and altitude. The drifts are so compact that teams can travel over them, and it is where the snow is not drifted deep that it is most difficult to get through. In many places the range cattle cross the railroad fences on the snow and wander along the track, and many are dead and dying. A gentleman told me that within two miles west of Sherlock he counted seventy head of dead cattle along the outside of the railroad fence, and another told me he was sure there were 400 within a space of twenty acres dead under the banks of the Arkansas.

"I think, at this writing (Tuesday noon), no trains have gone west since the last storm, though one train of two passenger coaches and two cabooses has passed east—probably from Coolidge—notwithstanding the almost superhuman energy of the officers of the Santa Fe company. At the earliest possible moment additional gangs of hands were at work clearing the track. The snowplow was of little use, owing to the compact character of the drifts. On Thursday I counted seventy-five hands with shovels, who had been organized at Garden City, and had progressed west about twelve miles. Their feet were wrapped with gunny and burlap sacks, and they were bravely stemming the storm. The snow was cast out in large blocks, some digging and some throwing it with their hands. From what I hear, there is danger of a coal famine, but there is great confidence that all that is possible to be accomplished will be done by the railroad managers. To-day moderate, the sky clear and the sun bright.

"I can scarcely illustrate the severity of the storm better than by telling you that I counted a dozen antelope within twenty rods of my house, and yesterday three came into my dooryard, within fifteen feet of my front door. When antelope get so benumbed by cold and starvation as to almost invade the houses, the imagination will pretty accurately convey to all acquainted with their wild, shy habits the degrees of suffering which all flesh is subject to in this exposure.

"This is a poor letter, but it is the best I can do in a snow bank."—John Speer, in *Topeka Commonwealth*, January 15, 1886.

THE BLIZZARD OF 1885.

"The recent snowstorms were the worst ever experienced on the Kansas plains. Old plainsmen say they never saw so severe a blizzard as that which raged in western Kansas last Thursday. At Dodge City the wind was thirty-five miles an hour; mercury was 10 degrees below zero; the snow flew so furiously before the wind that people on the streets were absolutely blinded by snow; railroad trains and stages were blockaded by snow; the

telegraph wires were prostrated and telegraphic communication entirely obstructed, and business in Dodge City was paralyzed. From Wednesday afternoon of last week until last Monday afternoon no railroad train visited that place. Three hundred men were employed clearing the railroad track in the snow between Dodge City and Spearville, the distance between the two towns being seventeen miles. About three P. M. last Monday a train of cabooses laden with a snow-shoveling gang arrived in Dodge City from the east, the obstructions having been removed. A train of cabooses was immediately made up at Dodge for eastern passengers, which left there at 3:40 P. M. At Kinsley the caboose train reached the plug passenger, to which the passengers were transferred. All the snowplows in Superintendent Nickerson's division were ditched. The snow had to be removed by the slow process of shoveling by men. In some of the cuts between Dodge City and Spearville the snow was eighteen feet, packed solidly. All of the passengers on the blockaded trains were entertained at the hotels at the expense of the Santa Fe company. All of the blockaded passengers speak in the most complimentary terms of the manner in which they have been treated by the railroad officials.

"The Fort Supply stage which was due at Dodge City last Wednesday did not arrive until Saturday. The driver encountered the blizzard at a point about two miles south of Appleton, in Clark county. He struck a haystack, which gave food and partial shelter to his four horses. The driver took refuge in an abandoned dugout near by, where he remained forty-eight hours without food, water or fire. The horses also had to go without water. Near this dugout lived an old lady and two daughters. They attempted on Wednesday night to walk to the residence of a son of the old lady, on an adjoining claim. The daughters perished in the snow. The mother succeeded in reaching her son's, more dead than alive.

"Many people that were out in the storm are missing and doubtless have perished. The suffering among the new settlers on the plains is intense. Most of the houses are mere wooden shells, without plastering or lining. Coal is the only fuel, which has to be hauled in wagons from the railroad towns, in many instances a distance of seventy-five miles.

"The recent storms have killed live stock by the wholesale. The irrigating canal north of Dodge is filled with dead cattle. Many small herds of new settlers have been entirely destroyed. Cattle and horses have been frozen to death in stables. A considerable number of blooded cattle were taken to the plains by new settlers last year. They have succumbed to the rigorous weather more easily than the old range rustlers. Most of the cattle found on the plains next spring will be of the latter class."—*Topeka Commonwealth*, January 13, 1885.

ACCOUNT OF A BLIZZARD IN 1856.

By A. B. WHITING.

The 3d of December, 1856, is a day I can never forget. Early the previous spring my partner and I had pitched our tents beyond the edge of civilization, northwest of Fort Riley, with not a white man between us and the Rocky Mountains. We went there with seven yoke of oxen and a big wagonload of tools and camp outfit, and had spent our time very diligently breaking prairie, building our cabin, and getting ready to live. Mr. Ful-

lington¹⁴ had a family in Vermont and decided to go there for the winter, and I was to stay and care for our stock and hold our claims. Early in the morning of December 3, 1856, I went with him to the top of the bluffs which rimmed the valley in which we had made our home, and bade him good-by as he started on foot across an untracked prairie, for thirteen miles without habitation. I turned back to my little home, a big lump in my throat and a great lonesome feeling in my heart. I was two thousand miles from home, alone. My nearest neighbor was three miles away. The morning was cold and raw, the wind from the north, and an hour later it began to snow. The wind came harder, the snow fell faster, and in two hours a furious blizzard was raging. The air was so full of snow that it seemed like a dense, swirling fog. I busied myself trying to make my cattle as comfortable as possible in their insufficient shelter, and then hugged my little stove in the cabin, listening to the roar of the storm outside, and sick at heart for my partner out on the prairie alone in that awful storm. Night came on, and the wolves added their howling to the music of the gale. By morning the snow had stopped falling, but the north wind blew furiously for two days longer, and the cold was intense.

On the morning of the third day I started for my neighbor's camp. The high wind had swept the snow from the burned prairie and piled it in immense drifts in the ravines and sheltered spots, and I made slow progress, obliged often to deviate from the direct course. Along the leeward crest of a ridge, where the grass was unburned, a great flock of prairie chickens had taken refuge from the storm and had been covered by the snow. For fifty rods the wolves had burrowed after them, and the blood and feathers bore evidence of the great slaughter and the feast they had enjoyed. Coming to my neighbor's, I was surprised to find teams camped around a log fire in his yard and his one-room cabin full of helpless, frost-bitten men. In the timber by some little creeks, about two miles apart, on either side of where Clay Center now is, at the time of this great storm were two camps of United States surveyors of about twenty men each. The officers of the United States land office at Leocompton had been so busy in their efforts to make Kansas a slave state that they failed to furnish the necessary papers to the contractors for the surveys for months after they should have been at work, in the spring, and then compelled them to take along as

NOTE 14.—BRADLEY E. FULLINGTON was a sample of the heroic men who first came to open these prairies. He was born in Johnson, Vt., in the year 1819. As a boy he industriously followed the routine of work on the farm and in the district school. He became a man of strong religious convictions. At the age of twenty-four he was married to Miss Louise Carpenter. For ten years they followed dairy farming in Vermont. In consequence of failing health he took a long sea voyage in a sailing vessel from New York around Cape Horn to San Francisco in 1852. He remained in California three years, mainly in camp life, returning to Vermont in the fall of 1855. May 31, 1856, he started for Kansas with Albe B. Whiting. At St. Louis they bought a camp outfit and farm tools and took passage in the "Star of the West" for Westport Landing. They were one week on the river, and after landing they put in a week in Platte and Clay counties gathering up seven yoke of oxen. Their first night in camp in the territory of Kansas some roughs from Westport attempted to rob them, but a little gun play by Mr. Fullington prevented. They spent two weeks in reaching their destination. At Lawrence everybody seemed aroused for conflict; Topeka was but a rolling prairie, with here and there a hut; at Manhattan there was no sign of life, and Junction City was vacant prairie. Five weeks from home they pitched their tent on Madison creek, near the present town of Milford. The next morning being the Sabbath, a family altar was promptly set up in that tent. Mr. Fullington returned to Vermont in the fall, coming back to Kansas in the early spring of 1857, bringing with him a quantity of low-grade pine lumber which he purchased in St. Louis. This lumber, laid down at Leavenworth, cost \$104 per thousand. It then had to be hauled 140 miles. Mr. Fullington represented Riley county in the legislature of 1863 and 1864, then annual sessions. After forty-three years of a very useful and strenuous life as a farmer, stock raiser and in general business, interested in all that was good in the country, he died December 26, 1899, and is buried at Milford.

helpers a lot of Buford's men, imported from Georgia and South Carolina to vote and fight on their side. These men were inefficient, unused to a cold climate, poorly clothed, and were now caught in this terrible storm before the surveyors' contract was finished.

In Garrett's party, on the day of the blizzard, the men stood around a log fire outside of their tents, and their clothing became wet from the melting snow. At night they lay down in their tents, and a little later the wind, rising to a fearful gale, blew the tents down. In the face of the storm they started for the other camp, whose better outfit withstood the wind. In the darkness they lost their way and drifted into the timber along the Republican river, wandering around until morning. When daylight came two men were dead,¹⁵ and all the rest had frozen hands or feet, and some had both. Two who remained under the fallen tent were all right at daybreak, but, unable to put on their frozen shoes, froze their feet before they could reach the other camp. This party had come through the storm without serious discomfort, and they at once put forth every effort to get the survivors to Fort Riley, the nearest place where they could be cared for. For two days they had fought their way in the intense cold through the great snowdrifts to make a distance of less than twenty-five miles. But for this heroic service every man of the seventeen survivors in Garrett's party must have perished.

Now my anxiety and alarm for my partner's safety was intensified, and I was as powerless to search for him if dead, or help him if alive, as if he was lost in the depths of the sea. In my dreams I saw him buried deep under the snow in a ravine where he had sought shelter from the storm. It was a very long month before a letter from Jefferson City told me of his journey and safe arrival there, and a great load of anxiety fell from me. Despite the fury of the storm he had kept his course across the prairie, caught the east-bound mail wagon from Fort Riley at Manhattan, and reached Leavenworth, taking the stage there for Jefferson City. He stayed with it three days and nights, walking most of the time, and helping to pry it out of innumerable mudholes. Finally, abandoning the coach and taking his grip on his back he had walked the rest of the way to Jefferson City, reaching there eight hours ahead of it.

I have spent fifty-two winters in Kansas and have passed through many blizzards, but for amount of snowfall, high wind and intense cold, I think none have equaled the one beginning December 3, 1856. Considering the circumstances, it is no wonder the memory of it has kept fresh in my mind more than half a century.

NOTE 15.—"December 10, 1856.—A United States surveying party on the Little Blue was caught in a blizzard and two of its members frozen to death. This month of December was an exceedingly cold one, the Missouri river and the Kansas river being both frozen over solid."—Wilder's Annals.

EARTHQUAKE IN KANSAS.¹By PROF. JOHN D. PARKER,² Ph. D., of Lincoln College.³

THE EARTHQUAKE of April 24, 1867, was more severe and extensive in its effects than any other which has occurred within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. Between two and three o'clock on that calendar day two distinct earth waves passed over the state of Kansas, together with large portions of the states of Nebraska, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and are reported to have reached Ohio. Almost the entire population of two or three of the first-named states was precipitated in one hurrying mass into the streets. The most massive buildings swayed back and forth and seemed ready to fall. A train on the Pacific railroad was stopped, the engineer and fireman jumping off under the impression that the engine was on the point of blowing up; clocks were stopped, and animals hurried about the fields in alarm, while some stood still in the furrow. The earthquake was accompanied by a noise likened by some to the roar of distant thunder or to the rumbling of artillery over a pavement. A large mass of material referring to it has been collected, out of which the following brief abstract is made:

The time of the clock at Topeka, Kan., was about fifteen minutes to three. At the Agricultural College, Manhattan, it is noted as having occurred at thirty-two minutes past two o'clock. At the State University, Lawrence, it is reported to have occurred at about three minutes to three o'clock by the town clock, which is generally a little fast. Making allowance for different meridians, the time of occurrence was later as we go eastward.

The duration of the shock was from ten to thirty seconds. In western Kansas it was about ten seconds in length, but gradually increased to thirty seconds or more in its progress eastward.

The direction of the shock appeared to be from the south or southwest to the north or northeast. This is shown from various facts, the principal

NOTE 1.—This article appeared first in the *American Journal of Science and Arts* and was later copied in the *Kansas Educational Journal*, vol. 4, 1868, from which magazine it is now reprinted.

NOTE 2.—Rev. John Dempster Parker, the son of Rev. Roswell Parker and Mary (Batcheller) Parker, was born at Homer, N. Y., September 8, 1831. In 1836 the family moved to Michigan, and at the age of nineteen young Parker became a telegraph operator. He took a classical course in the University of Michigan, and later taught school in Indiana and Illinois. He then took a theological course in the Chicago Theological Seminary, and began preaching. In 1866 he was elected professor of natural science in Lincoln (now Washburn) College, Topeka. He was pastor of a Congregational church at Burlington, Kan. In 1871 Governor Harvey appointed him superintendent of the Kansas Institution for the Blind. After four years' service in this position he served seven years as a missionary in Kansas City, Mo. He established the Kansas Academy of Science and also a similar institution in Kansas City, Mo. In 1881 he was commissioned post chaplain in the army, serving at Fort McKavitt, Fort Stockton, Fort Hays and Fort Riley, his last station being San Diego, Cal., where he was retired in 1896. He had a brother, Rev. Roswell D. Parker, at one time pastor of the Congregational church in Manhattan. Both of these men were very prominent in church and educational circles in the early days. Dr. Parker died at the Presidio, San Francisco, March 8, 1909.

NOTE 3.—Lincoln College, the original of Washburn, was a two-story stone building located on the corner of Tenth and Jackson streets, in Topeka, built in 1865 and costing \$8000. It was torn down to give place to the Memorial and Historical Building now being erected. It is fitting that Lincoln College should develop, not only in Washburn, but that its site should be marked by this magnificent half-million-dollar structure of granite and marble, a memorial to the Kansas soldiers, erected to house the records the state and her people have made.

one being the movement of the water in the Kansas river. At Manhattan the water of this river was observed to roll in a heavy wave, at least two feet high, from the southerly to the northerly bank, while no similar movement was noticed in the Big Blue, which empties into the Kansas river from the north at the same place. This fact has been thoroughly substantiated by Professor Mudge, of the State Agricultural College. It rests upon the testimony of several credible witnesses, and is decisive. In confirmation of the same, light articles, such as photographs, when piled upon each other, were pitched over toward the southwest. Waves in the ceiling of Lincoln College were observed to run from the southwest toward the northeast. Rev. R. D. Parker (a brother), attending the dedication of a church at Warrensburg, Mo., at the time, observed the walls of the church heave as if moved by a shock from the southwest.

The number of shocks seemed to vary in different places. At the initial point, in western Kansas or eastern Colorado, there seems to have been one shock, increasing in intensity and gradually dying away. As the movement progressed eastward the original impulse seemed to have separated into two distinct earth waves, which again appeared to have faded into each other as they became less violent.

The movement of the earth wave was mainly that of translation. The slight damage done by the earthquake, otherwise so violent and extensive, is probably due to this fact.

The velocity of the movement of the earth wave was great. This is shown by the small difference of time elapsing between the occurrence of the shock at comparatively remote points. The telegraph operator at Topeka on the Pacific line states that reports of its occurrence seemed to come indiscriminately immediately after the shock, both from the west and east.

The effects of the earthquake, as already indicated, were alarming but not serious. Several persons were more or less injured, but not a life is known to have been lost. Two contiguous blocks in Leavenworth are reported to have been lifted up and separated several inches, but they settled back again, apparently uninjured, on the passage of the earth wave. Two large stones were loosened from the top of the Unitarian church in Lawrence and precipitated to the ground, and the walls of many buildings in different places were cracked, but not one is known to have been thrown down. At Topeka a funeral service was occurring in one of the churches, which was crowded to overflowing. As the stone building was rocked to and fro, the people made a hasty escape in every available direction, many of them jumping through the broken windows. An acre of ground three miles south of Carthage, on the Miami canal, is reported to have sunk ten feet, showing that the shock extended to Ohio.⁴ The ground sunk bodily, leaving a perpendicular wall of ten feet or more on all sides. The canal bank was seriously endangered by the subsidence.

NOTE 4.—One of the greatest seismic disturbances occurred in Missouri December 16, 1811, and was known as the "New Madrid earthquake." There is some controversy even yet as to whether certain lakes and depressions in southeast Missouri were not made by that great quake. A witness, Miss Eliza Bryan, twelve years old at that time, five years after the occurrence wrote an account in which she describes the first shock, which came at two A. M. December 16: the screams of the affrighted inhabitants running to and fro, not knowing where to go or what to do; the cries of the fowls and beasts of every species; the cracking of falling trees and the roaring of the Mississippi, "the current of which was retrograde for a few minutes, owing, as is supposed, to an interruption in its bed. She records that there were many light shocks until January 23, 1812, when occurred as violent a one as the severest of the earlier shocks. From then until February

The following accounts of the earthquake appeared in the newspapers at the time and are interesting in this connection. Wilder's Annals notes the shock as occurring at 2:45 P. M. and extending over eastern Kansas and western Missouri:

"About half past two o'clock this afternoon a very perceptible shock of earthquake awakened things in town for a few seconds. The building occupied by this office rocked to and fro, we judge moving several inches. At all events, its inmates indiscriminately scrambled downstairs. It was amusing to see the court and spectators getting downstairs also. Judge S. B. White and several of the attorneys demolished a front window in their eagerness to escape from the building. The shock seems not to have extended over a quarter of a mile in width, but it was strongly felt at Wyandotte, Lawrence, Topeka, and west of us, at Solomon. A well which was being dug in town was destroyed by it, but fortunately none of the workmen were in it."—*Junction City Union*, April 27, 1867.

"Our city was the scene of the liveliest excitement about three o'clock yesterday afternoon that it has been our fortune to witness. There is no doubt but this section was honored with a veritable, genuine, old-fashioned earthquake—one that would be a credit to localities a little closer to the quaky regions of the globe.

"We were pursuing our usual avocation in the third story of the building, everything quieter than usual, when suddenly, without warning, the building commenced shaking in a manner that plainly indicated that something was wrong. Our first impression was that the floor was giving away, and accordingly we made a hasty transit to the corridor at the head of the stairs. At this juncture the compositors and printers came rushing out of their rooms with an alacrity that was surprising, and some one exclaimed that the building was falling. The continued and increasing shaking of the whole building fully justified that view, and we suddenly came to the conclusion that we wanted to get out, and that badly, too. We started to go downstairs, but the thought struck us that going down two long flights of stairs, with a three-story brick building traveling the same direction, was not quite the thing. In this dilemma, one of the boys threw up the window opening on the roof of the adjoining building; and if ever a set of fellows went through a window in less time we want them to come here and let us see them do it. We ran to the cone of the roof, and found it was shaking as badly as the one left, and accordingly ran to the next roof. It was jarring perceptibly, and, looking down to the street, we saw the whole city going through about the same maneuvers that we were at.

4 the earth was in a continuous agitation, "visibly waving as a gentle sea." On that day occurred a violent shock, and February 7, at 4 A. M., there was the most violent one of all. She tells how the trunks of trees were snapped off, how the earth cracked open and closed again, and how the inhabitants of New Madrid deserted their homes and lived in temporary shacks for several months, and then "became callous" and went back to their homes again. Another witness, William Leigh Pierce, sent an account from New Orleans, December 25, 1811. He tells that he was on his way from Pittsburg to New Orleans in a flatboat. He had descended the Ohio into the Mississippi, and was about opposite New Madrid when the first shock came, at two o'clock the morning of December 16. This was followed by three lighter shocks, and at seven o'clock the same morning there was another very severe one. At eight o'clock there were nine in quick succession, and shocks continued until December 23, up to which time there had been eighty-nine distinct shocks, as counted by Pierce. The earthquake lasted in that region, with intermission, for nearly a year.

Wilder's Annals says, under date of December 16, 1811: "The whole valley of the Mississippi shaken by an earthquake, and the town of New Madrid, Mo., destroyed."

"Every one was rushing out in the street, and fellows engaged in the upper stories were coming down six steps at a jump, hair flying, eyes popped out, in a way that showed something was the matter. As soon as we saw it was a general complaint we felt easier, and left our perch for the street. When we went down the whole city was out, and every one concurred that it was a serious shock. Everything of a movable nature was rattled in an alarming manner, and in many places plaster was cracked and fell from the walls. A large stone was loosened and fell from the top of the Unitarian church, and in many houses and stores small articles were thrown from the walls. There is no denying that it was a serious scene, and we saw a good many white faces in the street after it was over.

"From the telegraph operator we learn it was felt at St. Joseph, Leavenworth, Wyandotte and as far west as the railroad line extends. It lasted about one and a half minutes, according to the report of persons who profess to have timed it."—*Lawrence Tribune*, April 25, 1867.

"At about a quarter before three o'clock this afternoon, while all were busy in the office, there came a trembling motion, perceptible to every one, and of sufficient power to cause the suspension of the clicking of types. Almost instantly this was followed by a heavy, swelling, rolling motion of the building that caused the windows to rattle.

"In our office the tremor was gradually increased to a heavy shake, threatening the demolition of the building, when a general stampede took place. On reaching the street, everything had assumed its wonted quiet on the part of mother earth, while a large crowd from all parts of the building rapidly discussed this latest 'sensation.' Amongst the business interrupted by the 'shake' was a 'fancy' speech before his honor, the recorder, by one of the gallant members of the Atchison bar, which was the only thing broken that we have heard of thus far, in Price's building.

"The vibration was so great that the downfall of the building seemed certain, and all hands, even to the 'invalid' who had been 'shaking' all day, hastily descended to the street. Our office being in the third story of the building, perhaps we felt the force of the shock as much as any persons in the city. The wave of vibration seemed to be passing westward, and the swell was so heavy that the floor rolled like the deck of a moving vessel.

"We were in the south end of the building when the trembling and rumbling began, and our impression was that the building had become undermined and begun to settle into the improvement excavation. A glance from the window dissipated that idea, and the heavier swell caused us to comprehend the situation. Having to cross the floor, a distance of about forty feet, we readily discovered the power that made the building tremble and caused the floor to undulate.

"On the second floor of the building a large company were in the recorder's court, where a suit was in progress, and these fled to the street without the ceremony of adjournment. On the same floor is the calaboose, in which was a prisoner. He, poor fellow, looked through the grates and added to the confusion by vigorously yelling, "Let me out!" "Let me out!" But nobody stopped to release him.

"On Commercial street almost every person distinctly felt the shock, and most of them hastily left their places of business. In Parker's building, Mr. Wills, Mr. I. S. Parker and Mr. Raynor were engaged in writing at their desks in different parts of the room on the first floor, where the

trembling was so great that they were compelled to cease, and were soon in the street with the rest of the people.

"In Mr. (James A.) Gould's drug store the glass jars rattled, the chandeliers vibrated, and the trembling of the building was otherwise manifested.

"In Mr. Wakefield's crockery store the glassware, crockery and lamps shook with a distinct and very unpleasant motion.

"In almost every case a heavy, rumbling noise was heard, and each thought a weighty cask or some other ponderous object was being rattled through his neighbor's building or along the sidewalk. In most cases the noise is described as passing from the south to the north, though some say it passed from east to west.

"Rev. Mr. Marshall was standing near the rear of his house, when he heard a heavy, rumbling sound, which he supposed to be from a passing wagon; following this came a vibration of the earth, and this was continued for several seconds. He distinctly perceived the vibrations of a neighboring house. Families in the vicinity were much disturbed by the oscillations of their buildings.

"Throughout the city the shock was felt with more or less distinctness, and it is needless to say that great alarm was occasioned, and many faces not accustomed to paleness blanched to a cadaverous hue.

"Of course, there are many speculations as to the power of the earthquake in other localities, but these can be only speculations as yet. From the power of the shock here, it is reasonable to suppose that at no distant point the force was sufficient to throw down buildings.

"There seems to be a uniformity of testimony as to the rumbling sound heard, and nearly all agree that the first oscillation experienced was distinct, but was almost instantly followed by a heavier and more perceptibly felt swell that passed either northward or westward."—*Daily Free Press*, Atchison, April 24, 1867.

"We have been unable to obtain many particulars of the earthquake yesterday. We learn by a gentleman from the vicinity that the shock was distinctly felt forty miles to the west of us on the railroad. The telegraph announces that the shock was felt at Omaha, at Solomon, Kan., and slightly in St. Louis, but we hear nothing of it extending to the east.

"By telegraph we learn that the shock was felt at St. Joseph, Leavenworth and Kansas City. There was much confusion at St. Joseph, and some evidences of the earthquake were left. The brick walls of the new schoolhouse, standing on an elevated piece of ground where the street had been cut down, were cracked for several feet from the ground, and the bank on which it stood was also rent in a distinct seam."—*Daily Free Press*, Atchison, April 25, 1867.

EARTHQUAKE OF NOVEMBER, 1875.

"Yesterday morning at about a quarter to five o'clock the shock of an earthquake was felt in this city, the wave seeming to run from southeast to northwest. The shock was plainly felt at the capitol, the most solidly built structure in the town. By notices to be found elsewhere it will be seen that the convulsion was felt at points west of here. It was also observed on the Wakarusa, south of town. The shock was a light one."—*Topeka Commonwealth*, November 9, 1875.

"The earthquake seems to have been very 'generally attended' along the line of the Kansas Pacific.

"The Lawrence *Tribune* says: 'There were two distinct shocks of an earthquake felt in and around Lawrence this morning at between 4:30 and 5 o'clock. Mr. Hanscomb says he was waked up out of a slight sleep, or half-dozing state, and felt the shock very distinctly—so much so that dishes rattled. Several persons in town describe the sensations in a very similar manner. A gentleman residing on Buck creek, nine miles from Lawrence, described the shock as very distinct, representing the trembling of his house as similar to that caused by the trotting of a dog over a flimsy bridge. At the Hill home, the former residence of the Rev. I. S. Kalloch, the shock is represented as so severe as to rattle dishes and break the glass jars in a pantry. Several of the family got out of the big stone mansion in the shortest possible space of time.'"—Topeka *Commonwealth*, November 10, 1875.

"The shock of an earthquake was perceptibly felt here on the morning of November 7 [8], between four and five o'clock. In some places stoves and crockery and window panes were rattled about. A door in C. W. Bittman's residence was jarred open."—*Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, November 14, 1875.

"On Monday morning last quite a number of persons in this neighborhood were awakened about five o'clock in the morning by an earthquake. Wooden houses rocked and stone ones quivered. The worst scared person we have seen was a young lady who thought that some horrid man was shaking her bed."—*The Nationalist*, Manhattan, November 12, 1875.

"A slight shock of an earthquake was experienced here a little before five last Monday morning, the 8th inst. It was preceded by a rumbling noise, suggesting the thought that some one was out early and driving rapidly; then the house began to shake and windows rattle, and we concluded it must be an earthquake. By our exchanges we notice that a similar shock was felt at Topeka and quite a number of other points in the state. Possibly it might have been only the Democratic party groaning at the severe castigation which it got on the 2d inst."—*Osage County Chronicle*, Burlingame, November 12, 1875.

A THIRD EARTHQUAKE, NOVEMBER, 1877.⁵

"A great many of our oldest and most reliable citizens predicted that some fell disaster would befall Atchison on account of the Republicans permitting the Democracy to bulldoze them in the manner they did in the first commissioner's district this fall. Such criminal carelessness on the one side and frightful election frauds on the other, it was predicted, would as certainly be punished as it was certain that it was criminal. The first warning came yesterday at five minutes before twelve o'clock, and it came in the shape of an earthquake. There was no mistaking the fact—every two-story building in town swayed backward and forward, and in several buildings there was a grand rush made for the street. It was noticed very distinctly in every department of the *Champion* building, and the employees

NOTE 5.—"A slight earthquake; it empties a few cisterns in Lawrence."—November 15, 1877, Wilder's Annals.

in every room saw and felt the vibration. In the Wagner building, on the corner of Fourth and Commercial streets, the occupants vacated the structure like a panic-stricken mob, and they came rushing pell mell down the stairs like the water comes down at Ladore. Another building in which the effects were distinctly felt was in Murphy's block. In the city clerk's office the desks swayed back and forth as if impelled by some motive power, and the gas fixtures trembled and shook for ten minutes. In Leu's block and the Blair and Galbraith block the shock was also accutely felt, but no damage done."—The *Atchison Daily Champion*, Nov. 16, 1877.

"Persons who were engaged in the upper rooms of the Santa Fe depot yesterday state that about ten minutes before twelve o'clock they felt a shock of earthquake, which made the building rock gently from north to south. In one room there were three gentlemen, and all of a sudden each found the others looking at him and asking, 'What is that?' In other rooms nearly the same thing happened, all saying they felt very dizzy or seasick, or rushed to the window to see if there was a train passing. Not an engine was in sight, and some one said, 'Earthquake.' In one room a door was slammed shut, and some say the chairs rocked. In the shops the shock was also felt, but not downstairs in the depot building. We talked with several gentlemen in the building, and all agree that it was an earthquake. We have, however, been unable to find any one uptown who felt it, except a colored man who thought he heard it, but at the time supposed it was the report of two guns which had been discharged. A lady who came in on the Santa Fe train said that while she was sitting in the depot at Lawrence she felt something, but didn't know what it was."—The *Commonwealth*, Topeka, November 16, 1877.

"On Thursday, November 15, 1877, the shock of an earthquake was distinctly felt in this city (Kansas City, Kan.) about fifteen minutes before twelve o'clock. A majority of persons were not conscious of any perturbation of nature, but people living on high ground and those occupying brick buildings felt the shock distintinctly. Topeka, Lawrence, Atchison and other points in the state were more or less shaken up. The shock was not as severe as that of the earthquakes of 1876 [1875]."—The *Wyandott Herald*, Wyandott, November 22, 1877.

EARTHQUAKE IN 1895.

"The earthquake at five o'clock yesterday morning gave the people a topic of conversation for the day, and they took advantage of it. 'Did you feel the shock?' was heard on all sides.

"The shock was most severe and was felt more plainly at the Chesterfield Hotel, probably, than any other place in town. Nearly all the guests in the hotel were awakened and some were considerably frightened. They thought a portion of the building had collapsed. Col. John F. Carter, proprietor of the hotel, said: 'I was awakened about five o'clock by peculiar sounds, and I could feel the bed shaking, and the building was swaying from north to south. I first heard the water gurgling in the steam pipes, but pretty soon I felt and heard another shock, and I could feel the bed moving very plainly. I started to get up, when I heard some of the guests who had been awakened talking about an earthquake.'

"Janitor H. Hill, of the Potwin schoolhouse, says the earthquake cracked that building; at least there is a big crack there now that was not there Wednesday night.

"T. M. Forbes, of North Topeka, said: 'I felt three shocks and my house shook very badly.'"—*Topeka Capital*, November 1, 1895.

"PITTSBURG, KAN., Oct. 31.—This morning at 5:25 o'clock an earthquake shock was felt here which was so perceptible as to arouse many from their beds. A second shock was felt five minutes later, and it is said by many that a third shock occurred. Many citizens were scared, but this was the only damage.

"EMPORIA, KAN., Oct. 31.—Four distinct earthquake shocks were felt in this city between four and five o'clock this morning. It seemed to be from east to west, and was of short duration. There was a trembling sensation, accompanied by a low, rumbling sound, a rocking of houses, shaking of windows and of beds. Many persons were awakened from their sleep.

"FLORENCE, KAN., Oct. 31.—A slight but distinct earthquake shock was felt all over this vicinity about five o'clock this morning. No damage was done, but windows rattled and water in pails and other vessels was spilled by the shock.

"CLAY CENTER, KAN., Oct. 31.—A very distinct earthquake shock was felt in this vicinity early this morning, about five o'clock. A number of persons were awakened by the vibrations, but no damage was done. The shock seems to have been felt all over the county.

"LAWRENCE, KAN., Oct. 31.—The earthquake shock in Lawrence was distinctly felt about 5:15 o'clock. The vibration was from west to east, and lasted several seconds. There was no damage done, but the shock was noticed all over the city.

"WAMEGO, KAN., Oct. 31.—An earthquake shock of several seconds' duration woke the sleepers in town this morning about five o'clock. There was no report or rumbling, but curtains and windows and dishes rattled.

"MANHATTAN, KAN., Oct. 31.—Two slight earthquake shocks were distinctly felt here this morning at 5:20 o'clock. The first lasted about thirty seconds, and after an interval of one minute came a second shock of shorter duration.

"HOLTON, KAN., Oct. 31.—At about four o'clock this morning a distinct earthquake shock of several seconds' duration was experienced. Many were awakened by the trembling of the houses and the rattling of the windows.

"FORT SCOTT, KAN., Oct. 31.—What is thought to have been an earthquake shock momentarily terrorized many residents of this city about five o'clock this morning. Some of the larger brick buildings shook violently and people left them in haste. The night operators at the Missouri Pacific and Missouri, Kansas & Texas depots fled.

"LEAVENWORTH, KAN., Oct. 31.—A few minutes after five o'clock this morning a severe earthquake shock rattled furniture and dishes violently in some localities and roughly rolled persons in bed. Many got up and searched for supposed burglars, mistaking the earthquake shock for something else. Those living in brick or stone houses were most generally shaken up. There were three distinct shocks. The first one began at 5:06 and the last was

over at 5:16. The vibrations appeared to be from the northwest to the southeast.

"HIAWATHA, KAN., Oct. 31. — A distinct earthquake shock was felt here at five o'clock this morning. No damage was done, but the people awake at the time were frightened.

"KANSAS CITY, Oct. 31. — The shocks were plainly felt in the west bottoms. The Union Depot trembled, the floor shook and the ceiling oscillated until the electric lights flickered. Guests of the Blossom House and of the Union Depot Hotel were much alarmed and rushed out in the hallways. A peculiarity about the vibrations in this city was that they were only felt, so far as can be learned, by persons who were lying down. Persons who were on their feet when the quake began felt no shock. The Missouri Pacific Railway feared that damage might have been done to its tracks, and gave orders directly after the shock that all trains should run on slow time."

The above special dispatches appeared in the *Topeka Capital* of November 1, 1895. Other reports in the paper indicate that the shock was general through the Mississippi valley.

EARTHQUAKE AGAIN IN 1906.

"An earthquake shock was felt in Topeka last evening at 6:15 o'clock. The shock was accompanied by a roaring sound resembling thunder, and at first many people thought that an explosion of natural gas was the cause of the noise and the jar. The shock caused houses and windows to shake and dishes and windows and doors to rattle. At the Copeland Hotel the guests felt two distinct shocks, the second one following close after the first.

"The earthquake was felt in the Kansas river valley from Kansas City westward, and reports of the shock came from as far west as Abilene and as far north as Falls City, Neb. The wind was quite high at the time of the shock, and many people thought that a hurricane was shaking the houses and that a midwinter cyclone was endangering the city.

"Chief Justice Johnston of the supreme court and Mrs. Johnston were in their rooms on the third floor of the Copeland Hotel. Mrs. Johnston said: 'I think it was about 6:20 o'clock that I felt the building shake. This was followed by a number of tremors, which lasted about half a minute. After a short interval there was a second series of tremors lasting longer than the first. I spoke to Judge Johnston about it, and he said that he believed that an earthquake was taking place. We could feel the shaking distinctly and it made us feel rather queer.'

"B. B. Kelley received a telephone communication from a relative at Manhattan telling him that the town had been badly shaken, but that no damage had been done. The shaking was so violent that the people in the Gillett Hotel rushed from the building. Dinner was being served at the time, and the meal was interrupted. Every one in the dining room fled.

"Justice R. A. Burch of the supreme court was in his home, at 827 Tyler street, when things began to move. Judge Burch said: 'I experienced an earthquake in Kansas in the '70's, and when I felt this shock it instantly called up recollections of the previous one. I felt sure that there was either a gas explosion or an earthquake. It rattled the glass on the gas lamp.'

"Eugene Ware: 'I experienced an earthquake in Iowa about forty years ago, and this instantly called to my mind the previous one. The shock was sufficient to make the shade on my lamp rattle.'

"J. A. Majors, who lives at 1401 Polk street, felt the shock at his house. 'I was putting coal in my stove when I felt the house shake,' said Mr. Majors. 'The windows rattled and I could feel the whole building shake clear to the roof. After the shaking stopped I heard a roaring sound like flames in a burning building, and I thought that the house must be afire, so I went upstairs to see, but as everything was all right I concluded that it was only a blast of wind that had struck the house and that the roaring sound was caused by that.'

"Ralph E. Valentine said: 'I was at the home of James Wilson, at Eighth and Buchanan streets, at the time. I felt a distinct jar. The house shook and the windows rattled and the doors in some book cases rattled. My father was asleep, and the shock awakened him.'

"Albert Watkins, who lives between Fourth and Fifth streets on Buchanan, said: 'I felt things shake. At the same time the baby fell off the lounge, and his fall was caused by the earthquake.'

"Mrs. Eugene Ware: 'I thought at first that a windstorm was coming up. I was upstairs at the time. The house shook, and I ran to ask Mr. Ware if he had noticed anything strange. He said that the student lamp on his table was shaking badly and he thought that we were having an earthquake. I called up Mrs. Harry Garvey by telephone. She said that things had been shaking at her home.'

"J. E. Hurley, general manager of the Santa Fe, said: 'I was in my room at the Copeland at the time of the shock. It gave a quivering, jerking sensation. There seemed to be two shocks. It happened about 6:20 o'clock, I should say.'

"T. B. Jennings, of the Weather Bureau, said that he had no indications of a shock. 'I was on my wheel coming to the office at the time that people said they felt the shock, but did not feel it myself. We have no seismograph at the office and so we had no record of any shock. The barometer showed no signs of any disturbance. Earthquakes come from a considerable distance below the surface of the earth, and so cover considerable areas. The earth is shrinking at the center, and the earthquake is due to the readjustment of some of the rocky layers. Kansas had quite a severe earthquake in 1867. I was in Montgomery county at the time. The shock shook the buildings, and even shook the dishes off the shelves. Still, when the stage came in and we asked the passengers about it they said that they had not felt anything. A person in a vehicle very seldom feels a shock of this nature.'—*Topeka Capital*, January 8, 1906.

Specials to the *Capital*, January 8, 1906:

"MANHATTAN, Jan. 7, 1906.—A severe earthquake shock was experienced here at 6:15 this evening. The tremor was so intense that dishes on the supper table were shaken together, articles fell from shelves, and brick chimneys were knocked down from the city school building, the Union Pacific freight depot and from several houses. The tremor was preceded by a rumbling noise, like the rolling of a heavy wagon, or a hollow, booming sound. The shock seemed to be of two distinct waves—a lateral, followed instantly by a vertical movement. There was not a home in the city that

escaped the shock. The people ran from their houses terrified, thinking that some awful explosion had occurred in the vicinity. The transit of the wave was from southwest to northeast. Some people felt a second shock, twenty minutes following the two greater shocks, and also accompanied by a roaring noise."

"ABILENE, Jan. 7.—A distinct earthquake shock, sufficient to rattle dishes and cause water in glasses to show considerable motion, was felt here about 6:45 this evening. Early darkness and a heavily clouded sky, with a stiff north wind, preceded it. Many people were alarmed, but the shock was slight and some did not notice it."

"MARYSVILLE, Jan. 7.—An earthquake was felt in Marysville to-night at 6:30. The earth trembled for some seconds, and the shock was of a rocking nature rather than an upheaval. Numerous families in Marysville noticed it while at supper. Telephone reports from every town in the county say the shock was noticeable at each point."

"WICHITA, Jan. 7.—A slight earthquake shock was felt here this evening. The shock was felt only in the large downtown buildings, and also in the residence districts located on the west side of the Arkansas river. A number of reports were received both at the police station and at the Weather Bureau office from different parties who felt the shock. Reports received from neighboring towns state that when the shock was felt it seemed to last three or four seconds. The earthquake occurred at 6:25."

"EMPORIA, Jan. 7.—An earthquake shock was felt here at about 6:15 o'clock this evening. It was too slight to do damage, but was distinctly felt all over this part of the country. The vibrations lasted for about sixty seconds."

"JUNCTION CITY, Jan. 7.—The most distinct seismic disturbance felt in this part of the state came this evening at 6:17 o'clock. It was felt in all parts of Junction City and Fort Riley, and here at first the general impression was that the ammunition magazines at the fort had exploded. In some parts of the city the shock was so severe that many people were frightened from their homes. In many residences dishes and windows rattled distinctly, and in some articles were shaken from shelves and tables. The earthquake was followed by a cold wave and snowstorm."

IS THE RAINFALL IN KANSAS INCREASING?¹

By PROF. HAMILTON PERKINS CADY, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

THE RAINFALL is a matter of vital importance to every inhabitant of Kansas, and this makes the question, Is the rainfall in Kansas increasing? one of considerable interest. Of course, there is no way to answer this except by examination of the records. These cover too small a period to allow any very certain conclusions to be drawn, but since they are our only source of information we must make the best possible use of them.

The oldest weather records in the state are those of Leavenworth, begun in 1836; Manhattan, 1858; Lawrence, 1868; Hays, 1868; and Wallace, 1870. Since it is quite a laborious task to work up the data in the way that it is done here, it seemed to be necessary to choose three stations to represent the eastern, middle and western portions of the state. For the middle and western parts the choice fell easily and naturally upon Hays and Wallace. For the eastern section the record at Lawrence seemed to be the best. It is not as old as that at either Leavenworth or Manhattan, but it is absolutely complete from the day it was begun, while each of the others has experienced more or less interruption, and then, too, the Lawrence record has the great advantage that it was kept from 1868 to 1909 by one man—Dr. F. H. Snow—and consequently was taken in a uniform manner, and hence any variations which it may show will have greater significance.

Let us, then, take up first the Lawrence record. A glance down the column of figures giving the annual rainfall shows very great variation. For example, the precipitation for 1897 was 23.79, while that for the next year, 1898, was 44.05—a difference of more than twenty inches! These great and sudden variations make it impossible to form any opinion by inspection as to whether or not the rainfall is changing.

Some other method must be used, and the one of breaking the record up into periods of ten years naturally suggests itself. The ten years' average for the three stations are given below:

	<i>Lawrence.</i>	<i>Hays.</i>	<i>Wallace.</i>
First ten years	34.91	23.34	15.83
Second ten years	34.38	23.01	18.54
Third ten years	38.07	20.65	14.44
Fourth ten years	38.02	25.93	17.44
Average for whole record..	36.94	22.89	16.66

An inspection of this table seems to indicate that the rainfall has increased markedly at Lawrence, and perhaps has fallen off slightly at Hays and Wallace. It may be interesting to know at this point that if none of the rain which had fallen at Lawrence since the record began had run off or evaporated, the water would now be nearly 135 feet deep.

There is a mathematical device, known as the "principle of least squares," which enables us to take a tangled mass of data, such as the annual rainfall statistics, and obtain the best possible relation between the time and the

NOTE 1.—This address by Professor Cady was sent to the granges and the labor organizations of the state in 1911 by the Department of University Extension, Kansas University, and was used as a lecture at their various meetings.

rainfall. The calculations involved are quite laborious, and for this reason its application was confined to the record of the three stations.

The result indicates that the precipitation at Lawrence is increasing at the rate of $\frac{1.7}{100}$ of an inch per year, and that at the beginning of the record the average yearly rainfall was 33.33 inches, while at present time it is 40.45 inches.

Applying this same method to the data for Hays, we learn that the rainfall there is increasing at the rate of $\frac{8}{100}$ of an inch per year, an increase of nearly two and one-half inches in the annual precipitation since the record began, in 1868.

The calculation for Wallace shows that there has been no increase, but, rather a very slight falling off, which amounts to $\frac{4}{1000}$ of an inch per year, or the rainfall now is $\frac{1.7}{100}$ of an inch per year less than at the beginning of the record. This change is so small that we may safely say that the rainfall at Wallace has remained unchanged, while that at Hays, and especially at Lawrence, it has markedly increased.

These results, then, indicate that the rainfall of Kansas, taken as a whole, is on the increase.

The cause of the increase and how long it will continue are quite other matters. Common sense tells us that it can not go on increasing indefinitely, and experience in other localities has shown that there is a slow cycle of change in climate, and this would lead us to believe that after increasing for a time the rainfall will finally begin to diminish. But, of course, it is possible that the changed condition brought about by cultivation, etc., may produce a slight permanent change in the climate.



REV. JOAB SPENCER,
Slater, Mo.

IV.

DAYS OF THE MISSIONARY.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, IN KANSAS—1854 TO 1906.

Compiled by REV. JOAB SPENCER¹ for the Kansas State Historical Society.

BEFORE taking up a review of the Church South in Kansas, we deem it proper to give a brief account of the causes which led up to the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the reasons for the organization of the Church South. Without a clear understanding of this part of our church history people will never appreciate fairly the grounds for our separate being. In order that the following statement touching this division and kindred questions may be accepted as a fair and disinterested presentation of the facts in the case, we quote from a writer of considerable reputation,² a prominent member and historian of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

"The General Conference of 1844 met in May of that year in the city of New York. It soon became clear that the temper of the conference was antislavery. James Osgood Andrew, one of the bishops, had become connected with slavery. There was a girl bequeathed him by a lady, and this girl refused freedom; a boy left to her daughter (his former wife) by her mother, whom he could not free in Georgia; also slaves held by his second wife, who had owned them before her marriage to Bishop Andrew, and whom he could not free in Georgia, the civil law prohibiting. The bishop had never bought or sold slaves. The precise form of objection to the relation of the bishop to his slaves was that it made him unacceptable to some of the conferences, and that a bishop ought to be acceptable everywhere. The bishops as a body desired no action, as they could arrange to give Bishop Andrew service in the South, where he was acceptable. The result was that a resolution was passed, by 111 votes to 69, declaring that the bishop's connection with slavery would embarrass and in some places prevent the exercise of his office as general superintendent, and that 'It is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains.' The affirmative vote was wholly from the North; the negative almost wholly from the South. A declaration was at once made by the southern delegates to the effect that this virtual suspension of Bishop Andrew, under no charge of violation of law, will produce in the South 'a state of things rendering the continuance of the jurisdiction of this General Conference over conferences there inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the South.' In this declaration the

NOTE 1.—The author wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to Rev. W. S. Woodard, Rev. W. H. Comer and Rev. J. T. Pritchett for valuable services rendered in the preparation of this paper. But for their timely aid the work could not have been completed.

For biographical sketch of Rev. Joab Spencer see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 184.

NOTE 2.—REV. AMMI BRADFORD HYDE, professor of philology in the University of Denver, born at Oxford, N. Y., March 13, 1825, and ordained to the Methodist Episcopal ministry in 1850. He began teaching in 1846, and was one of the founders of the American Philological Association, and is a member of the American Oriental Society, besides various other learned bodies.

southern delegates were a unit. Thus Bishop Andrew could not preside in the northern conferences, and if the southern conferences acquiesced in his suspension Methodism could not prosper in their region. Access to the plantations would be refused and hundreds of thousands of negroes be deprived of gospel services.

"In truth, no human power could avert the coming separation. Bishop Andrew was 'not its cause, but only its occasion.' He said: 'If I could secure the peace of the church by resigning I would gladly do it.' He was in front of the tidal wave, but it would have rolled on the same without him. There could be no compromise, and it only remained to do peacefully the inevitable—separate. It was, at best, an awkward thing to do. A plan was at once formed by which southern territory was kept from entrance by northern preachers, and all vested properties were to be divided according to the ratio of preachers in the two bodies. The plan was unanimously accepted by the South."

"In May, 1845, a convention was held in Louisville, Ky. Bishops Soule, Andrew and Morris were present.³ The Methodist Episcopal Church South was organized, and its first General Conference was called for May, 1846, at Petersburg, Va. Bishops Soule and Andrew were asked to become bishops of the new church. The latter did so at once, the former the following year."⁴

It will be seen that the Church South was not a secession, not a schism, but the one-half and equal result of a legitimate separation, avowedly inevitable and with the specific approval of the General Conference having jurisdiction. It was a solemn parting in sadness and sorrow, and yet in sincere honesty and Christian love. No one at that time without a prophet's ken could have foreseen the subsequent strife and suspicion, nor have anticipated the bickering, enmity and bitter rivalry which developed later and which have continued for so long, to the disgrace and humiliation of both branches of the Methodist Church.

After the disruption peace continued only till the first chance for war. The first General Conference of the northern section of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in Pittsburgh in May, 1848. A reactionary body, elected and met in a revolutionary period, is very liable to unwise and unjust deliberation. This convention was no exception to the rule. It abrogated and attempted to rescind the Plan of Separation, declaring it "null and void," the vote on the rescinding resolution showing 132 ayes and 10 nays. The repudiation policy set forth that the General Conference of 1844 had no constitutional power to adopt a plan; that the compact had suffered infractions on the border and that the Restrictive Rule had not received a three-fourths majority. In reply to the request of the commissioners of the Church South, that the just portion of the chartered fund and Book Concern property be delivered, there came a positive refusal from the northern branch, and they arranged to send preachers into southern territory. Nothing was left for Southern Methodists but to "appeal to Cæsar." In the two suits brought for the *pro rata* property in the courts of New York and Ohio, both

NOTE 3.—On the 15th day of May the committee on organization reported these conclusions: "That while in accord with the full and exclusive authority granted by the General Conference of 1844 to the annual conferences of the slaveholding states, to decide upon the necessity of organizing a separate ecclesiastical connection in the South, it is in evidence that sixteen such conferences present and ninety-five in each hundred of the nearly 500,000 ministry and membership deem such division indispensable to the welfare of the church and of the nearly a million slaves who would be withdrawn from their care, yet these southern conferences are ready and most willing to treat with the northern division of the church at any time, in view of adjusting the difficulties of the controversy upon terms that may be satisfactory to both."

NOTE 4.—"Story of Methodism," Dr. A. B. Hyde, Chic. Johns. 1888, p. 537.

decisions were finally in favor of the Church South, that in Ohio being handed down by the supreme court of the United States, unanimously reversing the decision of the lower court. Thus the highest courts of the land awarded the just claim, declared that the General Conference of 1844 did not transcend its authority, decided that the Plan of Separation was a valid instrument, whose every provision and particular must be enforced, and that according to that document the Methodist Episcopal Church South was the Methodist Episcopal Church for the South, just as the Methodist Episcopal Church was the Methodist Episcopal Church for the North. No other construction can fairly be made, and this opinion has been repeatedly followed in cases in all courts.



THOMAS J. GREENE.



MRS. MARY (GREENE) CRENSHAW.

Twin children of Rev. Jesse Greene and Mrs. Mary Greene, born at Shawnee Mission, September 5, 1840. First children born at the Mission.

It is well to remember that for seventy years previous to 1844 there had been two parties in the Methodist Church—the northern party contending that the church should attempt legislation for the entire extirpation of slavery from the body and from the country; the southern party holding the church, as such, had no right to meddle with the civil regulations existing between master and slave, and that the church could not pursue any other course in any country where slavery existed by law without injury to the church and the cause of God.⁵ It was the practice of this conservative policy that enabled the preachers in the South to have free access to the slaves, and by their faithful labors thousands of these unfortunate people had been evangelized. The General Minutes of 1860 show that over 200,000 colored people were in the communion of the Church South. The doctrine of nonintervention held by the Church South in 1844 has been adhered to

NOTE 5.—“Life and Times of Wm. Patton,” by D. R. M’Anally, 1858, p. 208.

ever since, and, right or wrong, it is the position of the church to-day. Likewise, the northern branch was and is just as solemnly committed to the same principle. The matter of slavery had always been *questio vexata* in the Methodist Church. The General Conference of 1808, which served to inaugurate our constitutional and delegated polity, adopted a rule against the "buying and selling of men, women and children with an intent to enslave them"—considered to refer to the slave trade and not to the transfer of those already in slavery.⁶

The General Conference of 1824 adopted the following rule or law: "No slaveholder whose state law allows emancipation and the slave's freedom can hold office in the Church."⁷

It seems to be the opinion of many that the Methodist Episcopal Church refused membership to slaveholders. The fact is they dealt with the slaveholders substantially as did the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Maryland, Delaware and a part of Virginia remained under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the division, and the church throughout this territory contained slaveholders. Likewise, when the Missouri Conference was reorganized by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848 many other slave owners were brought into the membership of that church. In this particular the conduct of the two branches of Methodism was the same. Each received both master and slave into its communion, and each required the master to deal with his slaves in a Christian spirit.⁸ It will be clearly seen that neither branch of the church could fairly be called either an antislavery or a proslavery church. In the premises, we submit that in this policy both were Scriptural, and both, consequently, right.

In 1830 the Methodist Episcopal Church entered the territory now included in the state of Kansas and organized missions among various Indian tribes.⁹ The General Conference of 1844 created the Indian Mission Con-

NOTE 6.—"Story of Methodism," Dr. A. B. Hyde, 1888, p. 536.

NOTE 7.—This rule remained in the Discipline of the M. E. Church South till 1858, and in the Discipline of the M. E. Church till 1864, when it was so changed as to make slave owning a test of membership; or, rather, a cause for exclusion. This rule as amended read, 'slaveholding, buying or selling.' As Mr. Lincoln had issued his emancipation proclamation sixteen months before, it is very probable that no one was excluded from the church under the new rule. In 1824 the following form was adopted:

"OF SLAVERY.

"Question. What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?

"Answer. 1. We declare that we are as much convinced as ever of the great evil of slavery; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to an official station in our church hereafter where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

"2. When any traveling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformable to the laws of the state in which he lives.

"3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the Word of God and to allow them time to attend upon the worship of God on our regular days of divine service.

"4. Our colored preachers and official members shall have all the privileges which are usual to others in the district and quarterly conferences, where the usages of the country do not forbid it. And the presiding elder may hold for them a separate district conference where the number of colored local preachers will justify it.

"5. The annual conferences may employ colored preachers to travel and preach where the services are judged necessary; provided, that no one shall be so employed without having been recommended according to the form of discipline."

These are the regulations which continued in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church South till the close of the war, and in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church till 1850.

NOTE 8.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 160.

NOTE 9.—It was not until 1864 that the M. E. Church made slaveholding a bar to membership.—Discipline of M. E. Church, 1864, General Rule on Slavery.

ference, which included the several missions in the Indian Territory and those in Kansas. That conference, by almost unanimous vote, adhered to the Church South. Six years later the boundary of the Indian Mission Conference was so changed as to include only that part lying within the Indian Territory, the missions in Kansas becoming a part of the St. Louis Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. It is thus evident that the Methodist Church South was occupying Kansas territory rightfully under the Plan of Separation: First, by the decision of the Indian Mission Conference, by formal vote, to go with the Southern Church; and second, by the action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in attaching the Kansas Indian Missions to the St. Louis Conference of that church.

THE KANSAS MISSION CONFERENCE, 1854-1861.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, held in Columbus, Ga., in May, 1854, by legal enactment created the Kansas Mission Conference. At the session of the St. Louis Conference, convened the succeeding autumn, Andrew Monroe was appointed to the Kansas Mission district. In 1850 the Indian Mission district had been taken from the Indian Mission Conference and attached to the St. Louis Conference. In addition to his supervision of the Indian missions, Mr. Monroe was expected to travel throughout the newly organized territory of Kansas and determine what places were suitable for occupancy by the Church South. It is evident that he made a report of his labors to the conference which met at Springfield September, 1854. From the Kansas Mission Con-



First church building erected in Kansas by the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Kickapoo, in 1854. Bell a gift of the Rev. D. R. McAnnally, D. D., St. Louis, Mo.

ference Journal we note: "This conference was organized by Bishop Early at the tenth session of the St. Louis Conference, at Springfield, Mo., on Wednesday, October 24, 1855. Members present at the organization were Thomas Johnson, Nathan Scarritt, N. M. Talbot, Adonijah Williams, Charles Boles, N. T. Shaler, Wm. Bradford, L. B. Stateler, J. O. Woods, C. R. Rice, John Hale, C. Jones and William Barnett." J. H. Pritchett was also a member of the conference, but was not present. These preachers received the following appointments for the ensuing year:

Lecompton district, William Bradford, presiding elder.—Lecompton circuit, L. B. Stateler and J. H. Pritchett; Pottawatomie, C. R. Rice; Fort Scott, John Hale; Neosho, C. Jones; Council Grove, to be supplied.

Kickapoo district, Nathan Scarritt, presiding elder.—Manual Labor School, T. Johnson; Shawnee Indian Mission, C. Boles; Wyandot Indian Mission, William Barnett; Delaware Indian Mission, N. M. Talbot; Leavenworth circuit, J. O. Woods; Doniphan, to be supplied; Big Blue, A. Williams.

For the most part these fourteen appointments were merely paper charges to designate the part of the territory to be occupied by each preacher. At the end of the year, however, from the reports it appears that most of them were returned as organized pastoral charges.

At the organization of the Kansas Mission Conference, in 1855, the names of fourteen men appeared on the roll, short sketches of whom are here given:

Thomas Johnson.—For biographical sketch, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 9, page 161.

Learner B. Stateler.—For biographical sketch, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 9, page 206.

Nathan Scarritt.—For biographical sketch, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 9, page 180.

William Bradford.—Born in Ohio about 1825. He joined the Missouri Conference in 1850, and in 1855 was transferred to the Kansas Mission Conference, where he continued to labor until 1871, when he located. During the war his work was somewhat interrupted, but only for a short time. His field of labor in Kansas was very difficult, but he was both faithful and zealous, contributing largely to the planting and upbuilding of the infant church in this new country. After his location he preached only occasionally. When Oklahoma territory was opened for settlement he disposed of his farm near Council Grove, on which he had resided since 1860, and went to the new country, where he died soon after.

William Barnett.—Received on trial in the St. Louis Conference in 1855, and at once transferred to the newly organized Kansas Mission Conference. He filled regular appointments till the war came on, when he went to Missouri, where he made his permanent home. He was a Virginian of the old type, a preacher of much ability, a Christian of spotless character, and always a gentleman, highly respected by all who knew him. His end was that of all good men.

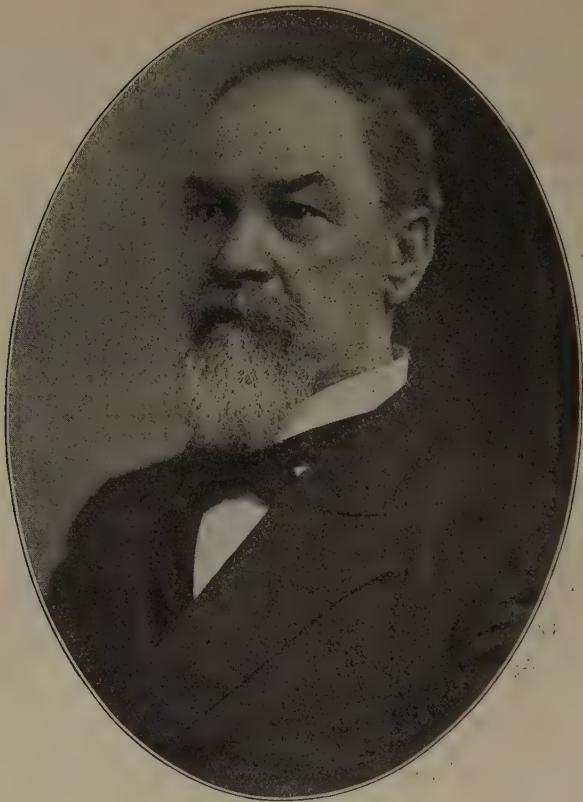
Charles Boles.—Received on trial in the St. Louis Conference in 1847. In 1852 he was appointed missionary to the Shawnee Indians, and continued to reside in Kansas until his death closed a ministry of fifty-five years. During almost the entire time he was "effective"; that is, engaged regularly in his ministerial calling, even during the war continuing to preach or



REV. CHARLES BOLES.

to hold other religious services. At some of his preaching points there was remarkable religious interest. By his ministerial labors and stainless Christian life he contributed greatly to the enlargement and prosperity of true religion. One of his last acts was to erect a commodious church on land which he had deeded free to the church. His was by far the longest ministry of any preacher of his denomination in Kansas. He died February 26, 1902, at Stanley, Kan.

Joseph H. Pritchett. — Born in Henry county, Virginia, February 8, 1835. He was admitted into the Missouri Conference in 1855, and at the same session transferred to the Kansas Mission Conference. He remained in Kansas till 1860, serving Tecumseh, Council Grove and Leavenworth, and transferred to the Mission Conference, of which he is still a member. His labors in Kansas contributed largely to the founding of our church there. He was at once recognized as a young man of great promise, which promise he has



REV. J. H. PRITCHETT.

amply redeemed by his illustrious service for his church. For many years he filled important charges in Missouri, including the chief stations and districts. For twelve years he was prominent in the educational work of the church, during this time being president of Howard College, at Fayette, Pritchett College, at Glasgow, and Paynesville Institute, and for two years holding the chair of mental and moral philosophy and political economy in Central College, Fayette, Mo. For many years he led the delegation of his conference to the General Conference, and for four years was one of the missionary secretaries of our church. Few men have received equal honors from his brethren, and in every case he has shown both signal ability and the highest integrity. He formally retired from the ministry in 1907, and, after a worthy service of fifty-seven years, is with the wife of his youth, his faithful companion for fifty-four years, peacefully passing the evening of life at their home in Webb City, Mo.

Cyrus Robert Rice.—Born near Lebanon, Wilson county, Tennessee, August 27, 1833. Admitted on trial into the St. Louis Conference in 1854. Transferred to the Kansas Mission Conference at its organization, in 1855, and appointed to Pottawatomie Mission. In 1861, seeking refuge from border troubles and the war, he repaired to the Ozark mountains. In 1865 he

was received on credentials into the Kansas Conference, serving the Emporia district in 1867 and again in 1880. He was a member of two General Conferences, 1884 and 1902, and a member of the General Conference committee at Philadelphia in 1884. In 1904 he was granted a superannuate relation, and since that time he and his good wife have been living at Rice's Rest, near Hartford, Lyon county, Kansas, where they celebrated their golden wedding anniversary, March 9, 1906.

Adonijah Williams.—Little is known of Mr. Williams. He came to Kansas from one of the southern conferences by transfer, and in 1858 was transferred to the St. Louis Conference. Of his labors there we know very little. He died at Pottawatomie, Kan., October 8, 1886.

J. O. Woods.—We can not obtain a history of the work of Mr. Woods. He served but one year in Kansas, when he was transferred to the St. Louis Conference.

John Hale.—Admitted on trial into the St. Louis Conference in 1855, and at the same session transferred to the Kansas Mission Conference. For five years he did acceptable work in various pastorates, when his name disappears from the minutes. Of his after life we know nothing.

Nathaniel M. Talbot.—Born in Kentucky, March 17, 1805. He began his ministry of forty-seven years in 1825. Much of his life was spent among the Indians as a missionary, to which work he seemed specially adapted. He was a member of the Kansas Conference only one year, transferring to the St. Louis Conference in 1856. No man in his day commanded more respect or enjoyed greater confidence of his associates. After a long and useful life, he closed his labors July 31, 1872.

Nathan T. Shaler.—Born in Connecticut in 1806. Admitted into the traveling connection in 1842, he spent several years among the Indian tribes as a missionary. After 1860 he did no regular work. He was a man of spotless character and a very useful preacher, especially among the Indians.

Claiborn Jones.—Received on trial in the St. Louis Conference in 1855, and at the same session was transferred to the Kansas Mission Conference. He served but one year, being discontinued in 1856.

The first regular session of the Kansas Mission Conference was held in the town of Kickapoo, beginning on the 12th day of September, 1856. To the little band of men forming the conference this was an important occasion. Most of them had experienced a rather hard year. The country was new, and the few members of the church were scattered throughout the various settlements. To seek out these sheep in the wilderness the itinerant had frequently to make long rides; the fare was often scant and crude, while the reception accorded was sometimes very far from cordial. Yet the greater number of these brave men were full of hope, and happy that they had been called to such a work; ready to endure every necessary hardship for the good of their church. The minutes for this year show 13 traveling preachers, 12 local preachers and 672 members, comprising 482 whites, 2 colored, and 176 Indian.

Claiborn Jones was discontinued as a traveling preacher, N. T. Shaler was granted a superannuate relation; N. M. Talbot and J. O. Woods, were transferred to the St. Louis Conference; J. M. Breeding, E. S. Arington, and J. P. Barnaby, were admitted on trial; J. G. Rice and F. M. Williams were received by transfer. During this first year a neat frame house of

worship, 30 feet by 40 feet, was erected, in which this first conference was held. This was the first church erected after the formation of the Kansas Conference. Appointments for the year ensuing were as follows:

Lecompton district, William Bradford, presiding elder.—Tecumseh, J. G. Rice; Pottawatomie, E. S. Arington; Sugar Creek, John Hale; Fort Scott, C. R. Rice; Neosho, J. P. Barnaby; Council Grove, J. H. Pritchett; Ashland, L. B. Stateler.

Kickapoo district, Nathan Scarritt, presiding elder.—Shawnee Labor School, T. Johnson; Shawnee Mission, C. Boles; Wyandot, to be supplied; Delaware, Wm. Barnett; Leavenworth City, A. Williams; Doniphan, Kickapoo, Big Blue, Mount Pleasant and Grasshopper, to be supplied.

J. G. Rice.—This name appears in the list of appointments of this year. As he remained only a short time in the conference, very little is known of him.

F. M. Williams.—Transferred from the St. Louis Conference. He continued in the work till forced by the war excitement to quit preaching, when he left the state for the South. There he still lives (1911), at an advanced age. For further information as to his life, see autobiographical sketch in manuscript on file with the Kansas Historical Society.

E. S. Arington.—Admitted on trial in Kansas Conference in 1856. He continued to preach here till forced to discontinue on account of the war condition. He was a faithful and acceptable preacher. At this late day we have no means of learning more of his life.

J. P. Barnaby.—Born in Clark county, Missouri, August 16, 1818. He was admitted on trial in the Kansas Conference in 1856. When forced to suspend his labors in Kansas he moved to Missouri, and ultimately became a member of the Southwest Missouri Conference, in the bounds of which he continued to preach till age forced him to retire. For many years he held a superannuate relation, living at Bryant, Kan. He died December 16, 1905, at the age of eighty-seven, nearly fifty years of which were given to the ministry. His body lies at Eldorado Springs, Mo.

The second session of the conference was held at Leavenworth, beginning September 4, 1857. In the absence of a bishop, Nathan Scarritt was elected to preside. The minutes show a total membership of 737—a gain of 65 over the previous year—consisting of 546 whites, 13 colored and 178 Indian. Thomas Wallace and M. G. McMillan were readmitted to the traveling connection. Twenty preachers received appointments, as follows:

Lecompton district, William Bradford, presiding elder.—Tecumseh, C. R. Rice; Shawnee Reserve, C. Boles; Manual Labor School, T. Johnson; Paola, J. G. Rice; Sugar Creek, John Hale; Fort Scott, to be supplied; Neosho, E. S. Arington; Council Grove, J. H. Pritchett; Spring River, J. P. Barnaby.

Leavenworth district, Nathan Scarritt, presiding elder.—Wyandot, Wm. Barnett; Delaware, N. T. Shaler; Leavenworth, to be supplied; Kickapoo, A. Williams; Mount Pleasant, F. M. Williams; Doniphan, Thomas Wallace; Grasshopper, L. B. Stateler, M. G. McMillan; Big Blue, J. M. Breeding; Nemaha, to be supplied.

N. Scarritt and Wm. Bradford were elected delegates to the General Conference.

Thomas Wallace.—Born in Bath county, Virginia, in 1807. He was admitted on trial into Kentucky Conference in 1828. Transferred to Missouri Con-

ference in 1835, and located in 1851. Readmitted into Kansas Conference in 1857 and located in 1866. Afterwards he preached a few years in Missouri. He was a member of General Conference of 1846. He died in 1880 at Independence, Mo.

J. M. Breeding.—Received on trial in Kansas Conference in 1857. He continued to preach as long as he felt he could safely do so. Little is known of him after 1861.

M. G. McMillan.—Readmitted into Kansas Conference in 1857. His name disappears from the minutes with no explanation.

The third session of the conference was held in the town of Shawnee, beginning September 23, 1858, Bishop John Early presiding, and C. R. Rice secretary. There is shown a total membership of 757, a net gain of 19. The complexion of this membership was 601 whites, a gain of 155; 18 colored, a gain of 5; and 138 Indians, a loss of 40. There was an unusual increase in the preaching force at this conference. R. Tennison and J. O. Foresman were admitted on trial; A. Millice was readmitted; Joab Spencer, H. H. Craig, W. R. Jones, A. Hawkins, H. H. Hedgpeth, J. E. Bryan and D. C. O'Howell were received by transfer; M. G. McMillan was located; L. B. Stateler was granted a superannuate relation; M. R. Jones and A. Williams were, respectively, transferred to the Missouri and St. Louis Conferences. Twenty preachers were appointed to charges, as follows:

Lecompton district, William Bradford, presiding elder.—Shawnee Mission, J. Spencer; Shawnee Reserve, N. Scarritt; Manual Labor School, T. Johnson; Paola, L. G. Wood; Paris, R. Tennison; Fort Scott, John Hale; Neosho, A. Hawkins; Council Grove, H. H. Craig; Spring River, J. E. Bryan; Verdigris River, J. P. Barnaby.

Leavenworth district, Thomas Wallace, presiding elder.—Wyandot, Wm. Barnett; Delaware, N. T. Shaler; Leavenworth Station, J. H. Pritchett; Kickapoo, C. Boles; Mount Pleasant, F. M. Williams; Doniphan, H. H. Hedgpeth; Nemaha, D. C. O'Howell; Grasshopper, E. S. Arington; Big Blue, A. Millice, J. O. Foresman.

Rutherford Tennison.—Admitted on trial to the Kansas Conference in 1858. He was discontinued at the end of his second year, in 1860.

J. O. Foresman.—Born in Pennsylvania May 18, 1835. Admitted on trial into the Kansas Conference in 1858. For several years he filled important pastoral charges and did valuable service for the church. In the superannuate relation he has lived for many years near Council Grove, preaching occasionally. He is highly respected both as a citizen and as a minister of the gospel.

Abraham Millice.—Readmitted into the Kansas Conference in 1858, having been a preacher for many years. He was a German, and one of the oddest men I ever met. The spring following his readmission he was accidentally killed, April 8, 1859, his being the first death in the conference. He was buried near Randolph, Kan., and his grave is marked by a modest monument erected by his brethren.

Joab Spencer.—For personal sketch, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 9, page 184.

Henry H. Craig.—Admitted on trial into the Missouri Conference in 1856. Transferred to the Kansas Conference in 1858. During the war he resided

in Missouri, taking work in the Missouri Conference, in which he continued till his death, December 8, 1888.

W. R. Jones.—He remained in Kansas but a short time.

Arthur Hawkins.—Transferred from the St. Louis Conference in 1858. We have nothing of his history prior to this time. He was located in 1873, and later readmitted and did several years of service.

Henry H. Hedgpeth.—Born in Green county, Kentucky, June 5, 1832. Admitted into the Missouri Conference on trial in 1852. Transferred to Kansas Conference in 1858. He returned to Missouri in 1861, and was appointed to Francis Street Church, St. Joseph, then, as now, the most important charge in the Missouri Conference. In 1866 he was appointed presiding elder of the Leavenworth district, which by action of the General Conference had been made a part of that conference. In the discharge of his official duties he was thus brought back to his old field of labor in Kansas. He continued a presiding elder until his death, February 15, 1869, which occurred at Grantville, Kan. His body was taken to Fillmore, Mo., and buried beside that of his wife. As a preacher he attained high rank.

J. E. Bryan.—Transferred from St. Louis Conference in 1858. In 1864 he withdrew from the Church South and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He afterwards returned to his old church, and is now living in his own home in Oklahoma, holding the rank of a local preacher.

Dudley C. O'Howell.—Transferred from the St. Louis Conference. Returned to the Missouri Conference in 1877. He died January 4, 1900. He was a faithful pastor, and his labors in Kansas made for the upbuilding of the church.

The fourth session of the conference was held in Tecumseh, September 23, 1859, Bishop Robert Paine presiding, and N. Scarritt secretary. The minutes show a year of great prosperity. The white membership had increased to the number of 891, the colored members numbered 24, and the Indian members 151—a total of 1,066, a net gain over the last year of 309. Vincent Jones was received on trial; L. G. Wood, W. M. Robbins and A. W. Thompson by transfer, and Richard C. Meek was readmitted; J. P. Barnaby was granted location, and A. Millice had died during the year. Twenty-four preachers received appointments, as follows:

Lecompton district, Nathan Scarritt, presiding elder.—Tecumseh, R. C. Meek; Shawnee Reserve, C. R. Rice; Shawnee Mission, Joab Spencer; Manual Labor School, T. Johnson; Paola, N. T. Shaler; Paris, A. Hawkins; Dry Wood, John Hale; Fort Scott and Sac Agency, to be supplied.

Council Grove district, William Bradford, presiding elder.—Council Grove, H. H. Craig; Big Blue, J. O. Foresman, W. M. Robbins; Forest Hill, J. W. Maddox, supply; Neosho, W. Thompson; Verdigris, R. Tennison; Spring River, J. E. Bryan.

Leavenworth district, Thomas Wallace, presiding elder.—Wyandott, Wm. Barnett; Delaware, C. Boles; Leavenworth, J. H. Pritchett; Kickapoo, H. H. Hedgpeth; Mount Pleasant, D. C. O'Howell; Doniphan, to be supplied; Nemaha, F. M. Williams; Grasshopper, E. S. Arington, Vincent Jones.

Vincent Jones.—Admitted on trial into Kansas Conference in 1859. After 1861 his name disappears, and no further information concerning him is available.

W. M. Robbins.—Transferred from the Missouri Conference in 1859. Soon after the session of 1861 he went to Texas, where he remained.

Richard C. Meek.—Came to Kansas from Michigan, a man in middle life. As a preacher he was above the average in the West at that time. His last appointment in the conference was Paola, 1867, after which time his name disappears from the roll.

A. W. Thompson.—Admitted on trial into the Kansas Conference in 1859; located in 1861. Nothing further is known of him.

The fifth session of the conference was held in Wyandotte city, beginning September 27, 1860, with Bishop Hubbard H. Kavanaugh presiding, and N. Scarritt, secretary. The minutes show a membership of 1635, of which 1461 were white, 6 colored, and 168 Indian—a net gain over the previous year of 569. This was the church's most prosperous year since its establishment in this section, not only as indicated by her increase of membership, but by every department of her activity. Joseph King, P. W. Duncan, A. S. Wilson and C. C. Kellogg were received on trial, J. Card by transfer and J. W. Maddox by readmission; J. H. Pritchett was transferred to the Missouri Conference and R. Tennison was located. Twenty-eight preachers received appointments, as follows:

Lecompton district, Nathan Scarritt, presiding elder.—Paris, A. Hawkins; Paola, J. Spencer, Thomas Ament; Olathe, C. R. Rice; Shawnee Mission and School, T. Johnson; Wyandott, H. H. Craig; Delaware, C. Boles; Tecumseh, A. S. Wilson.

Atchison district, Thos. Wallace, presiding elder.—Leavenworth City, to be supplied; Kickapoo, C. C. Kellogg; Atchison, William Barnett; Doniphan, E. S. Arington, Vincent Jones; Nemaha, D. C. O'Howell; Kickapoo Indians, F. M. Williams; Grasshopper, H. H. Hedgpeth, L. B. Stateler; Big Blue, J. King, P. W. Duncan.

Council Grove district, R. C. Meek, presiding elder.—Council Grove, J. E. Bryan; Forest Hill, J. W. Maddox; Verdigris, A. W. Thompson; Neosho, John Hale, W. M. Robbins; Spring River, J. O. Foresman; Fort Scott, J. Card; Manhattan, to be supplied.

From this conference the preachers went out full of hope and strong in the belief that they were to have another prosperous year. For two years the membership had increased at a rate of over 50 per cent, and a deep work of grace had been everywhere evident, notwithstanding a stubborn opposition often encountered, and a most terrific drouth which had driven many from the territory. For a time it seemed that the fondest hopes of these brave men were to be realized. King and Duncan had each great revivals, and I had held two meetings of great interest. Similar conditions were reported from various points in the conference. But there came a sudden change in conditions. On the 21st of July, 1861, the battle of Bull Run was fought. The whole country was greatly disturbed and excitement ran high. Especially in Kansas was the agitation extreme, and many of the preachers left their work; some went further south, others went to Iowa or Missouri.

An experience of my own fairly illustrates the situation. During the absence of myself and wife from our home, soldiers entered the house in which we had rooms, and, among other things, stole my best suit of clothes,



CHURCH AND PARSONAGE AT COUNCIL GROVE.

A few days later my saddle horse was taken. Up to that time I had entertained no thought of leaving my work, but had planned to give up our rooms and spend the short time remaining till conference among my parishioners. When I laid the matter before one of my stewards he told me that would not do. "You are regarded by some as a 'secesh,' and your visits will only bring trouble to those who entertain you. They will be accused of harboring a rebel." I was astonished, as I could not recall a single word or act that could be construed as indicating disloyalty. He then told me that a certain sermon preached in Marysville, one of my preaching places, from the text Matthew 22:21, was pronounced a "secesh" sermon. The same sermon preached previously at Paola was considered by prominent Union men at the service as a sound Union deliverance. My object in preaching the sermon was to impress on our people the duty of absolute loyalty to the powers that be and of the inconsistency and crime of assisting any cause detrimental to the welfare of the state under whose protection they enjoyed life and liberty. Under the circumstances, I decided to quit my circuit. I borrowed an old horse, of too little value to tempt the cupidity of even an impecunious footpad, and made my way to Westport, thence to the home of my mother in Andrew county, Missouri. Here my wife and I spent the winter, going in April to Council Grove to take charge of the Council Grove district.

Prior White Duncan.—Admitted on trial into the Kansas Conference in 1860. He removed to Missouri in 1861, returning to Kansas in 1868, to remain two years. After a few years as member of the Missouri Conference, he located.

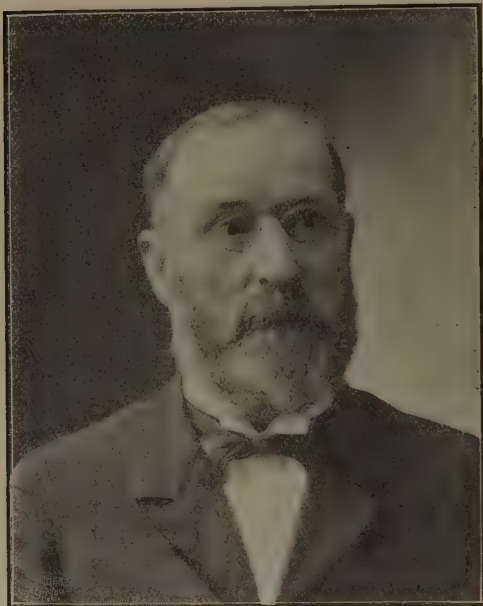
A. S. Wilson.—Received on trial into the Kansas Conference in 1860. Like others of his class, he continued to preach till circumstances forced him to desist. His last appointment was Tecumseh, in 1861.

Joseph King.—Born in England. Received on trial into Kansas Conference in 1860. He was probably the first Kansas product of a Southern

Methodist preacher, as he was both converted and licensed to preach within its bounds.¹⁰ Like many other young men coming into the Methodist ministry at that time, his early educational advantages were few and poor. By close application, however, he so far overcame this deprivation as to become a very good English scholar. He was a strong, rugged man, both physically and mentally, and became a useful factor in the Kansas work. He made himself felt for good in every field of labor in which he was appointed to serve. He transferred to the Southwest Missouri Conference in 1878, where for a number of years he was one of the leading members.

In 1858 Mr. King found his way to the territory of Kansas, and, having become a citizen of the United States, took the benefit of the preëmption law and entered a quarter section of land on the headwaters of Straight creek, in Jackson county, Kansas, intending to open a farm and fix for his life work. But God had other work for him to do. As his land was only thirty-five miles west of Atchison, he frequently visited that city, and often spent days, and even weeks, in the neighborhood near what is now called Cummings Station. Here he was brought under the ministry of Rev. D. C. O'Howell and Rev. T. Wallace, his presiding elder, and on the third Sunday in November, 1859, in the private home of Rev. Vincent Jones, which was the place for public preaching at that time, was received by Rev. D. C. O'Howell into the Methodist Episcopal Church South on probation. This changed his entire life. God not only converted him but called him to preach the gospel. This was a struggle. He was without education—did not know a noun from a verb. How could he teach others, when he needed that one should teach him? Rev. D. C. O'Howell volunteered to become his instructor, and after encouragement by the pastor and presiding elder, together with the entire congregation, he consented to obey the call of his Master. In May, 1860, he was received into full fellowship in the church, and licensed to exhort by the Mt. Pleasant Quarterly Conference, and on the 14th of July, 1860, he was licensed to preach and recommended to the annual conference.

NOTE 10.—This mention of the education and licensing to preach of Rev. King as about the first in the territory of Kansas recalls the beginning of organized Presbyterianism and the first ordination of a minister of that order, and possibly of any other, west of the Missouri river. The Presbyterians began their mission work among the Indians in Kansas in 1835. A presbytery was organized at Highland, December 1, 1849, called the Presbytery of Nebraska, but it died shortly for the want of a legal quorum. Among the ministers participating was the Rev. Edmund McKinney. The secretary had a brother, the next oldest in the family, now deceased, named after this man—Edmund McKinney Martin. The General Assembly in 1857 organized two presbyteries, to be called Kansas and Highland. Prior to this all this region was called the Synod of Upper Missouri. In 1858 the Presbytery of Kansas failed to make any showing, but the Presbytery of Highland had a commissioner in the assembly of that year, the first one, the Rev. Alexander White Pitzer, D. D., LL. D., now of Salem, Roanoke county, Virginia. Doctor Pitzer was the first man ordained to the ministry in the state of Kansas, and possibly west of the Missouri river. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Highland, at Highland, January 15, 1858. He was at that time pastor elect of the First Presbyterian Church at Leavenworth. He organized the First Presbyterian Church at Atchison, and had much to do with the start of Highland University, and the State University at Lawrence, when his denomination had that in charge. Doctor Pitzer was born September 14, 1834, in Salem, Roanoke county, Virginia. His academic studies were begun at the Virginia Collegiate Institute (now Roanoke College) and finished at Hampton-Sidney College, where he graduated as valedictorian of his class in 1854. After completing his literary course he studied theology one year at Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, and two years at Danville, Ky. He was licensed by Montgomery Presbytery September 5, 1856, and moved to Leavenworth, Kan., in 1857. In 1858 he was installed pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Leavenworth, and remained in this relation until 1861, when he returned to Virginia. Subsequently he supplied the churches of Sparta and Mt. Zion, in Georgia, and then preached at Cave Spring and Liberty, Va., until the close of the year 1867, when he went as an evangelist to Washington, D. C., and entered upon the mission which became his life work. He was the author of the following books and booklets: "Ecce Deus Homo," "Christ, the Teacher of Men," "Confidence in Christ," "The New Life," "The Manifold



REV. JOSEPH KING.

He continued to labor and to study, and when the annual conference convened in Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kan.), he was the owner of a quarter section of land and a good horse, was out of debt, and had learned three parts of speech—noun, pronoun and adjective. The Kansas Mission Conference, September, 1860, sent him as preacher in charge, with P. W. Duncan as his colleague, to what was then known as the Big Blue Mission. His first appointment was at Ulrich Cook's, on Rock creek, where it was arranged he should meet Rev. Duncan. He reached his appointment in due time, but Duncan failed to show up. Nothing daunted, he went to work.

Ministry of the Holy Spirit," "Predestination," "The Blessed Hope of the Lord's Return," "The Final Antichrist."

Doctor Pitzer's connection with Kansas is a story of wonderful "human interest." At Leavenworth in the pioneer days he was associated with William Tecumseh Sherman, Thomas Ewing, two of the McCook brothers, Hampton Denman and a few others of the brightest young men who had a hand in starting the Sunflower State. When the war opened all went into the northern army, but Pitzer went south. All made fame. In 1867 Doctor Pitzer happened in Washington, D. C., and one day met General Thomas Ewing, whose name he had seen in a paper as being in the city practicing law. In their first meeting General Ewing said: "Brother Pitzer, why not start a church of your faith and order? You of the South only tried to keep the church of God alive in your section. I will subscribe liberally for your salary and be responsible for the rent of a hall until you get under way." Elsewhere it is said that Ewing paid the rent for one year. General Ewing was a Roman Catholic, but his wife was a member of Doctor Pitzer's church in Leavenworth. Doctor Pitzer's last sermon in Kansas was from the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers." As an earnest and patriotic offset to Ewing's goodness, Pitzer was the first man to introduce in the Southern General Assembly of 1882 the resolution to reestablish fraternal relations with the Presbyterian Church North. On January 19, 1908, the fortieth year of his pastorate, Doctor Pitzer retired from active labor. Thomas Ewing died in New York, January 21, 1896, from injuries received the day before in a street-car accident. Doctor Pitzer was called to New York to conduct the funeral service. The Central Presbyterian Church of Washington, established by Doctor Pitzer, survived the passions following the war and is now one of the strongest in that city, embracing in its membership the Federal and Confederate soldier, men of all political beliefs, and officials of rank and influence in the government. The struggles and sacrifices incident to early Kansas days brought men together very closely.

The people had received him joyfully, and the Lord came to his relief, and for two weeks he preached to the people in a cabin, and fourteen souls were happily converted to God. Thus the Lord set His seal to his labors in the very beginning of his ministry, and He has never failed him to this day. He was neither a Missourian nor a southerner, but as he was in the Southern Methodist Church it brought on the curse of every blinded fanatic, and the boys had much trouble the latter part of the year. In 1861 he was sent to the Leavenworth and Kickapoo Mission. But as the war raged his troubles increased. He continued to preach regularly until October, 1863, when the people were so terrified they dare not come to hear him, and they requested he should discontinue his regular work. This he did, and turned his attention to teaching school, at which employment he experienced no opposition. This, after all, was a godsend to him. While he did not preach in the technical use of that term, he visited his people as their pastor and taught their children as a teacher, and at the same time secured to himself a fair English education.

In 1885 he was stationed in Neosho, Mo., and brought into contact with the Neosho Collegiate Institute. After spending one year on the station, Bishop McGuire again put him into the presiding eldership. He found the Neosho school almost hopelessly involved in a debt of nearly \$10,000, with no resources whatever. But nothing daunted, the presiding elder addressed himself to the task of getting the debt out of the way. He had one noble friend and adviser, in the person of Dr. N. Scarritt, who finally consented to give \$5000 if the parties who owned the debt would give the balance and \$5000 additional could be raised to repair the buildings and furnish apparatus, and Dr. C. C. Woods would consent to be its president—all of which was consummated and the property secured to the church free from all debts. In the fall of 1901, when a severe attack of grippe ruined his voice and shattered his health, he requested a superannuated relation. He has been fifty years in the ministry, eighteen of which he was presiding elder, and not one year of his active ministry was spent without seeing souls converted to God. He is now a highly honored and greatly respected superannuate preacher, quietly passing his latter days at his home in Nevada, Mo.

C. C. Kellogg.—Received on trial into the Kansas Conference in 1860. Expelled from the church in 1861.

John W. Maddox.—Admitted on trial into Kansas Conference in 1860. Located, at his own request, in 1861.

J. Card.—Received into Kansas Conference in 1860. Excluded from the ministry in 1861.

We have been compelled to mention the war as the cause of many preachers quitting Kansas in the fall of 1861, some of them not even going to their appointments. We do not intend to leave the impression that their lives would have been in danger if they had remained, but many of them thought such would have been the case. Those who remained were more or less annoyed by petty persecution, often very humiliating. Want of support was a prominent factor. This support came largely from the Missionary Board, which, being located in the South, was unable longer to assist. Besides, many of the members left the state, and thus reduced the local support to such an extent that all the preachers who did remain had to engage in some secular business to earn support.

The sixth, and, as it proved, the last session of the conference, was set to meet at Atchison, and opened September 5, 1861. No bishop being present, William Wallace was elected president and J. Spencer secretary. Failing in a quorum, it was necessary to postpone the session till two o'clock in the afternoon, when two other members had arrived. On account of unusual commotion in the community, we were notified that but two hours would be given us to transact business and leave the city. Doctor Scarritt, who with others had not been able to reach Atchison, telegraphed us to adjourn the conference to Kansas City. This advice was declined, and it was resolved to hold the session on Kansas soil. It seemed discreet to transfer our place of meeting to Grasshopper schoolhouse, about fifteen miles west of Atchison, where we transacted our business and adjourned, without molestation, though under surveillance. The reports of the preachers indicated more converts than for any preceding year. The number of members reported was 1400 whites, 5 colored, and 216 Indians—a total of 1621, gaining 14 over the previous year. J. T. Peery and C. R. Rice were transferred to the St. Louis Conference; A. W. Thompson and J. W. Maddox were located; C. C. Kellogg was expelled, and J. Card excluded from the church and ministry. N. T. Shaler was given superannuate relation. The preaching force was greatly reduced, only twenty-three receiving appointments, as follows:

Lecompton district, Nathan Scarritt, presiding elder.—Shawnee Labor School, T. Johnson; Shawnee, R. C. Meek; Olathe, H. H. Craig; Paola and Paris, to be supplied; Tecumseh, A. S. Wilson; Delaware, C. Boles; Wyandotte, D. C. O'Howell.

Atchison district, Thomas Wallace, presiding elder.—Atchison, H. H. Hedgpeth; Leavenworth and Kickapoo, William Bradford and J. King; Grasshopper, L. B. Stateler and Vincent Jones; Kennekuk, E. S. Arington; Doniphan, Wm. Barnett and F. M. Williams; Marysville, J. O. Foresman and P. W. Duncan.

Council Grove district, Joab Spencer, presiding elder.—Council Grove, J. E. Bryan; Forest Hill, Iola and Verdigris, to be supplied; Marmaton, John Hale; Fort Scott, A. Hawkins; Spring River, Wm. M. Robbins.

Of the twenty-three who received appointments, Charles Boles, J. King, J. O. Foresman, J. E. Bryan, D. C. O'Howell, P. W. Duncan, and probably others, went to their appointed fields of labor. The following memorial to the General Conference, appointed to meet at New Orleans in May, 1862, was adopted with one dissenting vote.

“Resolved, that this General Conference be and is hereby requested to change the name of our church from ‘The Methodist Episcopal Church South’ to ‘The Episcopal Methodist Church.’”

The General Conference did not meet, so the memorial was not acted upon.

A short review of the conference and the results of its labor is pertinent. Since the organization the names of forty-one preachers had been upon the roll. Of these one had died, several had located or been placed on the superannuated list, some had transferred to other conferences, and others had been excluded from the church. For the most part, the noble band had been faithful to their trust. They had endured hardships, privations and opposition as good soldiers. They remained loyally at their post, preaching a full, pure gospel and discharging with devoted fealty the obligations of Methodist preachers. With rare exception, the allurements of worldly gain,

which might come from homesteading land, did not draw them away from their sacred mission and commission. The effect of this faithful service crystalized in more blessed and far-reaching results than can be made apparent by statistics or history. Contrary to popular illusion, it is a significant fact that the large majority of these preachers came from nonslave-owning families, and many were born and reared in nonslavery states. Of these we recall Scarritt, Bradford, Foresman, Spencer, Meek and others.¹¹ Further, it appears that the membership of 1600 was largely composed of persons who neither had then, nor ever had, any connection with slavery in any way, but who were people from neutral or nonslave states. The general feeling of the ministry and membership was that of disapproval of the course and conduct of those who were striving to make Kansas a slave state and there was no fellow feeling with disloyalty and lawlessness. No greater fealty was displayed anywhere than that shown by these Methodist preachers to their adopted state, and Kansas had no more faithful and law-abiding citizens than were those noble 1600 Southern Methodists.

PERIOD FROM 1861 TO 1866.

The preachers going to their various appointments continued in charge, preaching and caring for their flocks for different periods of time. Ultimately all were forced to quit. Foresman went to California in 1864; Stateler went to Montana; Rice and Bryan united with the Methodist Episcopal church, while O'Howell cast his lot with the Cumberland Presbyterians. Only Boles, Bradford, King and myself remained on Kansas soil and retained ministerial connection with the Church South. Of the entire number I am the only one who continued to preach continuously through the war period. I lived near Council Grove at the time, where we had a strong class. Though our members were regarded with suspicion, we were never seriously interfered with in any way. Circuits were deserted in whole or in part by the members, Indian missions disbanded, and many of the members and a majority of the preachers left the state never to return. Refugees from Missouri settled in some of the larger towns, among whom were members of our church. These, as a rule, returned to their old homes as soon as the war was over.

Many believed that we were hopelessly disorganized. Truly, the outlook was far from encouraging. To take up the work again would require men—prudent, strong and devoted preachers and money to sustain them. Where were these essentials to be had? Peace found the Church South poor indeed, the missionary treasury depleted, and the Missionary Society in debt. What should the church do? We had erected churches in various places, but many of them had disappeared during the war, not from violence, save in one or two cases, but from other causes. We had obtained possession of some of the government buildings at Fort Scott, and for four or five years had

NOTE 11.—“There was not a man in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Kansas that was guilty of a disloyal act or who ever said or did anything inconsistent with his duties as a true citizen or a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, yet because the word “South” happened to be on the name of their church, or for some other indefinable cause, they were looked upon with suspicion, harassed by squads of armed men, who would hoist flags over them while preaching, require them to frame their prayers after a particular fashion, and otherwise disturbed their assemblies. In some cases they suffered personal violence for no apparent cause but that of preaching the pure gospel and for keeping clear of political issues.”—“Life of Rev. L. B. Stateler,” by Rev. E. J. Stanley, 1907, p. 161.

carried on a school—the Western Academy—but this had passed out of our hands. True, a majority of our membership remained in Kansas during the war, and in a few places societies had held together, conducting religious services with more or less regularity. Charles Blue Jacket took charge of the Shawnee Mission, and, after the soldiers had destroyed the meetinghouse, held services in the homes of the members. At Council Grove a good, strong working society remained.

In the eastern part of the state Boles and King preached at different points till 1863. After this they held cottage prayer meetings and held some of the classes together. These people and hundreds of others where societies had been disbanded and scattered looked to our church for the gospel. They would not go into other communions. Party feeling ran high and prejudice was deep and bitter. So strong was the partizan feeling that in many places members of the Church South could not have found a congenial home in any other church. The spirit of the people may be illustrated by a little incident in my own experience. Traveling across the country, my wife and I put up for the night at a farmhouse. Our host was from the East, and it was not long before his good lady had learned all about us. Looking at me, she said: "You know, we easterners hate Missourians like we hate the devil." "Yes," I replied, "and they hate you with the same intensity." No one not on the ground at that time can have a correct idea of the condition of things. The Church South was forced to the necessity of furnishing its members and adherents in Kansas with the gospel, and from this necessity there was no escape.

FROM 1866 TO 1870.

When the war was over, the few preachers who had remained during this period took up their work of preaching again where opportunity offered—C. Boles in Johnson county, J. King on the Leavenworth circuit, Bradford and Spencer on Council Grove circuit. During the summer of 1865 a few of the preachers who had gone to other states returned. All such were received by the members of the church with open arms, for the people were hungry for preaching from their old pastors. In a few instances revival meetings of much interest were held. At Council Grove the people began the erection of a new church which, when completed, in 1869, cost between five and six thousand dollars. But for the most part, as regards our church, Zion lay waste.

In January, 1866, Nathan Scarritt, R. C. Meek, C. Boles and J. King met at the old Shawnee Mission. W. Bradford and J. Spencer, on account of distance, failed to attend. At that meeting it was decided that the preachers be recognized as still in charge of the appointments to which they had been assigned at the conference of 1861, and that R. C. Meek act as presiding elder of the entire field. Rev. J. T. Peery, who had been elected a delegate to the General Conference from the St. Louis Conference, was requested to represent our condition to the general body and ask it to divide the territory of the Kansas Mission Conference, so as to attach the part south of the Kansas river to the St. Louis Conference and the part north of said river to the Missouri conference. This was done.

At the session of the St. Louis Conference, held in September, 1866, the following appointments were included in the Kansas City district:

Kansas City district, Nathan Scarritt, presiding elder.—Shawnee, Charles Boles; Leecompton, to be supplied; Paola, P. W. Duncan; Council Grove, William Bradford; Indian Mission, J. Spencer.

The Missouri Conference made the following appointments in the territory assigned it, north of the Kansas river:

Leavenworth district, H. H. Hedgpeth, presiding elder.—Wyandotte circuit, to be supplied; Atchison, S. J. Catlin; Doniphan, F. M. Williams.

There is no report of members.

At the St. Louis Conference for 1867 the Kansas Mission district was formed as a part of the conference, and the following appointments made:

Kansas Mission district, Thomas Wallace, presiding elder.—Paola, R. C. Meek; Shawnee, L. F. Aspley; Tecumseh, to be supplied; Council Grove, Wm. Bradford; Fort Scott, A. Hawkins; Spring River, to be supplied; Shawnee Mission, Charles Bluejacket.

The Missouri Conference made the following appointments:

Leavenworth city, J. O. Foresman; Leavenworth circuit, W. M. Gilliam; Leavenworth Mission, to be supplied; Wyandotte, J. King; Doniphan, to be supplied; Atchison, Hugh Curren; Holton and Irving, to be supplied.

White members, 481 south of the river; no report from north of the river, but estimated at 400 white and 62 colored; total, 943.

In 1868 the St. Louis Conference made the following appointments:

Kansas Mission district, C. Boles, presiding elder.—Paola Mission, to be supplied; Shawnee, P. W. Duncan; Council Grove, E. G. Frazier; Fort Scott, A. Hawkins; Iola and Shawnee Mission, to be supplied.

The Missouri Conference made the following appointments:

Leavenworth, E. K. Miller; Leavenworth Colored Mission, to be supplied; Wyandotte, J. King; Wyandotte circuit, J. B. Jewell; Leavenworth circuit, Jacob McEwen; Troy, to be supplied; Atchison, H. W. Curren; Holton, D. C. O'Howell; Irving, W. A. Hanna; Junction City, A. Williams; Oskaloosa, George J. Warren.

Members; white, 818; colored, 25; total, 843.

In 1869 the St. Louis Conference made the following appointments:

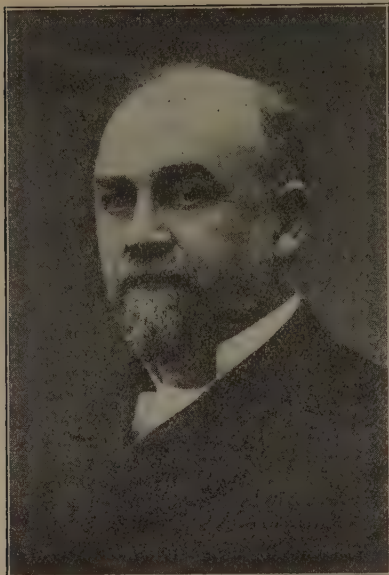
Kansas Mission district, C. Boles, presiding elder.—Shawnee, P. W. Duncan; Paola, to be supplied; Tecumseh, to be supplied; Council Grove, E. G. Frazier; Shawnee Indian Mission, to be supplied.

The appointments made by the Missouri Conference were as follows:

Leavenworth station, E. R. Hendrix; Leavenworth circuit, J. King; Wyandotte station, Wm. Barnett; Wyandotte circuit, T. C. Downs; Troy, to be supplied; Atchison and Doniphan, H. W. Curren; Holton, Jacob McEwen; Irving, George J. Warren, E. J. Stanley; Oskaloosa, W. A. Hanna.

White members, 960; colored, 31; total, 991. There was a society of colored folk in Leavenworth, but the exact number for this year can not be obtained. There were probably less than 50 or 60 members.

Jacob McEwen.—Transferred from the Missouri Conference. Continued his ministerial labors in Kansas till 1879, after which we find no mention of his name in the Western Conference Journal. We know that he returned to the Missouri Conference, where he continued his labors for a number of years.



BISHOP EUGENE R. HENDRIX.



ANN ELIZA (SCARRITT) HENDRIX.

Born at Shawnee Mission, May 23, 1851.
Married Eugene Russell Hendrix, June 20,
1872.

E. G. Frazier.—Admitted to the St. Louis Conference in 1867. Came to Kansas in 1867, and held the following charges: Council Grove, two years; in Montana, two years; Wyandotte, one year. In 1874 he transferred to the Southwest Missouri Conference. He died August 21, 1891, and lies buried at Waverly, Mo.

Thomas C. Downs.—Admitted to the Missouri Conference in 1869, and began his ministerial labors in Kansas, where he continued to work till his death, which occurred January 11, 1904, at Preston, Neb. His character and labors deserve a more extended notice than our space will admit. The conference contained no better man nor more useful member. He is buried at Olathe.

W. A. Hanna.—Admitted on trial into the Missouri Conference in 1878. His first appointment was in Kansas. He later returned to the Missouri Conference, where he is still in active work. He is recognized as one of the strongest and most useful men in that body.

George J. Warren.—Born in England, February 16, 1847. Admitted on trial into the Missouri Conference in 1868, and spent the early years of his ministry in Kansas. He later gave much profitable work to the church in varied capacities within the bounds of this conference. In 1904 he was transferred to the Southwest Missouri Conference, where he is still effective. His has been a long, useful and honored career.

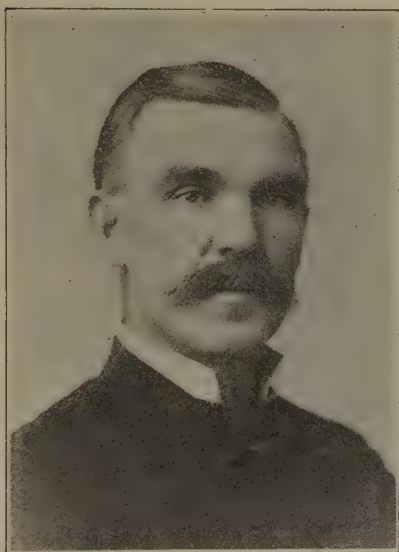
Eugene R. Hendrix.¹²—Remained in Kansas but one year, 1870. He re-

NOTE 12.—BISHOP EUGENE RUSSELL HENDRIX, D. D., LL. D., was born May 17, 1847, in Fayette, Howard county, Missouri. His parents were Adam Hendrix and Isabel Jane Murray, of Maryland, being of Huguenot and Scotch ancestry. After being educated at Central College, Fayette, Mo., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and Union

turned to Missouri and entered upon an eminent and successful career. May 18, 1911, he celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election as a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

THE WESTERN CONFERENCE, 1870-1906.

The Western Conference was formed by the General Conference of 1870. It included, beside the state of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, and possibly other territory. We give a history of only such preachers as performed service in Kansas. Those who came into the Western Conference to labor in other territory will not appear in the roll. Some of the preachers



REV. THOMAS. C. DOWNS.

had been opposed to the formation of a separate conference, preferring the continuance of the plan which had been working for the previous four years. These were in favor of occupying only such points as promised success for our church, and, being attached to two strong conferences, competent preachers would always be available for the Kansas work. They were unfavorable to any special effort for extension, believing that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for us to succeed except in communities already friendly to us and in sympathy with our efforts. They foresaw the conditions which at present obtain. But the majority were of a different opinion. It seemed to them that if a conference were organized it could be developed into a self-sustaining body, as other border conferences had been. They did not reckon the difference in con-

ditions nor the obstacles to be met, many of them insuperable.

The first session of the Western Conference was held at Leavenworth city, Kan., September 8 to 10, 1870, Bishop Holland N. McTyeire presiding, with J. Spencer, secretary, and E. R. Hendrix, assistant secretary. Received on trial, B. Margeson, N. G. Faubion, N. L. Pendleton, T. R. Hedgpeth; received by transfer, Geo. W. Evans, Oscar Smithson, S. J. Catlin, W. L. Blackwell, C. W. Sanford, W. H. Lewis, D. F. Gouley; transferred to the Missouri Conference, E. R. Hendrix. White members, 1188; colored,

Theological Seminary, New York city, he entered the Missouri Conference in 1869, and his first pastorate was the Broadway Methodist Episcopal Church South, Leavenworth, Kan., where a delightful friendship developed with Judge David J. Brewer, which continued throughout life. After some nine years as a pastor he became president of Central College, Fayette, Mo., from 1878, and remained there until his election in 1886, at Richmond, Va., as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. In this latter relation he has presided some six or eight times over the Western Conference. Bishop Hendrix was elected in 1908 as the first president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which position he holds for four years. It represents over 100,000 Protestant ministers and some 17,000,000 communicants. In 1872 he was married to Miss Annie E. Scarritt, of Kansas City, the eldest child of the Rev. Nathan Scarritt, D. D., so intimately identified with early Kansas history as a missionary and preacher.

133; total, 1321; a gain of 156. The following were the appointments for the year:

Leavenworth district, J. King, presiding elder.—Leavenworth station, to be supplied; Leavenworth circuit, W. A. Hanna; Wyandotte station, T. C. Downs; Troy and Forest City, E. J. Stanley; Atchison station, A. V. Bayley; Oskaloosa, to be supplied; Holton, D. F. Gouley; Wamego, W. L. Pendleton; Waterville, to be supplied.

Shawnee district, C. Boles, presiding elder.—Shawnee circuit, George J. Warren; Tecumseh, to be supplied; Paola, W. P. Caples; Mound City, to be supplied; Fort Scott, Geo. W. Evans; Baxter Springs, Chetopa and Ottawa, to be supplied.

Council Grove district, J. McEwen, presiding elder.—Council Grove, E. G. Frazier; Cottonwood Falls, to be supplied; Augusta, O. P. Noble; Humboldt, Verdigris and Emporia, to be supplied; Clark's Creek, W. M. Bradford.

E. J. Stanley.—Received on trial in the Missouri Conference in 1869. After spending two years in the work here he went to Montana, where he still resides. He has probably contributed to the upbuilding of the Church South in that region more than any other man. In point of service he is the senior of that conference by many years. He is a fluent and forceful writer. In addition to his contributions to the church paper, he is the author of two admirable books, "Wonderland" and "Life of L. B. Stateler."

Dixon F. Galen.—Received on trial in 1870. Lost sight of.

Alonzo V. Bayley.—Admitted on trial to the Missouri Conference in 1869. After work in Kansas he returned to Missouri to continue his active labors. He now lives at Columbia, Mo., an honored member of his conference and highly esteemed by the brethren.

William P. Caples.—Admitted on trial into the Missouri Conference in 1869. He remained in Kansas till his death, at Fairmount, March 20, 1886.

Geo. W. Evans.—Came to Kansas by transfer. Remained in the work here and was transferred.

C. W. Sanford.—Admitted to the Missouri Conference in 1869.

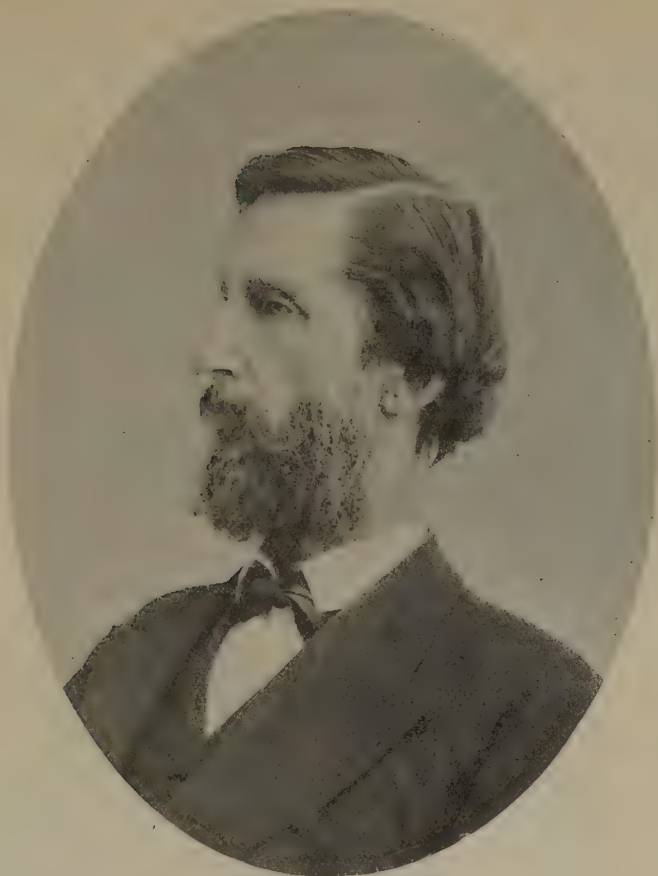
N. G. Faubion.—Admitted on trial in 1870. He did faithful work, preaching for several years. Then there was trouble, and his name disappears from the roll.

N. G. Pendleton.—Admitted to Conference in 1870. Discontinued the next year.

Thomas R. Hedgpeth.—Received on trial in Missouri Conference in 1854. Was received into Western Conference in 1870, and remained in the work for two years. Transferred to the Missouri Conference, where, after several years' acceptable and useful service, he died in 1887, and was buried at Salisbury, Mo.

W. L. Blackwell.—Began his official labors in Kansas in 1873. At the close of that year he was expelled from the ministry and membership of the church.

The second session of the Western Conference was held by Bishop Enoch N. Marvin, at Council Grove, August 30 to September 3, 1871. J. King was secretary. Received on trial, J. W. Faubion, Isaiah Drake, Richard H. Grinstead, R. K. Higgins, George B. Armstrong; readmitted, Arthur Hawkins, J. J. Snodgrass; received by transfer, S. J. Catlin, J. E. Treadwell, Wm. P. Caples, W. W. Jared, John C. Hyden, John Garton; discontinued,



BISHOP ENOCH MATHER MARVIN, D. D., LL. D.

Presided at the first session of the Western Conference,
Council Grove, September, 1871.

W. L. Pendleton; located, Wm. Bradford; transferred, Lem A. Kiergan. Number of members, 1824; gain over last year, 258. The following were the appointments:

Leavenworth district, J. King, presiding elder.—Leavenworth station, W. P. Caples; Leavenworth circuit, J. C. Hyden; Atchison station, W. A. Hanna; Atchison circuit, J. W. Faubion; Troy circuit, T. R. Hedgpeth; Holton, D. C. O'Howell; Oskaloosa, D. L. Rader; Wyandotte station, Wm. Barnett; Wyandotte circuit, T. C. Downs.

Shawnee district, Charles Boles, presiding elder.—Tecumseh, A. Williams; Shawnee, Geo. J. Warren; Paola, A. V. Bayley; Mound City, G. W. Evans; Fort Scott station, A. Hawkins; Fort Scott circuit, G. B. Armstrong; Ottawa, to be supplied; Baxter Springs, N. G. Faubion; Chetopa, to be supplied.

Council Grove district, J. McEwen, presiding elder.—Council Grove, J. O. Foresman; Marion Center, O. P. Noble; Augusta, W. W. Jared; Humboldt, to be supplied; Clark's Creek, O. Smithson; Independence, R. H. Grinstead; Wamego, R. K. Higgins; Waterville, Isaiah Drake; Cottonwood, to be supplied.

John C. Hyden.—Transferred from Alabama. He remained in Kansas some years and was then transferred to the Pacific Conference.

S. J. Catlin.—Transferred from the Illinois Conference. He continued in Kansas doing good work until 1884, when he was transferred to the Northwest Texas Conference.

J. E. Treadwell.—Preached in Kansas only one year and then transferred to the Missouri Conference.

John Garton.—Came to us from the English Free Church. In Kansas but a short time.

John W. Faubion.—A faithful and useful preacher till his death at Arkansas City, March 19, 1900. He was one of the few men who contributed to the real upbuilding of the church by his continuous loyal service.

Isaiah Drake.—Dropped at the end of one year.

R. H. Grinstead.—Received appointments for two years, 1871-'72, when his name disappears.

R. K. Higgins.—Expelled from the ministry and membership of the church in 1874 for immoral conduct.

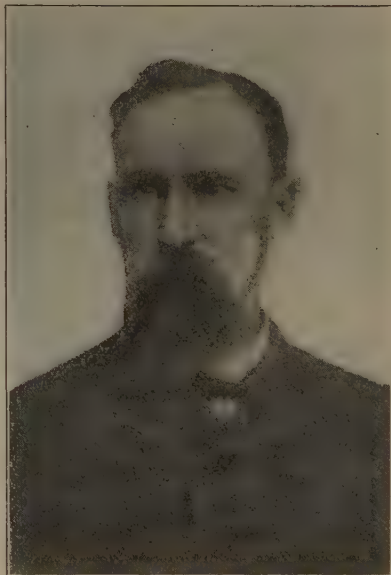
Geo. B. Armstrong.—Discontinued at the end of the year.

J. J. Snodgrass.—Discontinued at the end of the year.

Daniel Leeper Rader.—Received on trial in Southwest Missouri Conference, 1871. Transferred to the Western Conference in the same year. He remained in Kansas three years, and in 1874 transferred to the Missouri Conference. Here he spent

five years, and on account of failing health went to Colorado. He remained in the Church South till 1885, when he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In that church he held many important and honorable positions. In 1904 he was elected editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, at Portland, Ore. This position he continued to fill with great efficiency till his death, November 5, 1910, in his sixty-third year.

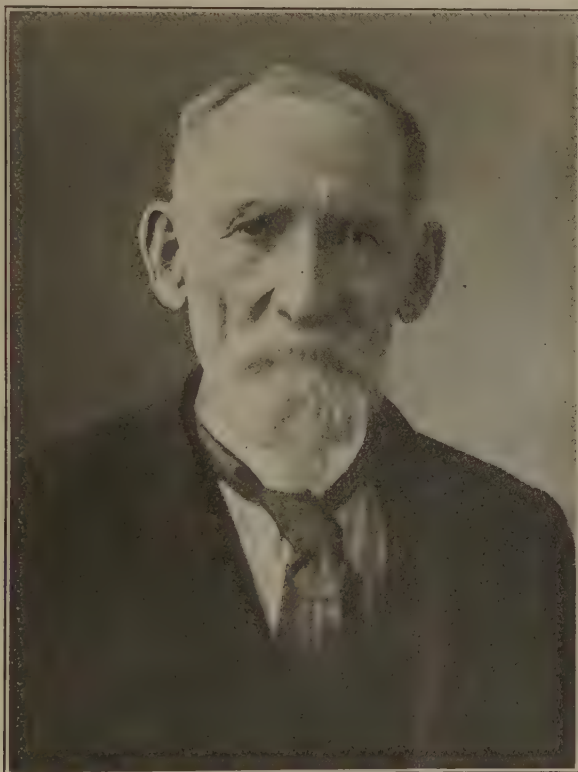
The third session of the Western Conference was held by Bishop George F. Pierce in Nebraska City, Neb., September 4 to 8, 1872. Received on trial, S. W. Debusk, William Crothers; received by transfer, W. B. Maxey, H. D. Hogan, W. S. Woodard, L. C. Waters, W. M. Bewley; discontinued, Geo. B. Armstrong, Isaiah Drake; transferred, W. W. Jared, J. J. Snod-



REV. JOHN W. FAUBION.

grass. Total number of members, 2279; a gain of 455. The following were the appointments:

Leavenworth district, J. King, presiding elder.—Leavenworth station, D. L. Rader; Leavenworth circuit, J. O. Foresman; Atchison station, H. D. Hogan; Troy circuit, to be supplied; Holton, W. A. Hanna; Oskaloosa, T. C. Downs; Wyandotte station, D. S. Herrin; Wyandotte circuit, C. Boles.



REV. HENRY D. HOGAN,
Hillsdale, Kan.

Shawnee district, J. C. Hyden, presiding elder.—Shawnee, N. G. Faubion; Tecumseh, to be supplied; Black Bob, Wm. Crothers; Paola, W. C. Campbell; Mound City, R. K. Higgins; Fort Scott, A. V. Bayley; Fort Scott circuit, O. Smithson; Baxter Springs, A. Hawkins; Chetopa, P. H. Trone; Ottawa, R. H. Grinstead; Lightning Creek, Clark Brown.

Council Grove district, W. S. Woodard, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, D. C. O'Howell; Council Grove circuit, L. C. Waters; Marion Center, W. M. Bewley; Neodesha, to be supplied; Emporia, W. B. Maxey; Independence, J. McEwen; Waterville, to be supplied.

H. D. Hogan.—Born in Nashville, Tenn., in 1840. Joined the Tennessee

Conference in 1867. Transferred to the Western Conference in 1872. For many years he faithfully did the work of a Methodist minister in the capacity of presiding elder, station and circuit preacher. He was granted a superannuate relation, which he still retains, in the Southwest Missouri Conference. He has a deep interest in all the affairs of his church, and is the only preacher coming from the South who after a few years in Kansas did not leave for a more congenial climate. Brother Hogan is a true man and a pure, conscientious Christian, whose influence has been on the right side of every moral question.

Wm. Crothers.—Admitted on trial in Kansas Conference in 1872.

W. S. Woodard.—Born near Nashville, Tenn., March 31, 1829. Transferred from the Southwest Missouri Conference in 1872. After serving six months as presiding elder of Council Grove district he returned to Missouri.

L. C. Waters.—Came as a transfer in 1872. Advanced in years, his strength was not equal to the demands, and he soon retired from the itinerancy. He was a good, pure and true man.

W. B. Maxey.—Transferred from the Kentucky Conference. He, too, was too old to endure the hardships of a frontier preacher's life, and soon located.

W. M. Bewley.—Transferred from the Southwest Missouri Conference. At the end of the year he returned to Missouri.

The fourth session of the Western Conference was held by Bishop William M. Wightman, at Atchison, September 5, 1873. Geo. J. Warren was secretary. Admitted on trial: C. W. Thorp, W. E. Broadhurst, Geo. B. Armstrong; readmitted, W. M. Smith, C. C. Armstrong; located, W. M. Bewley, W. B. Maxey, W. C. Campbell; transferred, W. P. Wilson, H. E. Partridge, A. V. Bayley, W. S. Woodard. Members, 2269; a decrease of 28, the first in the history of the conference. The following were the appointments:

Leavenworth district, D. C. O'Howell, presiding elder.—Leavenworth station, to be supplied; Leavenworth circuit, T. C. Downs; Atchison station, J. King; Atchison circuit, J. W. Faubion; Troy, C. W. Thorp; Holton, W. A. Hanna; Oskaloosa, C. C. Armstrong.

Fort Scott district, J. C. Hyden, presiding elder.—Shawnee, W. L. Blackwell; Tecumseh, W. E. Broadhurst; Paola, N. J. Faubion; Fort Scott station, A. Hawkins; Fort Scott circuit, R. K. Higgins; Baxter Springs, J. E. Treadwell; Chetopa, to be supplied; Wyandotte station, E. G. Frazier; Wyandotte circuit, C. Boles.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, D. L. Rader; Council Grove circuit, to be supplied; Emporia, J. Garton; Fall River, to be supplied; Independence, S. Allen; Walnut Valley, O. P. Noble; Rock Creek, L. C. Waters; Waterville, to be supplied.

The fifth session of the Western Conference was held in Wyandotte, Kan., September 9 to 14, 1874. Bishop J. C. Keener presided and Geo. J. Warren was secretary. Admitted on trial, O. P. Noble, Riley B. Wilson, Alexander A. Lewis; readmitted, J. O. Foresman; received by transfer, W. P. Caples; located, A. Hawkins; expelled, W. L. Blackwell, R. K. Higgins; transferred, D. L. Rader, J. C. Treadwell, John Garton, E. G. Frazier, J. Spencer. Number of members, 2704; an increase of 37. The following were the appointments:

Leavenworth district, D. C. O'Howell, presiding elder.—Nebraska City, J. McEwen; Nebraska City circuit, W. P. Caples; Troy, C. W. Thorp; Palmyra, to be supplied; Holton, Geo. J. Warren; Atchison station, J. King; Atchison circuit, A. A. Lewis; Oskaloosa, J. W. Faubion; Leavenworth circuit, T. C. Downs.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, W. A. Hanna; Council Grove mission, A. Williams; Walnut Valley, G. B. Armstrong; Waterville and Rock Creek, R. B. Wilson; Fall River, to be supplied; Independence, O. P. Noble; Emporia, to be supplied.

Fort Scott district, J. C. Hyden, presiding elder.—Fort Scott circuit, W. E. Broadhurst; Wyandotte, J. C. Foresman; Shawnee, C. C. Armstrong; Tecumseh, J. W. Riley; Paola, C. Boles; Baxter Springs, N. G. Faubion.

O. P. Noble.—Originally joined the Missouri Conference in 1860, but discontinued the following year. For three years he served as supply and is now a superannuated member of the Oklahoma Conference.

Alexander A. Lewis.—Admitted into Western Conference in 1874, and faithfully served the church in Kansas for seventeen years. He took the superannuate relation in 1891. He died January 17, 1892, at Exeter, Neb., aged seventy-five years.

R. B. Wilson.—Admitted on trial into Western Conference 1874. Discontinued in 1876.

The sixth session of the Western Conference was held in Council Grove, Kan., September 6, 1875. Bishop Enoch M. Marvin presided and G. J. Warren was secretary. Discontinued, G. B. Armstrong; transferred, J. C. Hyden; located, L. C. Waters; received by transfer, J. S. Cox. Number of members, 2369; a decrease of 335. The conference made the following appointments:

Leavenworth district, D. C. O'Howell, presiding elder.—Leavenworth circuit, C. W. Thorp; Oskaloosa, J. W. Faubion; Atchison station, J. King; Atchison circuit, J. McEwen; Holton, W. P. Caples; Troy, A. A. Lewis; Nebraska City station, W. A. Hanna; Nebraska City circuit, C. C. Armstrong; Palmyra circuit, J. S. Cox; Wyandotte circuit, G. J. Warren.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. O. Foresman; Council Grove mission, to be supplied; Cedar Point circuit, S. R. Sayre; Walnut Valley mission, O. P. Noble; Independence mission, N. G. Faubion; Coffeyville, to be supplied; Baxter Springs circuit, R. B. Wilson; Paola, T. C. Downs; Shawnee, C. Boles.

The seventh session of the Western Conference was held in Nebraska City, Neb., August 30 to September 4, 1876. Bishop H. N. McTyeire presided and G. J. Warren was secretary. Received on trial, H. L. Anderson, W. Z. Hubbard; received by transfer, Alex. Faulkner, G. T. Gray; transferred, C. C. Armstrong; discontinued, R. B. Wilson. Number of members, 2592; an increase of 203. The conference made the following appointments:

Atchison district, D. C. O'Howell, presiding elder.—Atchison station, Geo. J. Warren; Atchison circuit, J. W. Faubion; Troy, G. T. Gray; Leavenworth circuit, C. W. Thorp; Oskaloosa, A. A. Lewis; Holton and Nebraska City circuit, to be supplied; Nebraska City station, W. A. Hanna; Palmyra circuit, H. L. Anderson.

Council Grove district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. O. Foresman; Council Grove circuit, W. Z. Hubbard; Walnut, O. P.

Noble; Independence, W. E. Broadhurst; Cedar and Winfield, to be supplied; Ninnescah, O. Smithson; Waterville, J. S. Cox; Fall River, to be supplied.

Fort Scott district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Fort Scott circuit, to be supplied; Wyandotte, J. King; Shawnee, C. Boles; Paola, W. P. Caples; Baxter, J. McEwen; La Cygne and Era, to be supplied; Coffeyville, Alex. Faulkner; Chetopa, to be supplied.

H. L. Anderson.—Admitted on trial into Western Conference in 1876. Transferred to Southwest Missouri Conference in 1882.

W. Z. Hubbard.—Admitted on trial into Western Conference in 1876. Discontinued in 1878. He located at Arrington, Atchison county, Kansas.

Alex. Faulkner.—Returned to Missouri the following year.

G. T. Gray.—Located in 1879.

The eighth session of the Western Conference was held in Atchison, Kan., August 30 to September 4, 1877. Bishop Enoch M. Marvin presided, with G. J. Warren, secretary. Admitted on trial, H. J. Brown; received by transfer, C. A. Shearman, J. T. Winstead, W. H. Comer; transferred, D. C. O'Howell, Geo. J. Warren; died, Adonijah Williams. Members, 2030, a decrease of 562. The conference made the following appointments:

Atchison district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Atchison station, to be supplied; Atchison circuit, J. W. Faubion; Leavenworth, J. McEwen; Oskaloosa, G. T. Gray; Holton, C. A. Shearman; Troy, H. L. Anderson; Nebraska City station, W. A. Hanna; Nebraska City circuit, J. T. Winstead; Waterville, A. A. Lewis.

Council Grove district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, N. G. Faubion; Council Grove circuit, J. O. Foresman; Cedar Point, H. J. Brown; Walnut Valley, W. H. Comer; White Water, O. P. Noble; Ninnescah and Winfield, to be supplied; Independence, W. E. Broadhurst; Coffeyville, J. S. Cox.

Fort Scott district, Charles Boles, presiding elder.—Wyandotte circuit, J. King; Shawnee, C. W. Thorp; Paola, W. P. Caples; LaCygne and Fort Scott, to be supplied; Baxter Springs, W. Z. Hubbard; Chetopa, to be supplied.

H. J. Brown.—A superannuate in the West Oklahoma Conference; a faithful man.

C. A. Shearman.—Came to Kansas as a transfer and did faithful service during his entire connection. In 1890 he transferred to the Missouri Conference, in which he at present holds a superannuate relation.

J. T. Winstead.—An effective preacher in the St. Louis Conference.

W. H. Comer.—Received on trial into the Missouri Conference in 1876. He remained in Kansas, doing faithful work as preacher and presiding elder, until the Western Conference was absorbed by the Southwest Missouri Conference, and there he holds his membership as an active traveling preacher. He was for fifteen years secretary of the Western Conference, and spent thirty years in the Kansas work. He is now stationed at Lee's Summit, Mo.

The ninth session of the Western Conference met in Wyandotte, Kan., September 5, 1878. Bishop D. S. Doggett presided and Jacob McEwen was secretary. Admitted on trial, W. J. Blakey, Wm. Telford, S. R. Sayre, W. H. Younger; received by transfer, A. J. Lawless, J. H. Torbett; located, W. P. Caples; transferred, Joseph King, W. A. Hanna; discontinued, W. Z.



REV. WILLIAM H. COMER,
Lee's Summit, Mo.

Hubbard. Number of members, 2765; an increase of 735. The conference made the following appointments:

Atchison district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Atchison circuit, A. J. Lawless; Leavenworth, H. L. Anderson; Oskaloosa, O. P. Noble; Holton, A. A. Lewis; Troy, J. McEwen; Nebraska City station, to be supplied; Nebraska City circuit, R. A. Austin; Park Bluff, Waterville and Franklin, to be supplied; Kickapoo, J. W. Faubion.

Council Grove district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, C. A. Shearman; Council Grove circuit, J. O. Foresman; Cedar Point, S. R. Sayre; Walnut Valley, W. E. Broadhurst; White Water, J. W. Snyder; Winfield, J. T. Winstead; Ninnescah, B. W. Telford; Independence, to be supplied; Howard City, J. H. Torbett; Kinsley, to be supplied; Wellington, W. H. Comer.

Fort Scott district, C. Boles, presiding elder.—Wyandotte station, to be supplied; Wyandotte circuit, C. W. Thorp; Shawnee, W. G. Faubion; Paola, G. T. Gray; La Cygne, W. J. Blakey; Fort Scott, H. J. Brown; Baxter Springs, J. S. Cox; Labette, W. H. Younger; Empire City, to be supplied.

W. J. Blakey.—Admitted in 1878. Transferred to the Missouri Confer-

ence in 1885. He now maintains a local relation and resides at Fayette, Mo.

William Telford.—Discontinued the year following his admission.

S. R. Sayre.—Discontinued in 1885, and united with the Free Church and did faithful service.

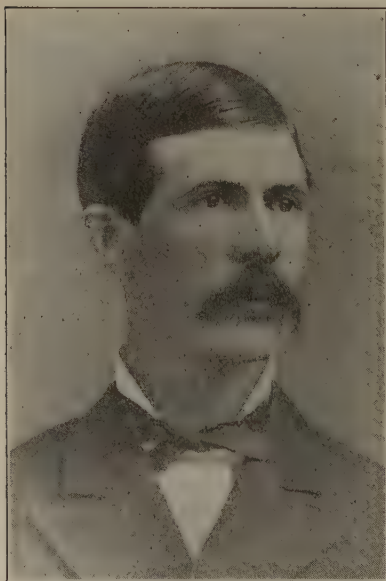
W. H. Younger.—Transferred to the Missouri Conference in 1883. Later his health failed him and he went west. Died in 1904; buried at Grandville, N. D.

A. J. Lawless.—A Tennesseean. A strong preacher. Dropped from conference.

J. H. Torbett.—A superannuate member of the Arkansas Conference. He gave twenty years of faithful service to the Kansas work.

At this session a board of curators was elected, a building secured in Oskaloosa, and a school known as "Marvin College" was organized. Prof. J. N. Coltrain was elected the first president. He, with an efficient corps of teachers, did a good year's work, at the close of which President Coltrain resigned. In 1879 Rev. J. S. Smith, of Missouri, was elected president of the college and successfully conducted the school for two years. However, it soon became evident to those most concerned in the enterprise that the proximity of the college to the State University rendered it difficult, if not useless, to continue the effort; therefore the college was abandoned.

The tenth session of the Western Conference was held in Council Grove, Kan., August 20, 1879. Bishop J. C. Keener presided and J. S. Smith was secretary. Admitted on trial, G. W. Payne; received by transfer, J. W. Payne, J. S. Smith, Thomas Swearingen, J. R. Bennett, H. W. Abbett; readmitted, E. B. Evans; discontinued, B. W. Telford; located, G. T. Gray. Members, 2835; an increase of 100. Following were the appointments:



REV. JAMES W. PAYNE.

Atchison district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Atchison circuit, A. J. Lawless; Leavenworth, H. L. Anderson; Oskaloosa station, J. S. Smith; Oskaloosa circuit, to be supplied; Holton, A. A. Lewis; Troy, J. McEwen; Nebraska City station, C. A. Shearman; Nebraska City circuit, J. S. Cox; Rock Bluff, T. S. Austin; Waterville, H. V. Strother; Franklin, to be supplied; Kickapoo, J. O. Foresman; Marvin College, J. S. Smith, president; J. W. Faubion, agent.

Council Grove district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. W. Payne; Council Grove circuit, J. R. Bennett; Cedar Point, S. R. Sayre; Walnut Valley, to be supplied; White Water, W. E.

Broadhurst; Winfield, J. T. Winstead; Independence, E. B. Evans; Howard City, J. H. Torbett; Kinsley, J. S. Gibson; Wellington, W. H. Comer; Harper, to be supplied; Wichita, H. W. Abbett; Reno, to be supplied.

Fort Scott district, C. Boles, presiding elder.—Wyandotte station, T. H. Swearingen; Wyandotte circuit, O. P. Noble; Shawnee, W. G. Faubion; Montecello, to be supplied; Paola, C. W. Thorp; Barnard, H. J. Brown; Fort Scott, G. W. Payne; Humboldt Mission, to be supplied; Baxter Springs, W. J. Blakey; Labette, W. H. Younger; Osage Mission and Empire City, to be supplied.

J. W. Payne.—Received into Missouri Conference in 1876. After his transfer to the Western Conference his work has been continuously in this section. He is a tried and faithful man and minister. Still effective, he is at present stationed at Council Grove.

G. W. Payne.—Discontinued the year following his admission, 1880.

J. S. Smith.—Admitted on trial into the Missouri Conference in 1861. He remained in the work in Kansas till 1881, when he returned to the Missouri Conference, in which his labors continued until his superannuation. His residence is Marshall, Mo.

T. H. Swearingen.—Admitted on trial into Missouri Conference in 1874. Returned to Missouri Conference in 1881, where he is still effective.

J. R. Bennett.—Received into the Virginia Conference in 1832. Came to Missouri in 1845 and to Kansas in 1879. He served as an effective itinerant preacher for more than fifty years.

The eleventh session of the Western Conference was held in Oskaloosa, Kan., September 1 to 5, 1880. Bishop J. C. Keener presided, with J. S. Smith, secretary. Admitted on trial, Davis Kearns, Wm. T. Ready, T. C. Sparkman, Geo. J. Nunn; received by transfer, S. J. Catlin; located, Jacob McEwen; transferred, J. S. Cox; withdrawn, J. O. Foresman. Members, 3101; an increase of 236. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, T. H. Swearingen; Leavenworth circuit, J. W. Faubion; Oskaloosa, G. J. Nunn, J. S. Smith; Oskaloosa circuit, A. A. Lewis; Troy, T. S. Austin; Nebraska station, C. A. Shearman; Nebraska circuit, A. J. Lawless; Rock Bluff, W. T. Ready; Waterville, S. R. Sayre; Kickapoo, Evan B. Evans; Holton, H. D. Hogan; Marvin College, J. S. Smith, president, G. J. Nunn, professor.

Council Grove district, J. H. Torbett, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, H. L. Anderson; Council Grove circuit, J. R. Bennett; Cedar Point, W. J. Blakey; Walnut Valley, H. W. Abbott; White Water, W. H. Younger; Winfield, H. J. Brown; Independence and Howard City, W. H. Comer, Kinsley, J. L. Gibson; Wellington, W. E. Broadhurst; Harper, to be supplied; Reno, S. J. Catlin.

Fort Scott district, C. Boles, presiding elder.—Wyandotte station, J. W. Payne; Wyandotte circuit, O. P. Noble; Shawnee, N. G. Faubion; Paola, C. W. Thorp; Barnard, G. W. Payne; Fort Scott, Davis Kearns; Baxter Springs, to be supplied; Labette, T. S. Sparkman; Osage Mission, to be supplied; Empire, J. T. Winstead; Humboldt mines, to be supplied.

W. T. Ready.—An efficient member of the East Oklahoma Conference.

T. S. Sparkman.—After a few years withdrew from the church.

The twelfth session of the Western Conference was held in Howard City, September 7, 1881. Bishop G. F. Pierce presided, with C. A. Shearman

secretary. Admitted on trial, Jacob S. Sutton, John Hyatt; received by transfer, J. M. Gross, W. L. Stamper, W. W. Jared; located, O. P. Noble; died, Davis Kearns; transferred, J. S. Smith, G. S. Nunn, T. H. Swearingen. Members, 2932; a decrease of 169. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, C. A. Shearman; Leavenworth circuit, J. W. Faubion; Oskaloosa, A. J. Lawless; Grantville, C. T. Hedgpeth; Holton, C. W. Thorp; Troy, to be supplied; Rulo, T. S. Austin; Nebraska City station, to be supplied; Nebraska City circuit, W. L. Stamper; Rock Bluff, W. T. Ready; Waterville, S. R. Sayre; Franklin, W. P. Eakin; Kickapoo, J. S. Sutton.

Council Grove district, J. H. Torbett, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, H. L. Anderson; Council Grove circuit, J. M. Gross; Cottonwood Falls, J. R. Bennett; Walnut Valley, W. W. Jared; White Water, W. H. Younger; Winfield, H. J. Brown; Howard City, W. H. Comer; Elk, John Hyatt; Kinsley, J. S. Gibson; Wellington, W. E. Broadhurst; Harper, S. J. Catlin.

Fort Scott district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Fort Scott circuit, W. J. Blakey; Wyandotte station, J. W. Payne; Wyandotte circuit, C. Boles; Shawnee, N. G. Faubion; Paola, A. A. Lewis; Barnard, G. W. Payne; Humboldt, to be supplied; Baxter Springs, T. C. Sparkman; Labette, J. T. Winstead; Osage, B. F. Jones; Empire, E. B. Evans.

J. M. Gross.—An active member of the West Oklahoma Conference. A strong preacher and a good man.

W. W. Jared.—Died at Malta Bend December 10, 1891.

W. L. Stamper.—Discontinued in 1883.

The thirteenth session of the Western Conference was held in Wyandotte, September 20 to 24, 1882. Bishop J. C. Granberry, president; C. A. Shearman, secretary. Admitted on trial, J. S. Staten, C. E. Hedgpeth; readmitted, W. P. Caples; discontinued, G. W. Payne, J. S. Sutton; stricken from roll, under censure, E. B. Evans; transferred, H. S. Anderson, C. E. Hedgpeth. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, C. A. Shearman; Leavenworth circuit, W. P. Eakin; Oskaloosa, A. J. Lawless; Holton, J. W. Faubion; Troy, J. S. Staten; Rulo, W. T. Ready; Nebraska City station, W. P. Caples; Nebraska City circuit, N. G. Faubion; Rock Bluff, T. S. Austin; Effingham, C. W. Thorp; Kickapoo, J. T. Winstead; Waterville, S. R. Sayre.

Council Grove district, J. H. Torbett, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, W. H. Comer; Council Grove circuit, J. M. Gross; Strong City, J. R. Bennett; Walnut Valley, W. W. Jared; White Water, W. H. Younger; Winfield, S. J. Catlin; Howard City, H. J. Brown; Elk, S. F. Harris; Kinsley, J. S. Gibson; Wellington, W. E. Broadhurst; Harper, to be supplied.

Fort Scott district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Fort Scott circuit, W. J. Blakey; Wyandotte station, J. W. Payne; Wyandotte circuit, A. A. Lewis; Shawnee, W. L. Stamper; Paola, to be supplied; Barnard, T. C. Sparkman; Olathe, C. Boles; Labette, John Hyatt.

J. S. Staten.—Discontinued in 1886.

C. H. Hedgpeth.—Transferred to Missouri Conference the same year.

The fourteenth session of the Western Conference was held at Fairview Church, Kan., September 19 to 24, 1883. Bishop Alpheus W. Wilson, presi-

dent; C. A. Shearman, secretary. Admitted on trial, Geo. H. Kurn, William Z. Hubbard. Received by transfer, J. P. Dickey. Transferred, J. T. Winstead, W. H. Younger. Number of members, 2728; a loss of 131. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, C. A. Shearman; Oskaloosa circuit, W. P. Caples; Holton, J. W. Faubion, C. Boles; Troy, G. H. Kurn; Rulo, W. J. Blakey; Nebraska circuit, N. G. Faubion; Talmage, T. L. Austin; Waterville, John Hyatt; Belleville, E. R. Keith.

Council Grove district, J. H. Torbett, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, W. H. Comer; Council Grove circuit, J. S. Staten; Strong City, to be supplied; Walnut Valley, W. W. Jared; Fairview, J. M. Gross; Winfield, A. J. Lawless; Howard City, H. J. Brown; Fall River, to be supplied; Kinsley, J. L. Gibson; Wellington, W. E. Broadhurst.

Fort Scott district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Wyandotte station, J. W. Payne; Wyandotte circuit, A. A. Lewis; Kickapoo, J. P. Dickey; Leavenworth, W. Z. Hubbard; Shawnee, S. J. Catlin; Paola, C. A. Emmons; Barnard, S. R. Sayre; Bronson and Center, W. T. Ready; Labette, T. C. Sparkman.

G. H. Kurn.—Admitted on trial; did good work. Died at Effingham, May 6, 1889.

W. Z. Hubbard.—Discontinued in 1884.

J. P. Dickey.—Returned to Virginia in 1890.

The fifteenth session of the Western Conference was held in Council Grove, September 25 to 29, 1884. Bishop Linus Parker presided; C. A. Shearman, secretary. Received by transfer, C. A. Emmons. Admitted on trial: William N. Leigh, Joseph H. Todd; readmitted, Jephtha Tillery; discontinued, W. Z. Hubbard; withdrawn, T. C. Sparkman; transferred, S. J. Catlin, J. R. Bennett. Number members, 2889; increase of 128. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, J. M. Gross, presiding elder.—Atchison station, J. W. Payne; Oskaloosa circuit, A. J. Lawless; Holton, J. W. Faubion; Troy and Rulo, G. H. Kurn and W. N. Leigh; Nebraska City, N. G. Faubion; Talmage, C. W. Thorp; Effingham, T. C. Downs; Waterville, W. J. Blakey; Leavenworth, W. P. Caples; Madison, to be supplied.

Fort Scott district, J. H. Torbett, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, W. H. Comer; Council Grove circuit, J. P. Dickey; Wyandotte station, C. A. Shearman; Wyandotte circuit, J. W. Huff; Shawnee, A. A. Lewis; Paola, H. D. Hogan; Barnard, to be supplied; Bronson and Center, W. T. Ready; Labette, to be supplied; Strong City, S. R. Sayre.

Wellington district, W. W. Jared, presiding elder.—Wellington circuit, N. Futrell; Walnut Valley, H. J. Brown; Providence, J. W. Snyder; Fairview, C. A. Emmons; Howard City, J. H. Todd; Fall River, J. T. Shuck; Winfield, C. Boles; Harper, W. E. Broadhurst; Mount Hope, J. Tillery; Kingman, J. W. Handayside; Kinsley, J. S. Staten; Janesville, J. L. Gibson.

Jephtha Tillery.—Admitted to Missouri Conference in 1854. Located in 1868. Readmitted in Western Conference in 1884. Later transferred to Southwest Missouri Conference, in which he now holds a superannuate relation. At the age of eighty-three, he now lives at Buffalo, Mo.

C. A. Emmons.—Came to Kansas as a transfer and remained for six years, doing good service. He returned to the St. Louis Conference.

Joseph H. Todd.—Was in the conference three years. A young man of promise. Went to Missouri.

William N. Leigh.—Located after a few years, and settled in northern Kansas.

The sixteenth session of the Western Conference was held in Wyandotte, Kan., September 2 to 7, 1885. Bishop J. C. Granberry, president; C. A. Shearman secretary. Admitted on trial, J. W. Huff; transferred, W. J. Blakey. Number of members, 2937; increase of 48. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, J. M. Gross, presiding elder.—Atchison station, J. W. Payne; Oskaloosa, J. P. Dickey; Holton, J. W. Faubion; Troy and Rulo, G. H. Kurn; Nebraska City, J. H. Todd; Talmage, C. W. Thorp; Effingham, T. C. Downs; Waterville, to be supplied; Leavenworth, W. P. Caples.

Council Grove district, W. W. Jared, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, H. J. Brown; Council Grove circuit, to be supplied; Wyandotte station, W. H. Comer; Wyandotte circuit, J. W. Huff; Shawnee, H. D. Hogan; Paola, W. T. Ready; Bronson and Center, Patton Trout; Labette, J. W. Handaysyde; Strong City, A. A. Lewis; Howard, J. H. Torbett and W. N. Leigh.

Wellington district, C. A. Shearman, presiding elder.—Wellington circuit, to be supplied; Walnut Valley, G. W. Browning; Fairview, N. G. Faubion; Winfield, C. A. Emmons; Arkansas City, Charles Boles; Harper, W. E. Broadhurst; Mount Hope, Jephtha Tillery; Kinsley, J. S. Staten; Pawnee, J. L. Gibson; Ashland, J. C. Vaught; Meade, to be supplied.

The seventeenth session of the Western Conference was held in Atchison, Kan., October 7 to 11, 1886. Bishop H. N. McTyeire, president; N. G. Faubion, secretary. Admitted on trial, E. R. West, R. M. Wagner, H. I. Miller; received by transfer, F. A. White; readmitted, L. C. Waters; transferred, W. T. Ready. Number of members, 3248; increase of 311. Following were appointments:

Atchison district, J. M. Gross, presiding elder.—Atchison station, J. W. Payne; Effingham circuit, T. C. Downs; Troy and Rulo, G. H. Kurn; Oskaloosa, J. P. Dickey; Leavenworth, J. W. Faubion; Holton, C. W. Thorp; Waterville, H. I. Miller; Talmage, G. W. Rubush; Nebraska City, to be supplied.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, H. J. Brown; Council Grove circuit, W. E. Broadhurst; Wyandotte station, W. H. Comer; Wyandotte circuit, F. A. White; Shawnee, C. Boles; Paola, J. H. Torbett; Bronson, J. W. Huff; Labette, S. W. Morris; Howard, E. R. West; Strong City, W. N. Leigh.

Wellington district, C. A. Shearman, presiding elder.—Wellington circuit, A. A. Lewis; Winfield, C. S. Jones; Harper, G. W. Browning; Walnut Valley, R. W. Haynes; Fairview, W. G. Faubion; Mount Hope, J. Tillery; Kinsley, J. L. Gibson; Ashland, Perry J. Pinkston.

E. R. West.—Gave but two years' service to the work, and retired to the local ranks.

R. M. Wagner.—Discontinued at the end of two years.

H. I. Miller.—Was a very efficient and faithful preacher until failing

health compelled him to retire from active work. He is now an honored superannuate, living in Atchison county, Kansas.

Fletcher A. White.—Was admitted into the Illinois Conference in 1885. Came to the Western Conference in 1886, and did faithful and efficient work on circuits, stations and districts until 1901, when he transferred to the Indian Mission Conference.

The eighteenth session of the Western Conference was held in Council Grove, Kan., October 5 to 10, 1887. Bishop C. B. Galloway, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, William D. Kelley; discontinued, G. R. West; expelled, N. G. Faubion. Members, 3211; a loss of 37. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, J. M. Gross, presiding elder.—Atchison station, J. W. Payne; Effingham circuit, G. H. Kurn; Troy and Rulo, to be supplied; Oska-loosa, F. A. White; Leavenworth, J. W. Faubion; Holton, C. W. Thorp; Waterville, to be supplied; Nebraska City station, W. D. Kelley; Nebraska City circuit, G. W. Rubush.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, T. C. Downs; Council Grove circuit, G. W. Browning; Bronson and Center, T. J. Stringfield; Spring Hill, H. I. Miller; Shawnee, C. Boles; Wyandotte station, W. H. Comer; Wyandotte circuit, A. A. Lewis; Paola, to be supplied; Labette, W. N. Leigh.

Wellington district, C. A. Shearman, presiding elder. Wellington circuit, L. W. Morrison; Winfield, W. E. Broadhurst; Harper and Walnut Valley, to be supplied; Fairview, J. Tillery; Mount Hope, J. D. Austin; Kinsley, to be supplied; Ashland, P. J. Pinkston; Strong City, J. H. Torbett; Howard, J. P. Dickey.

William D. Kelley.—A Tennessean. Was connected with the work in Kansas for years, doing faithful service. He is at present in charge of a church at Pilot Grove, Mo.

The nineteenth session of the Western Conference was held in Kansas City, Kan., August 29 to September 3, 1888. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, Henry C. Kirby, Jefferson D. Austin; readmitted, Andrew J. Lawless; transferred, W. D. Kelley. Number members, 3230; increase of 19. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, J. W. Payne, presiding elder.—Atchison and Nebraska City station, to be supplied; Nebraska City circuit, W. N. Leigh; Rulo and Preston, A. J. Lawless; Effingham, G. H. Kurn; Holton, C. W. Thorp; Waterville, T. J. Stringfield; Leavenworth, J. W. Faubion; Kickapoo and Fairmount, F. A. White; Grantville, G. W. Browning; Kansas City station, W. H. Comer; Kansas City circuit, H. C. Kirby; Shawnee, C. Boles.

Council Grove district, J. M. Gross, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, T. C. Downs; Council Grove circuit, J. D. Austin; Rulo, H. D. Hogan; Spring Hill, H. I. Miller; Bronson, J. P. Dickey; Labette, J. H. Torbett; Howard and Elk, C. A. Shearman; Strong City, A. A. Lewis; Winfield, W. E. Broadhurst; Wellington, R. McDonald; Augusta, J. Tillery; Mount Hope, J. E. Vick; Kinsley, J. L. Gibson.

H. C. Kirby.—After several years of earnest effort as a traveling preacher he retired and located in Wyandotte county, Kansas, where he retains the local relation.

Jefferson D. Austin.—Came into the work late in life, but did faithful service until he was released by death, March 19, 1894. He is buried at Council Grove, Kan.

A. J. Lawless.—Came from Tennessee, and after two years was suspended.

The twentieth session of the Western Conference was held in Atchison, Kan., August 28, 1889. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Received on trial, Andrew J. Notestine; received by transfer, B. W. Fielder, A. H. Moore; transferred, Andrew J. Notestine. Number of members, 3103; decrease of 127. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, J. W. Payne, presiding elder.—Atchison station, B. W. Fielder; Effingham circuit, J. W. Faubion; Holton, W. H. Comer; Waterville, A. H. Moore; Leavenworth, W. N. Leigh; Rulo, H. I. Miller; Nebraska City, H. C. Kirby; Kickapoo and Fairmount, J. Tillery; Grantville, T. J. Stringfield; Wyandotte, F. A. White; Kansas City station, to be supplied; Shawnee, C. Boles; Hillsdale and Spring Hill, H. D. Hogan.

Council Grove district, J. M. Gross, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, T. C. Downs; Council Grove circuit, J. D. Austin; Strong City, S. R. Sayre; Howard and Elk, C. A. Shearman; Labette, J. P. Dickey and J. H. Torbett; Bronson, A. A. Lewis; Augusta, C. W. Thorp; Winfield, W. E. Broadhurst; Wellington, Andrew J. Notestine; Mount Hope, J. E. Vick; Kinsley, J. L. Gibson.

B. W. Fielder.—Went by transfer to the Missouri Conference in 1890, where he faithfully worked till his sudden death in September, 1896, being stricken in the pulpit during the morning service at his new pastorate, Moberly.

Andrew J. Notestine.—Gave seven years of faithful service to the work in Kansas; then transferred to the Louisiana Conference.

A. H. Moore.—Came as a transfer, and after three years located.

The twenty-first session of the Western Conference was held at Arrington, Kan., September 3, 1890. Bishop J. S. Key, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, James E. Vick, S. B. Graves; received by transfer, Frank Siler, J. W. Purcell; located, W. N. Leigh; transferred, C. A. Shearman, B. W. Fielder, J. H. Torbett, J. P. Dickey. Number of members, 3290; an increase of 187. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, J. W. Payne, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Comer; Effingham, H. C. Kirby; Holton, J. W. Faubion; Waterville, to be supplied; Leavenworth, J. Tillery; Rulo, H. I. Miller; Julian and Nebraska City, to be supplied; Kickapoo, J. W. Purcell; Oskaloosa, A. H. Moore; Wyandotte circuit, to be supplied; Kansas City station, Frank Siler; Shawnee, to be supplied; Hillsdale, H. D. Hogan; Bucyrus and Stillwell, F. A. White.

Council Grove district, J. M. Gross, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, T. C. Downs; Council Grove circuit, J. D. Austin; Strong City, S. R. Sayre; Howard and Elk, A. J. Notestine; Labette, to be supplied; Bronson, A. A. Lewis; Augusta, C. W. Thorp; Winfield, S. B. Graves; Wellington, W. E. Broadhurst; Mount Hope, J. E. Vick; Kinsley, Harper and Barber, to be supplied.

James E. Vick.—Was an earnest and faithful preacher in Kansas for

six years. He transferred in 1896, and is now an active member of the West Oklahoma Conference.

Samuel B. Graves.—Discontinued at the end of two years.

Frank Siler.—Young, intellectual, devoted; came by transfer from Tennessee. Gave two years of splendid service, then transferred from Kansas.

John W. Purcell.—Came to Kansas from Missouri; remained but a short time, when he returned to Missouri.

The twenty-second session of the Western Conference was held in Hillsdale, Kan., August 26 to 30, 1891. Bishop R. K. Hargrove, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, James L. Sells, James T. Smith; received by transfer, Wm. H. Kincaid, Wm. P. Owen, Richard A. Parker, John L. Patterson; transferred, J. M. Gross, J. W. Purcell, H. C. Kirby. Number of members, 3409; an increase of 85. Following were the appointments:

Council Grove district, J. W. Faubion, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, F. A. White; Council Grove circuit, J. D. Austin; Strong City, to be supplied; Augusta, C. W. Thorp; Howard, Elk and Labette, to be supplied; Bronson, J. E. Vick; Winfield, S. B. Graves; Wellington, W. P. Owen; Mount Hope and Kinsley, to be supplied; Hazelton, W. E. Broadhurst.

Atchison district, J. W. Payne, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Comer; Effingham circuit, J. T. Smith; Holton, J. Tillery; Waterville, W. H. Kincaid; Leavenworth, H. I. Miller; Rulo, J. L. Sells; Nebraska City, J. L. Patterson; Kickapoo, to be supplied; Oskaloosa, A. H. Moore; Wyandotte, R. A. Parker; Kansas City station, Frank Siler; Shawnee, H. D. Hogan; Hillsdale, A. J. Notestine; Bucyrus and Stillwell, T. C. Downs.

James L. Sells.—Admitted on trial into the Western Conference and did ten years of excellent work in Kansas, when failing health compelled him to transfer south in 1901. He was a useful man and a good preacher.

James T. Smith.—Discontinued in 1903.

William H. Kincaid.—Began his ministry in Missouri, and transferred to Kansas and gave two years of efficient service in this field. He transferred to the Montana Conference in 1893.

William P. Owen.—Came from Missouri, and in 1897 returned to his old conference.

John L. Patterson.—Located after three years and united with the Methodist Episcopal church.

Richard A. Parker.—A Missourian, admitted into the Western Conference and traveled three years in Miami and Wyandotte counties. He was noted as a careful, consecrated worker, impressing the church deeply by his life. In 1893 he was accepted by the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church South for work in the foreign field. He was appointed to labor in China, and located at Shanghai, where he soon took high rank as a missionary. He is still in the active work there, giving excellent service in that important field.

The twenty-third session of the Western Conference was held in Council Grove August 31 to September 5, 1892. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, Jacob L. Miller, D. R. McBee, J. E. Owen, James E. Bullock; received by transfer, L. A. Blevans, W. B. Jennings; located, A. H. Moore; suspended for one year, A. J. Lawless;

discontinued, S. B. Graves; transferred, Frank Siler; died, A. A. Lewis. Number of members, 3583; an increase of 174. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Comer; Effingham circuit, J. T. Smith; Holton, J. Tillery and W. E. Tull; Waterville, W. H. Kincaid and D. E. Bundy; Leavenworth, H. I. Miller; Troy and Rulo, J. L. Sells, R. U. Waldraven; Nebraska City circuit, J. L. Patterson; Wyandotte, J. E. Owens; Kansas City station, to be supplied; Shawnee, H. D. Hogan; Hillsdale, R. A. Parker; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. W. Payne.

Council Grove district, J. W. Faubion, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, F. A. White; Council Grove circuit, L. A. Blevans; Strong City, W. O. Lewis; Howard and Elk, to be supplied; Bronson, D. R. McBee; Winfield, W. E. Broadhurst; Wellington, J. E. Bullock; Mount Hope, W. B. Jennings; Parsons, J. D. Austin; Hazelton, J. E. Vick.

J. L. Miller.—A Virginian by birth. Was received into the Western Conference and did splendid service until failing health compelled him, while stationed at Arkansas City, to retire. He died November 6, 1899, at Kelso, and is buried at Council Grove.

D. R. McBee.—Received on trial into the Western Conference. Did the work of a Methodist itinerant in Kansas for seven years; then transferred to Missouri, where he is still active.

J. E. Owen.—Labored in Kansas for eighteen years, doing faithful service; then went to the Southwest Missouri Conference.

James E. Bullock.—Short-lived but true. Died in Bronson, Bourbon county, in 1895.

L. A. Blevans.—Came by transfer. Gave six years of faithful service to the Kansas work and returned to Missouri.

W. B. Jennings.—Touched Kansas lightly but truly. He left in 1894.

The twenty-fourth session of the Western Conference was held in Kansas City, Kan., August 31 to September 4, 1893. Bishop A. G. Haygood, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, David E. Bundy, R. U. Waldraven, William E. Tull; readmitted, Frank Moore, J. H. Torbett; received by transfer, F. A. White, W. D. Kelley, J. F. Marshall; transferred, R. A. Parker, W. H. Kincaid. Number of members, 3457; decrease of 126. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Comer; Effingham, J. F. Marshall; Holton, D. E. Bundy; Waterville, J. Tillery; Leavenworth, W. P. Owen; Troy, J. L. Sells; Rulo, J. E. Bullock; Barrity, J. D. Harris; Julian, W. D. Kelley; Kickapoo, R. U. Waldraven; Oskaloosa, J. L. Miller; Wyandotte, J. T. Smith; Kansas City station, A. J. Notestine; Shawnee, L. A. Blevans; Hillsdale, W. E. Tull, H. D. Hogan, superannuate; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. W. Payne.

Council Grove district, J. W. Faubion, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, F. A. White; Council Grove circuit, H. I. Miller; Howard, W. O. Lewis; Elk City, C. W. Thorp; Bronson, D. R. McBee; Winfield, Frank Moore; Wellington, J. E. Owen; Hazelton, J. H. Torbett; Augusta station, J. L. Patterson; Augusta circuit, J. E. Vick; Parsons, J. D. Austin, Arkansas City, W. E. Broadhurst; Parker, R. E. Nunn.

David Everett Bundy.—Was admitted into the Western Conference on

trial, and labored efficiently until he was called to New Mexico for missionary work among the Indians, where his work is successful.

Robert Ulysses Waldraven.—Gave thirteen years of his valuable service to the work in Kansas; then transferred to the New Mexico Conference, where he is doing an excellent work for the church.

William E. Tull.—After two years located; but, retaining that relation, he is doing faithful service.

Franklin Moore.—Came by transfer and remained but two years.

The twenty-fifth session of the Western Conference was held in Arkansas City, Kan., August 23 to 27, 1894. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, Benjamin R. Turner, Bert D. Brooks, R. E. Nunn; received by transfer, P. C. Bryce, Jesse A. McIber; discontinued, J. T. Smith; located, J. L. Patterson; died, J. D. Austin; transferred, C. F. Marshall, J. B. Jennings. Members, 3191; decrease of 266. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, J. L. Sells; Leavenworth, W. P. Owen; Effingham, H. I. Miller; Troy, C. W. Thorp, P. C. Bryce; Holton, D. E. Bundy; Rulo, W. E. Tull, J. D. Harris; Waterville, B. F. Turner; Julian, W. D. Kelley; Kickapoo, R. U. Waldraven; Oskaloosa, J. L. Miller; Wyandotte, J. Tillery; Kansas City station, W. H. Comer; Shawnee, L. A. Blevans; Hillsdale, R. D. Brooks; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. W. Payne; Sunday-school agent, H. D. Hogan.

Council Grove district, J. W. Faubion, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, F. A. White; Council Grove circuit, R. E. Nunn; Howard, Frank Moore; Elk City, J. A. McIber; Bronson, J. E. Bullock; Winfield, J. H. Torbett; Wellington, J. E. Owen; Hazelton and Mount Hope, W. O. Lewis; Augusta station, A. J. Notestine; Augusta, J. E. Vick; Sherwin, D. R. McBee; Parsons, Parker and La Cygne, to be supplied; Arkansas City station, W. E. Broadhurst.

Benjamin R. Turner.—Admitted on trial. Transferred from Kansas in 1896.

Bert D. Brooks.—Discontinued in 1896.

Rufus E. Nunn.—Was admitted on trial into the Western Conference, and transferred to the Pacific Conference in 1895.

P. C. Bryce.—A transfer; remained only two years. But little is known of his work.

J. A. McIber.—Transferred at the end of one year.

The twenty-sixth session of the Western Conference was held at Atchison, Kan., September 12 to 16, 1895. Bishop R. K. Hargrove, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, Wm. D. Martin; located, J. A. McIber, P. C. Bryce; died, James E. Bullock; expelled, W. E. Broadhurst; transferred, R. E. Nunn. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, J. L. Sells; Effingham, B. R. Turner; Holton, D. E. Bundy; Waterville, W. D. Martin; Fairmount, J. L. Miller; Troy and Everest, H. I. Miller; Rulo and Barada, J. D. Harris; Julian, W. D. Kelley; Kickapoo, to be supplied; Oskaloosa, W. P. Owen; Wyandotte, W. E. Tull; Kansas City station, W. H. Comer; Shawnee, R. U. Waldraven; Hillsdale, H. D. Hogan; Bucyrus and Stillwell, C. W. Thorp; Havensville, J. Tillery.



ANNUAL CONFERENCE, 1896, AT HILLSDALE, KAN.

Council Grove district, F. A. White, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. W. Payne; Council Grove circuit, D. R. McBee; Howard, Franklin Moore; Elk City, J. E. Vick; Bronson, B. D. Brooks; Winfield, J. E. Owen; Wellington, J. H. Torbett; Hazelton and Mount Hope, to be supplied; Augusta station, L. A. Blevans; Augusta circuit, A. J. Notestine; Sherwin and Parsons, W. O. Lewis; Arkansas City, J. W. Faubion.

William D. Martin.—While yet young, was admitted on trial into the Western Conference, and did faithful service, serving important charges until failing health compelled him to retire. He displayed a remarkable heroism in his effort to continue the work, but had to submit to the inevitable. He died April 14, 1904, and is buried at Plattsburg, Mo.

The twenty-seventh session of the Western Conference was held in Hillsdale, Kan., September 16 to 20, 1896. Bishop Wallace W. Duncan, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, William R. Vaughan, Frank Davis Roberson; transfer, J. H. Cleaves; discontinued, W. E. Tull; transferred, Franklin Moore, J. E. Vick, A. J. Notestine, B. R. Turner. Members, 3323; decrease of 40. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, F. A. White, presiding elder.—Atchison station, J. L. Sells; Holton, to be supplied; Waterville, W. D. Martin; Fairmount, D. E. Bundy; Troy and Everest, H. I. Miller; Rulo and Barada, J. D. Harris; Julian, W. D. Kelley; Kickapoo, J. H. Cleaves; Oskaloosa, W. O. Lewis; Wyandotte, W. H. H. Young; Kansas City station, W. H. Comer; Rosedale circuit, R. U. Waldraven; America City, to be supplied; Effingham, W. R. Vaughan.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. W. Payne; Council Grove circuit, D. R. McBee; Howard station, to be supplied; Elk City, L. A. Blevans; Bronson, W. P. Owen; Atlanta, J. E. Owen; Wellington, J. H. Torbett; Mount Hope, to be supplied; Augusta, T. C. Downs; Sherwin, F. D. Roberson; Arkansas City, J. W. Faubion; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. L. Miller; Hillsdale, C. W. Thorp.

William R. Vaughan.—A young man of promise. Discontinued in 1898.

Frank Davis Roberson.—Located in 1898.

J. H. Cleaves.—A native of Maine. Came to Kansas and united with the Western Conference and served important charges for seven years. He transferred to the Southwest Missouri Conference in 1903, and is still active, stationed at Rich Hill, Mo.

The twenty-eighth session of the Western Conference was held at Council Grove, Kan., August 25 to 29, 1897. Bishop Oscar P. Fitzgerald, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Received by transfer, A. S. Cook; transferred, W. P. Owen. Members, 3226; increase of 3. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, F. A. White, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. D. Kelley; Effingham, J. L. Sells; Holton, A. S. Cook; Waterville, to be supplied; Fairmount, D. E. Bundy; Troy and Everest, H. I. Miller; Rulo and Barada, J. D. Harris; Julian, J. H. Cleaves; Kickapoo, to be supplied; Potter, W. D. Martin; Oskaloosa, W. H. H. Young; Wyandotte, J. H. Torbett; Kansas City station, W. H. Comer; Rosedale, R. U. Waldraven.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. W. Payne; Council Grove circuit, L. A. Blevans; Elk City, J. E.

Owen; Bronson, to be supplied; Atlanta, H. K. Monroe; Wellington, D. R. McBee; Augusta, T. C. Downs; Sherwin, F. D. Roberson; Arkansas City, J. W. Faubion; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. L. Miller; Hillsdale, C. W. Thorp; Student in Vanderbilt, W. R. Vaughan.

A. S. Cook.—Came to Kansas from Arkansas and remained only one year.

The twenty-ninth session of the Western Conference was held in Kansas City, Kan., August 25 to 29, 1898. Bishop Warren A. Candler, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, William A. Youngman; received by transfer, W. P. Owen, C. C. Howard, E. B. Chenoweth; discontinued, W. R. Vaughan; located, W. D. Kelley, D. E. Bundy; transferred, A. C. Cook, L. A. Blevans. Members, 3286; decrease of 4. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, F. A. White, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Comer; Effingham, J. L. Sells; Holton, W. A. Youngman; Waterville, Fairmount, Troy, Everest, Rulo and Barada, to be supplied; Julian, J. H. Cleaves; Kickapoo and Oskaloosa, to be supplied; Wyandotte, J. H. Torbett; Kansas City station, T. C. Downs; Rosedale, R. U. Waldraven.

Council Grove district, H. D. Hogan, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. W. Payne; Kelso, W. P. Owen; Elk City, J. E. Owen; Atlanta, F. D. Roberson; Wellington, D. R. McBee; Augusta, H. I. Miller; Arkansas City, J. L. Miller; Bucyrus and Stillwell, E. B. Chenoweth; Hillsdale, C. C. Howard; Bronson, C. W. Thorp.

William H. Youngman.—Admitted into the Western Conference on trial and remained for five years in important circuits and stations, his last charge being Park Street Church, Atchison, Kan. He transferred to the Pacific Conference in 1903.

C. C. Howard.—Came by transfer. He located in 1901, and is living in Everest, Kan., engaged in the practice of medicine.

E. B. Chenoweth.—A member of the Western Conference for two years and in charge of the church at Bucyrus, Kan. He transferred to the Denver Conference.

G. L. Taylor.—Was in charge of the Seventh Street Church, Kansas City, Kan., when he transferred to the Southwest Missouri Conference.

The thirtieth session of the Western Conference was held at Elk City, Kan., August 17 to 19, 1899. Bishop John C. Granberry, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, James W. Slade; located, F. D. Roberson; transferred, D. R. McBee, J. W. Slade. Number of members, 3216; a decrease of 70. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, F. A. White, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Comer; Holton, W. H. Youngman; Effingham, R. U. Waldraven; Fairmount, W. D. Martin; Troy, Everest, Rulo and Barada, to be supplied; Julian, J. L. Sells; Kickapoo, A. R. Sandlin; Oskaloosa, W. D. Martin; Wyandotte, M. D. Beagle; Kansas City station, G. L. Taylor; Rosedale, H. D. Hogan; secretary of education, J. L. Sells.

Council Grove district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. H. Cleaves; Kelso, J. L. Proffitt; Bronson, B. F. Lyon; Atlanta, J. W. Faubion; Wellington, W. P. Owen; Augusta, J. E. Owen; Arkansas City station, J. W. Payne; Bucyrus and Stillwell, E. B. Chenoweth; Hillsdale, C. C. Howard; Elk City, J. N. Gordon.

James L. W. Slade.—Was received on trial into the Western Conference from Sumner county, Kansas, and transferred to Missouri in 1900.

Albert R. Sandlin.—Received in orders from the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and was stationed at Kickapoo, Kan., where he died in April, 1900. He was a useful man and good preacher.

The thirty-first session of the Western Conference was held in Atchison, Kan., August 30 to September 3, 1900. Bishop John C. Granberry, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, Frank A. Briggs, R. F. Lyon; readmitted, Wm. D. Kelley, Michael H. Kauffman; received by transfer, J. M. Porter, W. S. Moffett; transferred, G. L. Taylor, W. P. Owen, F. A. Briggs, E. B. Chenoweth; died, John Wesley Faubion, Jacob Lee Miller, Albert R. Sandlin. Number of members, 3003; decrease of 213. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Comer; Holton, W. S. Moffett; Effingham, to be supplied; Waterville, to be supplied; Fairmount, W. D. Martin; Everest, W. D. Kelley; Troy and Rulo, to be supplied; Barada, J. D. Harris; Julian, R. U. Waldraven; Kickapoo, C. C. Howard; Oskaloosa, L. M. Brummitt; Wyandotte, W. B. Beagle; Rosedale, H. D. Hogan; Kansas City station, J. W. Payne.

Council Grove district, F. A. White, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. H. Cleaves; Kelso, J. L. Proffitt; Elk City, W. H. Kauffman; Bronson, B. F. Lyon; Atlanta, to be supplied; Corbin, J. M. Porter; Augusta, J. E. Owen; Arkansas City station, W. H. Youngman; Bucyrus and Stillwell, to be supplied; Hillsdale, B. F. Coburn.

Frank A. Briggs.—Received on trial and transferred at once to Missouri.

Richard F. Lyon.—Admitted on trial into the Western Conference and remained in active, efficient service in the church until 1908. He is now in Wichita, Kan.

Michael H. Kauffman.—A transfer. Spent two years in Kansas.

J. M. Porter.—Came from Oklahoma to the Seventh Street Church, Kansas City, Kan. He transferred back to Oklahoma in 1904.

W. S. Moffett.—Received on trial, but transferred to Denver Conference.

The thirty-second session of the Western Conference was held in Council Grove, Kan., August 29 to September 2, 1901. Bishop Warren A. Candler, president; W. H. Comer, secretary. Admitted on trial, Jasper E. Holley, George M. Blaine, Louis M. Brummitt; received from the Christian Church, Larkin B. Edwards; located, C. C. Howard; transferred, J. L. Sells, F. A. White, J. M. Porter, W. S. Moffett. Number of members, 2884; decrease of 119. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Youngman; Effingham, H. I. Miller; Potter and Cummings, V. D. Swearingen; Holton, J. E. Holley; Waterville, to be supplied; Fairmount, M. H. Kauffman; Everest and Kickapoo, W. D. Kelley; Rulo and Troy, J. A. Chaney; Barada, J. D. Harris; Julian, R. U. Waldraven; Wyandotte, W. B. Beagle; Rosedale, to be supplied; Kansas City station, J. W. Payne, H. D. Hogan, superannuate.

Council Grove district, W. H. Comer, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. H. Cleaves; Kelso, G. M. Blaine; Elk City, J. L. Proffitt; Au-

gusta, L. B. Edwards; Arkansas City station, Peter St. Clair; Arkansas City circuit, Pierce Muncey; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. E. Owen; Hillsdale, B. F. Coburn; Bronson, R. F. Lyon; Corbin circuit, J. D. Z. Muncey.

Jasper E. Holley.—Received on trial but discontinued at end of one year.

George M. Blaine.—A young preacher of splendid qualities; still active.

Louis M. Brummitt.—A faithful man and true. Died in 1909.

Larkin B. Edwards.—Was received in orders from the Disciple's Church; has been identified with Kansas for years. He transferred to Missouri in 1905.

The thirty-third session of the Western Conference was held in Arkansas City, Kan., September 4 to 7, 1902. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, president; J. H. Cleaves, secretary. Admitted on trial, Van Deventer Swearingen, Joseph A. Chaney; received by transfer, A. R. Williams; transferred, M. H. Kauffman, J. H. Torbett; died, Charles Boles. Number of members, 2876; a decrease of 8. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, W. H. Young; Effingham, V. D. Swearingen; Potter and Cummings, J. A. Chaney; Holton, L. M. Brummitt; Waterville, to be supplied; Fairmount, R. T. Stith; Everest and Kickapoo, W. D. Kelley; Rulo and Troy, to be supplied; Barada, J. D. Harris; Julian, R. U. Waldraven; Oskaloosa, H. D. Hogan, Wyandotte, D. E. Bundy; Rosedale, A. R. Williams; Kansas City station, J. W. Payne.

Council Grove district, W. H. Comer, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, J. H. Cleaves; Kelso, G. M. Blaine; Elk City, to be supplied; Augusta, W. D. Martin; Arkansas City station, Peter St. Clair; Arkansas City circuit, R. F. Lyon; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. E. Owen; Hillsdale, B. F. Coburn; Corbin, L. B. Edwards; Bronson, J. L. Proffitt.

Van Deventer Swearingen.—Received on trial. Discontinued in 1903.

Joseph A. Chaney.—Admitted on trial. Discontinued in 1904.

A. R. Williams.—A Kentuckian. Received by transfer. Had charge of churches at Rosedale, Council Grove and Kansas City, Kan. He withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1906.

The thirty-fourth session of the Western Conference was held in Atchison, Kan., August 27 to 31, 1903. Bishop Charles B. Galloway, president. J. H. Cleaves, secretary. Readmitted, D. E. Bundy, A. C. Clendenning received by transfer, W. A. Brewer, J. T. Loyall; discontinued, V. D. Swearingen; transferred, W. H. Youngman, J. H. Cleaves. Number of members, 2792; decrease of 92. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, T. C. Downs, presiding elder.—Atchison station, R. U. Waldraven; Effingham, W. D. Kelley; Kickapoo and Potter, G. W. Rubush; Holton, L. M. Brummitt; Fairmount, J. T. Loyall; Rulo and Troy, J. H. Kincaid; Julian, D. E. Bundy; Oskaloosa, B. E. Christlieb; Wyandotte, to be supplied; Rosedale, A. R. Williams; Kansas City station, J. W. Payne.

Council Grove district, W. H. Comer, presiding elder.—Council Grove station, to be supplied; Kelso circuit, G. M. Blaine; Augusta, Peter St. Clair; Arkansas City station, B. F. Coburn; Winfield and Elk City, R. F. Lyon; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. E. Owen; Hillsdale, A. C. Clendenning; Corbin, L. B. Edwards; Bronson, W. A. Brewer.

A. C. Clendenning.—Readmitted into the Western Conference, and did faithful work in Kansas for five years.

W. A. Brewer.—Came to Kansas from the Indian Mission Conference, where he had done heroic service among the Comanche Indians for years. He was earnest and faithful in his work in Kansas until he was forced by failing health to retire. He is superannuated.

J. T. Loyall.—Transferred from the Southwest Missouri Conference to the Western, and remained three years in Kansas. He was superannuated in 1906.

The thirty-fifth session of the Western Conference was held in Rosedale, Kan., August 25 to 28, 1904. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, president; R. U. Waldraven, secretary. Received by transfer, J. M. Porter, T. C. Puckett, Geo. W. Rubush; transferred, G. W. Rubush, J. M. Porter, L. M. Brummitt; died, T. C. Downs, W. D. Martin. Following were the appointments:

Atchison district, J. W. Payne, presiding elder.—Atchison station, R. U. Waldraven; Effingham, W. D. Kelley; Kickapoo and Potter, H. I. Miller; Holton, L. B. Edwards; Fairmount, J. T. Loyall; Rulo and Troy, J. H. Kincaid; Julian, D. E. Bundy; Oskaloosa, W. E. Tull; Wyandotte, C. W. Litchfield; Rosedale and Belleview, to be supplied; Kansas City station, A. R. Williams.

Council Grove district, W. H. Comer, presiding elder. Council Grove station, T. C. Puckett; Kelso, W. A. Brewer; Augusta, G. C. Summers; Arkansas City station, R. F. Lyon; Elk City, A. C. Clendenning; Bucyrus and Stillwell, J. E. Owen; Hillsdale, G. W. Blaine; Corbin, B. F. Coburn; Bronson, to be supplied.

T. C. Puckett.—Transferred to the Western Conference and served faithfully churches at Council Grove and Bucyrus, Kan., for six years. He is now in charge of a church in Sheldon, Mo.

G. W. Rubush.—Remained but a short time in Kansas.

The thirty-sixth session of the Western Conference was held in Kansas City, Kan., August 24 to 29, 1905. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, president; A. R. Williams, secretary. Admitted on trial, Ira Karr; transferred, R. U. Waldraven, L. B. Edwards. Number of members, 2586; decrease of 91. Following were the appointments:

Western district, W. H. Comer, presiding elder.—Kansas City station, J. W. Payne; Rosedale and Belleview, C. W. Litchfield; Wyandotte, J. T. Loyall; Oskaloosa, E. D. Sheresberger; Julian, D. E. Bundy; Rulo and Troy, to be supplied; Fairmount, J. E. Owen; Holton, H. I. Miller; Kickapoo and Potter, W. E. Tull; Effingham, W. D. Kelley; Atchison station, J. S. Smith; Augusta, B. F. Coburn; Arkansas City, C. B. and L. B. Cotterman; Elk City, A. C. Clendenning; Bucyrus and Stillwell, T. C. Puckett; Hillsdale, G. M. Blaine; Corbin, R. F. Lyon; Bronson, Ira Karr.

Ira. Karr.—Was received into the Western Conference in orders. He had charge of churches at Corbin and Bronson, Kan., and did faithful work. He transferred to the Pacific Conference in 1911.

At this session of the Western Conference, 1905, a resolution was adopted requesting the General Conference to annul the organization and attach the territory to the Southwest Missouri Conference. The request was granted and such action taken. The causes which led up to the disbandment of the Western Conference may be stated briefly:

First.—For many years very few immigrants had come from states

where the Church South existed, and consequently few members were received from incoming Methodists.

Second.—For nearly forty years there had been a constant emigration of our members to other sections. Especially when Oklahoma was opened for settlement, the removal was so great as to amount almost to an hegira. Societies in some cases were broken up and in others greatly weakened.

Third.—A new generation had grown up which knew little and cared less for past differences. Young men in many cases crossed the imaginary Mason and Dixon's line from both sides to seek their wives. When it came to church matters they could see no reason for the existence of two churches of the same faith and name where only one could be respectably sustained. In the very nature of the case, they would usually unite with the stronger of the two, which was rarely ours. There were other reasons, but these will suffice.

In some places where we still have strong societies and valuable church property our labors will continue as long as circumstances indicate that the work is profitable and progressive. The time may come when it will be expedient for us to entirely abandon the field.

In looking back over the fifty years of labor and hardship endured by these faithful preachers of the gospel, the questions arise: Did we do right? Are the results such as to justify our course? Has the work paid? The first question has been answered. The second finds a sufficient answer in the fruits of more than eight thousand souls converted during the existence of the Western Conference. This should satisfy the interested ones and silence any disposed to criticize and find fault. Has any other church done better? We doubt it.

Church buildings and parsonages, representing the property of the church, consisted at one time of forty-eight churches, valued at \$105,000, and twenty-one parsonages, valued at \$20,000.

The *Western Conference Journal* for 1903 gives location, number and valuation of churches, as follows:

Kansas City, Seventh Street (1), \$23,000; Atchison, Park Street (1), \$9000; Rosedale and Belleview (2), \$5000; Julian circuit (3), \$4400; Potter and Cummings (2), \$2445; Kickapoo and Everest (2), \$3000; Troy circuit (1), \$4000; Holton circuit (3), \$3000; Effingham circuit (2), \$2000; Oskaloosa circuit (3), \$2500; Wyandotte circuit (2), \$1800; Fairmount circuit (2), \$3000; Council Grove station (1), \$4500; Bucyrus and Stillwell (2), \$4200; Kelso and Moss Springs (2), \$3000; Bronson circuit (2), \$1200; Augusta circuit (2), \$4000; Arkansas City station (1), \$4000; Arkansas City circuit (3), \$4000; Corbin circuit (2), \$1600; Hillsdale circuit (2), \$3000; Elk City circuit (1), \$2200.

This *Journal* also shows that there were 19 parsonages, valued at \$17,125. Since the above date the following societies have disbanded and their property has been disposed of: Arkansas City, Troy, Elk City, Everest and Oskaloosa.

LIFE AMONG THE DELAWARE INDIANS.

By MISS CLARA GOWING,¹ of Reading, Mass.

MOVED by a sermon which I heard preached in Concord, Mass., my home at that time, from the text, "Lord, what will thou have me do?" I decided to engage in mission work if an opportunity offered; and in October, 1859, accompanied Miss E. S. Morse,² who had come east from the mission, on a visit to the Delaware Baptist Mission³ in Kansas, under appointment of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Rev. J. G. Pratt and wife⁴ having charge of the station and Miss Morse being a teacher with whom I was to be associated.

The mission buildings consisted of five houses and the stables. A large, square house with an "L" was occupied by Mr. Pratt and family, the lower part being the family dining room; over it was a chamber, and beyond the dining room was the kitchen. Part of this house was originally a log church at the Shawnee mission, and was the first building used for worship in the country. Another large, square house was used as a dormitory for the school. There was also a long schoolhouse divided by folding doors.

NOTE 1.—MISS CLARA GOWING was born at Charlestown, Mass., May 22, 1832, and was the daughter of Jabez Gowing and Hitty Eames Gowing. She received her education in Concord, Mass., developing into a young woman of earnest mind. That she was considered an acquisition in the mission field is shown by the following letter written by J. G. Warren, October 3, 1859, to Rev. Pratt: "We have succeeded in securing Miss Clara Gowing for the Delaware school. She is a person of firm constitution, good mind and mature age, and earnestly devoted to the service of Christ. The committee appointed her last week at the usual salary and with \$50 for expenses of travel. . . . I think sister Gowing will prove the very person you need." Miss Gowing has been president of the local W. C. T. U. at Reading, Mass., where she now lives, for ten years. She taught three years in the colored schools of Lynchburg and Alexandria, Va., and Nashville, Tenn., also in the State Primary School of Massachusetts. She has been matron in the Old Ladies' Home at Lowell, Mass. Both her grandfathers served in the Revolutionary War, and both were at the battle in Concord, Mass., April 19, 1775. They were farmers, and lived and died in Wilmington, Mass.

NOTE 2.—MISS ELIZABETH S. MORSE was first a teacher among the Cherokee Indians, having been sent out from Boston in 1842 by the American Baptist Missionary Union. Upon her arrival in the Cherokee Nation she found there was no building suitable for school purposes, so, not willing to be idle, she opened a day school. She boarded in an Indian family, eating at table with them, and her room was so open that snow and rain came through, falling upon the bed in which she slept. She lived in this way for a year, when she had a cabin built in which she set up housekeeping. The only means of lighting and ventilating was by the door, there being no windows. The chimney was built of logs, with stones laid at the bottom in place of jams, so it was unsafe to have any but a very small fire. At first there was no floor in her cabin, but later one of puncheons was laid. Miss Morse stayed with the Cherokees several years, but as the building for the school seemed as far off as ever, owing to a difference of opinion as to where it should be built, she left the tribe and went to the Delawares about 1848. She remained at the Delaware Mission School until the removal of those Indians to the Indian Territory, in 1867. Miss Morse then went to live with friends. She died in Kansas in November, 1899, at the advanced age of 85.

NOTE 3.—"The Delaware Mission School was started in 1837 by Ira D. Blanchard, and was situated where the Edwardsville station now is, at the Grinter crossing of the Kaw river. The military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott crossed the river there. In 1844 the overflow of the river caused by the great flood broke up the school for a time. The Indians moved away from the Kaw bottom lands. In 1848 I moved the building of the mission school up to where I now live. It was a log building. I moved the logs and put the building up in the same form as it stood at the river. It stands now where I then placed it. It forms the middle portion of my house, and is clapboarded over the logs like the other portion of the frame building."—Rev. John G. Pratt, in an interview, July 10, 1895.

NOTE 4.—JOHN GILL PRATT was born at Hingham, Mass., September 9, 1814, and died at his home near Piper, Wyandotte county, Kansas, April 23, 1900. Mr. Pratt was educated in the academy at Wakefield, Mass., and at Andover Seminary, graduating in

All these were frame buildings, facing south; a small house, formerly used for the school but then in use as a wash house or laundry, the usual smoke-house of that part of the country, and stables built of logs, completed the group that was known through the territory as the Baptist, or Pratt's, mission. The location was on rising ground on the border of timber land and rolling prairie. About a quarter of a mile away, on a hill, was the chapel—a frame building, but not strong enough to bear the bell which had been given to the mission, and so it was hung on a framework in Mr. Pratt's back yard, and rung to call the meals, school, and daily worship. Its tones were gladly heard far away, and served the purpose of a town clock to all within its sound.

We arrived at the mission, by stage from Leavenworth, at noon October 14, and after dinner went about preparing the beds for the children. School was to open Monday; so the children usually came to church with their parents Sunday and remained with us, except in those cases where their crying and teasing to go back would induce the parents to take them home. But the next day the clouds poured forth their treasure and there was no service at the chapel. I occupied myself much of the day scratching my body, wondering what could cause the irritation. I thought at first I had gathered something in my journey that occasioned it, but found that thus soon the process of acclimation had begun what was known as Kansas itch, the

1836. At Andover he was licensed to preach, and was immediately employed by the Baptist Missionary Society for work in the Indian Territory. March 29, 1837, he married Olivia Evans, and two weeks later they left Boston on their journey west, where they were to labor among the Shawnee Indians at the Shawnee Baptist Mission, in Johnson county. They arrived there May 14, 1837. Mr. Pratt had learned the trade of printing at the University Press, Cambridge, Mass., and on his arrival at the Shawnee Mission took charge of the printing office, the Rev. Jotham Meeker then being engaged in establishing the mission among the Ottawas on the Marais des Cygnes. At this printing office were printed, for the use of the Indians, primary textbooks, translations from the Gospels, hymns and other books, in the Delaware, Shawnee, Iowa, Ottawa and other Indian tongues. A newspaper, the *Shawnee Sun*, was published here from 1836 to 1842. Mr. Pratt was associated with the Stockbridge Indians for a time, going to them in 1844 and having charge of the mission situated near where the National Soldiers' Home at Leavenworth now stands. In 1843 he took charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission. It was at this mission that Mr. Pratt was ordained to the ministry, November 19, 1843. In 1864 Mr. Pratt succeeded Maj. F. Johnson as United States Indian agent to the Delawares, serving the tribe in that capacity until they moved to the Indian Territory.

Mrs. Pratt shared all the hardships and privations of her husband's lot. She instructed the Indian girls in the rudiments of domestic economy, and had always the burden of a large household on her shoulders. In the early days at the mission she did all of the cooking and sewing herself. She was often obliged to sew until late into the night, for the Indian children had no other clothing than the garments in which they came to the school, and these were always laid aside and the mission clothes worn while the child remained there. Mrs. Pratt was a woman of very prepossessing appearance—a round face, with black, sparkling eyes, a clear complexion and black hair worn in ringlets. Her keen sense of humor did her good service in her wild, rough home, and helped her through situations which would have dismayed a less wholesome woman. The cabin to which she was brought as a bride consisted of four walls and a roof, all of logs, and built as children build corn-cob houses, with projecting ends. The "chinking" was done with sod and mud, and the chimney was built of the same material. There were no windows, only holes cut in the log walls. The floor was of rough lumber, and it is said that Mrs. Pratt became accustomed to removing splinters from her own hands as she washed up the floor, but that later on it was harder to take them from the tiny hands of her babies as they crept about the room. Often in cold weather four or five Indians would gather around her fireplace before she was dressed in the morning. In such weather her feet would freeze as she worked about the room, and coffee left in the cups on the table would freeze while she was clearing away the food; and that, too, with the table standing on the hearth. Mrs. Pratt had seven children, and she had no medical attention at such times except such as Mr. Pratt could give her, and no nurse but an Indian woman. At one time her Indian nurse could neither speak nor understand a word of English, and Mr. Pratt's range of the Indian language was inadequate to the occasion; so an Indian man who could understand some English was stationed on the doorstep and interpreted Mr. Pratt's directions to the "nurse." Of the many discomforts and the loneliness which Mrs. Pratt endured she once said: "The sacrifices and inconveniences were forgotten by us when we considered the great object for which we lived and labored—the conversion of the Indians and their advancement to civilization." Mrs. Pratt was born in 1814, being one month her husband's senior, and survived him a little time.

breaking out of which frequently prevented a fever or other sickness. It continued until cold weather, and returned with renewed vigor the next summer, blotches and scabs all over my body.

As the rain ceased toward night, George Washington came, bringing three boys. They backed up against the outside of the house when he left them, with anything but a cheery expression, till called in by Miss Morse. When they first came she had made a fire in the stove and put on a wash boiler, brought out a tub, and to my surprised question, "What are you going to do?" replied: "Wash the boys. We never put them into our clean beds without bathing." That those boys, the oldest ten or twelve, should quietly answer the question plied by Miss Morse, "Did your mother wash you before you came?" and then passively submit to her examining their ears to see if they were clean, filled me with amazement, as I sat in silence taking in the situation. I found that clean ears was the test of a thorough bath.

It was arranged that Miss Morse should have care of the boys out of school, and I of the girls, each looking after the work and the clothes of her charge; also caring for them in sickness. A few of the children came from civilized, Christian homes, were neatly dressed and tidy. Others required an entire outfit of clothes and attention to their heads; and for that a daily examination was necessary. This process was called by the boys "hunting buffaloes"; and that none might escape, and to make their capture easy, their hair was kept short, though boys as well as girls plumed themselves on long braids with gay ribbons plaited in the hair.

A woman brought her own and a neighbor's child one day. Both needed to be barbered. Usually we kept that till the parent was gone, but this time I wanted to attend to it before changing my dress, and through an interpreter told them to unbraid their hair ready for cutting. When the mother understood what was to be done she took her girl home. When witnessing for the first time the rather unique process of combing heads, I said to Miss Morse, "Do you ever get lice in your hair?" "Certainly," she replied; "we never pass a term without them." Then I thought, "Can I ever come to this?"

One day in summer a party of young people from Wyandotte came out to the mission to have a little picnic by themselves, and camped on a bluff opposite the schoolhouse. The children wondered what it meant. We said, "They are having a picnic." Immediately the word went round, "picknits, picknits." Evidently they thought it the same process they went through every morning but Sunday. One day in school I noticed two boys very busy over each other's heads, as if they were picking lice and putting them on the cover of their reading books. Watching them a while, I saw they did not kill them. So I asked, "What are you doing with the lice?" "Making them fight," one replied.

But few of the children spoke English, and in doing their work an interpreter must be used. A child from one of the Christian families usually acted for us in that way. The girls especially were not ambitious to learn English. They said if they spoke it people would call them "old white folks." The girls were taught to sew, besides doing the chamber and dining-room work. The boys brought water from the spring for laundry and family use, split and sawed the wood and kept the wood boxes supplied. In summer the older ones were sometimes taken to the field to work. Evenings and stormy days when they could not be out of doors they were

taught to knit, and thus made themselves many stockings. Both boys and girls wore earrings when they came to school, but the boys soon left them off when they learned they were not considered the right thing for the educated male.

The dinners were usually soup and warm corn bread; for supper, white bread and molasses; breakfast, warmed-up soup, white bread and coffee. Sunday morning they had cookies and a piece of apple pie, and for supper warm biscuits and butter. They were taught to say, "I thank you" for this or that.

I had twin girls named Adeline and Emeline, six-year-old children of Charles Journeycake,⁵ who looked so nearly alike it was difficult to tell one from the other. When I wanted one I frequently spoke both their names, or sometimes said "twin." One night when one was sick I went to give her some medicine, and thought I had wakened the right child when, to my surprise, she said, "I am not sick; it is Adeline." And, sure enough, I had almost made the well one take the powder.

Unused to restraint⁶ at home, the discipline of school life was very irksome to the children, and not easy for us, especially out of school and in winter when they could not exercise out of doors. A room full of lively children, jabbering an unknown tongue, was very trying on one's nerves. Wishing to avoid corporal punishment as much as possible, we resorted to rather original methods to preserve necessary order. To keep little ones from mischievously annoying one another we often pinned their aprons over their heads or tied their hands behind them, even blindfolded them on occasion. If the tongue became unruly a chip was put between the teeth. Around the yard were numerous stumps, two or three feet high, where the quarrelsome boys were sent to stand, living statues adorning the grounds for a while. One Saturday afternoon a severe storm came up at the time to wash the floors, making it useless to have it done. As it cleared just at night, I regretted that through Sunday I must see muddy floors; but after the girls were in bed they were disorderly, so for punishment I had them get up and wash the stairs and floors.

When I went to the mission Mr. Pratt was receiving a salary of \$500; previously he had only \$300, and nothing extra allowed for educating his children. He used to set aside a pony or cow for each one, from which to raise money for their schooling, but quite often the creature died or was stolen. He received not quite \$1 per week, or \$50 a year, for each Indian child at school—that to cover clothing, food, books, medicine and all. The children were hard on shoes, and required much medicine. The Delawares

NOTE 5.—This name is often seen "Johnnycake," but the form in the text is the correct one, and was so signed by Charles Journeycake to the articles of agreement and convention between the United States and the Delaware tribe of Indians, drawn May 6, 1854.

"The name 'journeycake' is said to come from a kind of bread used by the Indians on a journey. The Yankees easily changed this to their favorite breakfast cake, viz., 'johnny-cake.'"—Mss. of Miss Gowing.

NOTE 6.—"I believe it will not be disputed that the Indian women love their children with as much affection as parents in the most civilized states can boast. Many proofs might be adduced to support this assertion. . . . From their infant state they endeavor to promote an independent spirit. They are never known either to beat or scold them, lest the marital disposition which is to adorn their future life and character should be weakened. On all occasions they avoid everything compulsive, that the freedom with which they wish them to think and act may not be controlled. If they die they lament their death with unfeigned tears, and even for months after their decease will weep at the graves of their departed children."—Thwaite's *Early Western Travels*, vol. 2, pp. 96-97.

numbered about 800, did not increase, and were a rich people.⁷ Their reservation, forty miles long by ten miles wide, was the best land in the United States. But the Indian did not enjoy tilling the ground; he preferred hunting and riding over the prairie, hiring some white man to do his work.

All kinds of wild animals were abundant—owls, wolves, wildcats, turkey buzzards, etc.; vermin of all kinds and reptiles of every description were to be seen. One day, coming from the schoolhouse, as I was about to step on the piazza at the back of the house, I saw a snake in my path. I ran around to the front door, and there lay a lizard at the doorstep. As I must go in, I gave a bound and landed in the hall.

Wild game also was plenty; prairie chicken, pigeons, wild turkeys and rabbits were often on our table. Lucius shot 130 pigeons in one morning, and one turkey he shot weighed twenty-three pounds. Once when out calling on the Indians with Mr. Pratt, we had a fine view of an eagle. He was resting on the top of a tall, barren tree, quite near us, giving a grand chance to notice his white head. Mr. Pratt said he never saw one quite so near. We stopped and looked at him closely, and the eagle seemed to understand there was no gun aboard and that he was therefore perfectly safe. When we had looked long enough Mr. Pratt frightened him away, so I had an opportunity to see his wings spread. We thought they must measure six feet from tip to tip.

Mr. Thomas B. Sykes, the agent, who came from Beaufort, N. C., came to the mission to board in December, 1859. When he left the agency he entered the Confederate army. It was through his courtesy we attended the Indian payment at Stranger creek next summer. Mr. Johnson followed Mr. Sykes as agent, and Rev. J. G. Pratt succeeded him and continued agent till the Delawares removed to the Cherokee country.

During the spring vacation of 1860, Mr. Pratt's oldest son, Lucius, married Nannie, daughter of Charles Journeycake. There was quite a wedding in the afternoon. The bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty. The ceremony was followed by an elaborate supper, the wedding supper being a prominent feature of a white, or "strong," marriage, as the Indians termed it. Opposite me at the table sat George Washington with his two wives, one on each side of him, and each with a babe in her arms. Polygamy was allowed but not generally practiced in the tribe. Washington was a large man, with broad face, brown, greasy skin, and long, black hair. His hunting shirt lay open at the neck, in his leather belt hung the tomahawk worn on all occasions, and in his ears were silver ear-loops. The two women wore the usual Indian head covering—a bright-colored silk handkerchief, which had slipped back and was lying loosely on the neck. These handkerchiefs are worn summer and winter. They had rings on their fingers and in their ears, and wore many bracelets. Some of these ornaments were of silver and some of brass.

Lucius took his wife to his father's to board while a new house was being built for them. A few weeks after the wedding I accompanied them to the

NOTE 7.—The Delawares "number at present 1034, and their personal property averages almost \$1000 to each individual."—Report Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1861, p. 11.

The Osage Indians are known as the richest communal people in the world, their per capita wealth being in excess of \$20,000. In 1906 this tribe possessed funds in the United States treasury to the amount of \$8,562,690, besides which they had 1,470,058 acres of valuable land.

old mission site, where Mr. Blanchard labored before Mr. Pratt took charge. The distance was four miles, most of the way through timber land, the wilderness all around. Large trees lay where they had fallen, sometimes lodging against other trees, and sometimes lying full length on the ground, moss-covered and going to decay. The old mission site was not as pleasant nor as healthy as the present mission.

From a house near by Lucius procured a tin cup; and we drank from a spring where a stump had been burned out and placed over it to hold the water. It was a fine draught. From a creek beyond we watered our horses; then went on to Kansas river, half a mile further, and looked over into the Shawnee country. Our way home was through what is called "the bottoms." The path led through little creeks and clumps of bushes, over stumps, down steep declivities, then up again, like the letter V. Dodging here and bowing our heads there, to avoid being caught, Absalom-like, in a tree, or brushed from our horses by the bushes, starting up wild turkeys and other game, was all a new and exciting experience to me. Urged by my companions, I made my first attempt at leaping "Pacer" over a large tree fallen to the ground, and to my surprise found myself in the saddle when "Pacer" struck the ground on the other side. I enjoyed the wildness and novelty very much, and arrived home for dinner with good appetite, and found the mercury registering 78 degrees (March 31). I had gathered five varieties of flowers, but the flora of this part of the country was not fragrant—for why "waste sweetness on the desert air"?

April 2 I went with Mr. Pratt in the buggy about six miles to see chief Ketchum, who was sick. The first few miles were on the open prairie; then we drove through woods. The house, of one story, with the roof coming down over the piazza, was situated in a clearing, and around the door were ponies and cattle, pigs and fowls. The door opened into a small room, in which was a bed, a cooking stove, table and chairs. On the bed was a hen, laying her egg. The next room was small also, with a large fireplace, a bed and lounge and two bureaus. On the lounge lay the chief. While we were there two Indians came in. One had been to the mountains among a wild tribe. He was dressed in buckskin, the coat trimmed with beads with a fringe of buckskin around the bottom, the same kind of fringe ornamenting the seams of his pants.

At another chief's we found the children playing out of doors (it was vacation time), and looking as well dressed as many white children. Although the children from this family came to school, the parents were very heathenish in their views. We were shown a hat worn by women in their dances. It was as tall as a bearskin military cap and covered with feathers of all colors, some of great beauty. Around the bottom was a band of silver two inches wide, from which hung all kinds of gold and silver jewelry, earrings and finger rings. This chief had two wives, and in one room there was a sofa and upholstered chairs arranged after their own taste.

Another time Miss Morse and I were visiting some of our school children and stopped at the Hunneywell house. He was a white man with an Indian wife. As we rode up to the fence she came out on the porch, saying, "Will you alight?" She then took away the rails to assist us over, the horses being left tied to the fence. The usual square room which we entered had been partitioned, so there was no bed in it. On the floor was a tidy rag carpet, and there was a nice spring-seated sofa and other com-

fortable furniture, all looking neat. Being near noon, Mrs. Hunneywell went about dinner, and laid the table, in the room we were in, with care and order, with white cloth and white ware of ponderous weight. From the kitchen savory odors stole in whenever the door opened, and in due time we were informed that dinner was ready and were invited to be seated at the table, and as the men had not come in from the field, we obeyed the injunction to help ourselves. Our keen appetites, sharpened by our ride, were not necessary to tempt us to try the smoking ham and eggs, nice light biscuits, stewed beans, apple sauce, etc., with excellent coffee for drink.

In April, 1861, the war news became alarming and frightfully near, keeping us in constant excitement. The people of Missouri threatened to take Fort Leavenworth and tear up the St. Joseph & Hannibal railroad within ten days. The school was to commence after the spring vacation, and there was much apprehension, some thinking it was better not to begin; but we did, and were not disturbed.

One day, when Mr. Pratt was in Leavenworth, a boat bearing a secession flag came up the river and stopped there. The people immediately thronged the boat, tearing down the flag and stripping it to bits, thus showing their sentiments.⁸ Soon after that secessionists were ordered to leave the city forthwith. Anxiety was felt that the mails might be intercepted, and caution was given to our friends east not to write anything that might be turned to our injury should the letters fall into "secesh" hands.

In July, 1861, the commissioners from Washington boarded at the mission while they assigned to the Indians their several lots—eighty acres of land for every person, old or young. The rest of the reservation was sold to the Pacific Railroad.⁹ The Indians were in quite an excited state, many preferred to remove entirely.¹⁰ There was some talk of the treaty being so changed as to allow those to go who wished, leaving their land in a body, to be sold or exchanged for land elsewhere; but it was not done, and from this time on the talk over the treaty and the war news kept us in a state of excitement.

On the Fourth of July, to make the day a little different from all the rest, we took the children into the woods, taking along bread and butter for supper in a bushel basket. The boys carried the drums (a present from Agent Johnson), the girls bore the flags, and, arriving at the creek, the girls and myself remained on one side while the boys and Miss Morse passed over. One boy threatened to go hunting birds' nests, but was taken prisoner and tied to a tree till he promised obedience. We ate our supper, drank from a spring, picked a few blackberries, sang songs, cheered, shouted, laughed, and marched home single file, forming quite a procession, and

NOTE 8.—"April, 1861.—The steamer Sam Gaty, at Leavenworth, hoisted a rebel flag, but was compelled to lower it and raise the stars and stripes."—Paxton's *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, p. 308. See, also, *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 9, p. 310.

NOTE 9.—"On May 30, 1860, by treaty with the Delawares, eighty acres were assigned to each member of the tribe, in one compact body, to be held in severalty, the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company (afterward the Union Pacific) to have the privilege of purchasing the remainder of their land, at not less than \$1.25 per acre. . . . The treaty was made at Sarcovieville, on the Delaware Reservation."—Cutler's *History of Kansas*, p. 69. See, also, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, p. 803.

NOTE 10.—"When this treaty was made they desired very much to sell all their country within the limits of Kansas and go down among the Indians south of Kansas. This was because they had suffered so much from the evil and wicked acts of the whites that surround them."—Thomas B. Sykes, U. S. Indian Agent, in Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1860, p. 103.

cheering now and then. If making a great noise is being patriotic and comprises a good time, surely the Delaware Indian children were both patriotic and happy on this their first picnic. The accidents and incidents were many, but not serious. A boy in cheering threw his hat into a tree and had to pelt it down; Miss Morse slipped down, but was uninjured; Miss Vaughn, the seamstress, almost had a fall; a girl lost her shoe; while poor I almost made my throat sore trying at one time to keep the girls quiet and at another helping to make a noise.

In passing the schoolhouse one day part of a company of cavalry from Quindaro drew up in front of the building, giving three cheers for the stars and stripes, which they carried; then three for the mission. Some of the men had worked on the reservation, and came in to say good-by to the children they knew. They then passed on to the spring for water, and as they returned the children sang "The Sabbath School Army." The soldiers halted, and at the close of the song again gave us three cheers.

In September, 1861, Mr. Hunneywell, the white man who had the Indian wife, went into Missouri to see about some horses for Mr. Pratt. While talking with a man he was arrested on suspicion of treasonable views, but through the influence of a friend was released the next day. A reign of terror existed through the entire region; all ill-disposed persons took advantage of the disturbed times to plunder and commit whatever depredations their evil hearts suggested, either through malice or gain. The Quindaro ferry boat was sunk by Missourians, they said, to prevent slaves from escaping.

Parkville was raided, and what could not be taken away, belonging to Union men, was destroyed. A family from Missouri passed the mission one day. They had gathered what they could of their possessions into a wagon and left their home, intending to return when peace was restored. They sold Mr. Pratt a cow to help them on their way. One of a company of soldiers who passed told the following: Four rebels rode up to a man working in a field and asked his views. On his telling them that he was for the Union they shot him. Going on to the house the murdered man's wife came to the door, and she, too, was shot, and for the same reason. The soldier who told this, coming along with some others, found the little daughter of these people crying. She told them what direction the men had taken, they pursued, overtook and shot them; on the body of the man who had killed the father they found \$25, which they gave to the girl.

The annual meeting of the Baptists was given up that fall (1861), as all the ministers had gone into the army as chaplains. In October Charles Journeycake was chosen chief, thus making two Christian chiefs, as his brother Isaac had been chief for some years.

One chilly morning, about nine o'clock, eight men rode up and wished breakfast. They were on their way to Wyandotte and had taken bread and cheese to last them, but, stopping in a barn the night before, the pigs breakfasted on their lunch; so we gave them their breakfast. Mr. Pratt said that was all the way he could serve the cause, and he did it faithfully. But few days passed without some traveler, friend or otherwise, being entertained at the mission.

One night I was awakened by loud knocks at the door. It being vacation and Miss Morse away, there was no one in the dormitory but the seamstress and myself. Going to the window I could discern horsemen just outside the

yard, seen dimly in the darkness. There appeared to be quite a company, but really only fifteen. They had been dismissed from Wyandotte just at night, and, wishing to get home, started out, but lost their way on the prairie. They managed to get to the mission, where we sheltered them the rest of the night.

The second call for the Delawares in the army was to go as warriors. The first call for guides and spies had proved a failure, each Indian wanting the same pay as the captain.¹¹ The missions of the other tribes were badly broken up by the war. The Cherokees and some others joined the Southern army.

In November, 1861, Mr. Pratt's son John, an unusually bright youth of thirteen, passed away after a short but very distressing illness, which the doctors (Logan¹² and Sinks¹³) pronounced the plague, a black spot on the ankle proving to be the plague spot. He was beloved by all and missed from every part of the mission.

For my "Merry Christmas" that December, one of the girls had winter fever, and for New Year's another girl had fever. Miss Morse was confined to her bed; so her cares were added to mine, making the day more busy than festive, with, as Miss Morse said, a prospect of my long, long legs becoming diminished by wear—but better wear out than rust out. During that season we had our usual winter siege of colds and coughs, having several ailing at one time. One night, when Miss Morse was taking medicine herself, she had six little boys sleeping in her room, requiring attention during the night. About this time the agent, Mr. Johnson, allowed Mr. Pratt money for medicine and visiting the sick. Mr. Pratt had never had an allowance for that purpose before, although he had visited the Indians for miles about and many a doctor would have been glad of his practice if it had carried with it the usual fees of a physician.

About the middle of June, 1862, Mr. Pratt returned from Washington D. C., where he went with the chiefs to arrange about their land. They concluded to remain on their present reservation, and encourage schools and improvements. The government, on their part, promised to restore them their stolen bonds, which was a large amount, and afterwards an academy was to be built, but nothing of this kind was ever done.

NOTE 11.—Adj. Gen. C. K. Holliday made the following statement in regard to Kansas troops, to Governor Crawford, January 17, 1865: "A number of Indians were regularly recruited in the white regiments. These were our home Indians, such as the Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, etc. . . . In addition to the foregoing, there are three regiments of Indians in the service, officered originally almost exclusively by citizens from Kansas."—Wilder's Annals, p. 415.

In 1862 Major Johnson said there were 170 Delawares in the Union army.—Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862, p. 99.

NOTE 12.—DR. CORNELIUS AMBROSIOUS LOGAN was born in Deerfield, Mass., August 24, 1832. He was the son of Cornelius A. Logan, a pioneer theatrical manager in Cincinnati and one of the greatest comedians of his time. Doctor Logan's sisters were actresses of note in their day. He came to Kansas, settling at Leavenworth in February, 1857. In 1873 he was appointed United States minister to Chili, afterward was sent to Guatemala, and again to Chili in 1881, remaining there until 1883. For twelve years he was editor of the *Leavenworth Medical Herald*, and was a frequent contributor to medical journals all over the country. Doctor Logan organized the first grand lodge of Odd Fellows in Kansas. Subsequently he was grand master of the order, and finally became grand sire of the sovereign lodge. He was well known politically in the early days of the state. He died at Los Angeles, Cal., January 30, 1899.

NOTE 13.—DR. TIFFIN SINKS was one of the pioneer physicians of Leavenworth, having located there November 25, 1856. He was born in Williamsburg, Ohio, December 5, 1834, and received his medical education at the Ohio Medical College, in Cincinnati. Doctor Sinks was associated with Doctor Logan in the publication of the *Leavenworth Medical Herald*, one of the earliest medical journals of the state. He still resides in Leavenworth.

In July the trouble increased around the mission; jayhawkers and more modern parties, styled bushwhackers, were abundant. It was reported at one time that the famous Quantrill was killed, which, it was thought, might lessen the depredations, but the report was false. One night a negro man was stolen from Charles Journeycake's, where he was working, and taken off in the dark by a party of men, flourishing their pistols and threatening to blow out the brains of his protectors if they moved. In November the bushwhacking business received a setback on account of the falling of the leaves, thus making the brush more open and hiding places less secure. In Missouri the disaffection toward Lincoln's proclamation¹⁴ became very strong. The people said "they did not enter the army to fight for negroes; it was to protect the Union and not abolish slavery."

August 21, 1863, occurred the burning and sacking of Lawrence. The details are too horrible to be written at this late date, and they have already passed into history. The mission being on the opposite side of the river from Lawrence, it was considered unlikely that the guerrillas would attempt to cross; but a few days after the burning of Lawrence some of the Indians became alarmed by seeing a fire, and a boy was sent to the mission for the children at school. He reported that 500 guerrillas had crossed the river (Kansas), and that night would burn the mission and everything on the way. All the children left in a hurry, save two who lived too far away to get home that night. We were not alarmed, however, and slept as well as usual, and were not surprised to find later that the alarming fire was only burning brush.

The first week in October, 1863, I attended a teachers' association at Leavenworth. It was the first one held in the young state, and during the session a state association was formed.¹⁵ Later I attended the first agricultural state fair.¹⁶ One day there was an exhibition of fancy and domestic articles, a very good but not large exhibit; the fruit and vegetable display was very large.

It took but little to get up a scare, even at the mission. For instance: One morning the hired man was going to Leavenworth with the team, and went earlier than usual—before daylight, in fact—to feed the horses. The opening of the stable door and the stamping of the horses roused the other men, and one of them, springing up suddenly, imagined he could see horses coming out of the stable, so he quickly gave the alarm that the horses were being stolen. Lucius started, pistol in hand, but when at the gate he heard the corn drop into the cribs and concluded how affairs were. A lady from Lawrence who was visiting at the mission said it seemed just like the raid in Lawrence. She started up and inquired if she would have time to dress; for in Lawrence she took her dress in hand, threw a bonnet over her nightcap, and left her wig and false teeth behind. I heard the noise from the dormitory, and thought surely some one was after the horses; then, recalling that John was going to town, concluded he was the cause of the racket, and turned over for another nap.

NOTE 14.—Preliminary proclamation of emancipation issued September 22, 1862.

NOTE 15.—The *Kansas Educational Journal*, vol. 1, p. 2, contains an interesting account of the meeting of this first teachers' association.

NOTE 16.—The earliest state fairs were held under the direction of the State Agricultural Society in various towns over the state, the first one being at Leavenworth, October 6 to 9, 1863.

On the 27th of December, 1863, there was quite a fall of snow; a day or two afterward the wind blew, as it often did in Kansas, and the two united in forming a complete blockade on the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad. For sixteen days no mail from the east was received at Leavenworth. Travelers reaching St. Joe were obliged to turn back or remain there until teams were fitted up to take them on their way. Freight trains were blocked; in one a large number of hogs were frozen to death. Saturday, the 24th of January, 1864, Mr. Pratt was too ill to go to Leavenworth as usual. At noon a man came for him to go five miles, just off the reservation, to marry a couple of whites. Mr. Pratt said he was too ill to go—that he would come the next morning, but the man was imperative. There was to be a dance that evening which the couple wanted to attend, and the wedding had been put off once; it was to have been on New Year's, but the groom was from Chicago and could not get here on account of the blocked roads. Now that he had come, a minister must be found, and no other was handy. Mr. Pratt had compassion on them, and mounted his pony and rode away to make the two happy.

Later in the winter, about eight o'clock one morning, a man and woman rode up to the gate and sent in word by one of the children for Mr. Pratt to come out and marry them without their alighting. Mr. Pratt was not well, was lying on a couch, and sent back word that if they would dismount and come in he would marry them. They were white people and had ridden eight miles. From the man's boots his toes peeped out, and his elbows showed through holes in his coat sleeves. The woman was tidy in a homespun woolen dress, blue-checked apron and the usual "slat" sunbonnet, which she did not remove. This sort of bonnet was worn in the South and West, both indoors and out. Mr. Pratt told them to stand together and take hold of hands, but had to move them around into proper position and place the bride's right hand in the right hand of the groom before he performed the ceremony which made them husband and wife. The man asked "what was to pay?" Mr. Pratt told him what he would have to give to record the marriage, and taking it from his pocket, the groom gave the amount to Mr. Pratt, and the bridal party mounted their horses and departed.

In February, 1864, I left the mission, arriving at my home in Concord, Mass., on the 24th of the month. A day or two before I left Kansas the weather was very mild; so much so that a snake ventured out of his winter retreat and the boys captured him. But one of those sudden changes, which the West is noted for, came; the wind blew cold and froze up things generally. It was very cold when I left the mission, but I was well-clothed and had a hot brick for my feet. When we reached Leavenworth, fifteen miles away, the brick was cold and I was chilled through. The boats from Kansas City had been running a week or more, but we found the river so filled with broken ice that the boat would not make the trip up that day, so I was compelled to wait over until the next. When we finally arrived on the west bank of the Mississippi we found that river but partially open, and we were landed from our boat on solid ice in mid river, being cautioned meanwhile not to walk ashore in a body. However, we saw a large wagon drawn by two horses coming out over the ice from the land to the boat, so we thought the people could not be in danger.

This ended my Kansas experiences, as I never returned to the Delaware mission.

V. STATECRAFT.

A HISTORY OF THE KANSAS SCHOOL FUND.¹

Prepared by CHARLES HANFORD LANDRUM.²

AT THE beginning of the Revolutionary War the various colonies claimed all the territory north of the thirty-first degree, extending westward to the Mississippi river and the Great Lakes. The boundaries of these claims were not well defined, which gave rise to frequent disputes among the colonies. The territory west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio river was claimed by Virginia, Connecticut, New York and Massachusetts. No survey of the territory ever had been made, and the claims overlapped. As early as 1775 the disputes between Pennsylvania and Connecticut became so serious that they were laid before the Revolutionary Congress, which in December of that year accordingly recommended "that the contending parties cease hostilities in regard to conflicting claims on the Susquehanna river, near Wyoming, until the dispute could be settled by legal process."³ A similar dispute arose in 1779 between Massachusetts and New York over the New Hampshire land grants. Early in that year, owing to trouble between the citizens of New York and those of the land grants, Congress appointed a committee "to inquire into the reasons why they refuse to continue citizens of the respective states which heretofore exercised jurisdiction over said district."⁴ This committee never met, and on September 24 Congress passed a resolution recommending "to the states of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and New York forthwith to pass laws expressly authorizing Congress to hear and determine all differences between them relative to their respective boundaries in the mode prescribed by the Articles of Confederation."⁵ One week later this resolution was repealed, because the Articles of Confederation did not provide "for hearing and determining disputes between any state and the guarantees of another state."⁶

Before the close of the Revolution it was evident that conflicting claims would be a cause for discord among the states. The government, owing to the expense of the war, was in debt and much in need of money to estab-

NOTE 1 (by the author).—This paper was submitted as a thesis in the department of history in the State University of Kansas, and was accepted as a partial requirement for the degree of master of arts. The work is incomplete and perhaps inaccurate; but the author hopes it may be of service to some fellow student who is studying the same or a kindred field.

NOTE 2.—CHARLES HANFORD LANDRUM was born April 1, 1881, at Frankfort, Marshall county, Kansas, the son of George B. Landrum and Sarah (Vaughn) Landrum. His father was from Dekalb county, Missouri, and his mother from Henderson, Ill. He was educated in the Frankfort high school, and later secured degrees for work at Kansas University and at Yale. In 1905-'07 he was superintendent of schools at Belle Plaine, in 1907-'09, at Eskridge, and is now superintendent at Onaga. He is unmarried, and is at present engaged on a thesis concerning the territorial courts of Kansas.

NOTE 3.—Journals of Congress, vol. 1, p. 279.

NOTE 4.—Ibid., vol. 5, p. 180.

NOTE 5.—Ibid., vol. 5, p. 276.

NOTE 6.—Ibid., vol. 5, p. 283.

lish and maintain itself. One of the principal grievances of the colonies against the mother country was that of taxation; to suppose they would be more loyal to the Confederation was inconsistent with their past history; to assume the right which had been refused to crown and parliament would be extremely dangerous. The only source of revenue under the Articles of Confederation was contributions from the states, and these had not been sufficient to meet the demands of war and other expenses of the newly established government. The Congress of the Confederation might advise the states, but they had no coercive power. It remained with the states whether or not they would comply. There were, therefore, two reasons why the general government should possess the public lands; to settle the disputes between the states, and to secure for the government a source of revenue.

The question of disputed claims was again taken up by Congress, and September 6, 1780, a committee was appointed to investigate the proposal of settlement offered by Maryland, and also to consider a remonstrance presented by the general assembly of Virginia. This committee reported "that it appears more advisable to press upon the states which can remove the embarrassments respecting the western country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, since they can not be preserved entire without endangering the stability of the general Confederacy." In compliance with this request New York relinquished her claims to the western territory March 1, 1781.⁷ Two months before this Virginia had offered to relinquish her claims upon certain conditions, which were not accepted by Congress until September 13, 1783. On March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded "to the United States in Congress assembled, for the common benefit of the states," all claims to the territory northwest of the Ohio river.⁸ The example of these states was followed by the others.

When the lands came into possession of the general government the question of their disposal naturally arose. That this territory would be organized into states which would rank among the richest in the Union was not anticipated. The value of the country as part of the United States was not considered. Congress hoped that the western lands would furnish a source of revenue sufficient to pay the debts and bear the expenses of the government. This attitude toward the western country was shown at a later time, after the purchase of Louisiana from France, when Jefferson proposed to sell the territory, "reserving that part of the country commanding the mouth of the Mississippi river."

It devolved upon Congress to arrange for the survey of the western territory. On May 20, 1785, an ordinance was passed providing for the disposal of the ceded territory. This ordinance provided for the survey of the country into townships, and as an inducement to settlers to occupy the land it reserved "the lot number 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township."⁹ This grant was first given to the company that settled Ohio. The company was organized in Boston, March 1, 1786, for the purpose of securing a large tract of land on the Ohio river for the soldiers of the Revolutionary War. The directors of the company, Samuel Holden Parsons, Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam, were given full powers to negotiate with Congress for the purchase of the lands. Cutler was

NOTE 7.—Journals of Congress, vol. 6, pp. 179, 180.

NOTE 8.—*Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 253.

NOTE 9.—*Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 121.

sent to New York, where Congress was assembled, and began negotiations which led to the ordinance of 1787—an ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory. This ordinance provided that, "Whereas, religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."¹⁰ This pledged Congress to make provision for education, and ten days later, July 23, 1787, in a resolution granting powers to the board of treasury to contract for the sale of western lands, it was provided that "lot number 16 in each township to be given perpetually for the purpose contained in said ordinance;¹¹ the lot number 29 in each township or fractional part of a township to be given perpetually for the purposes of religion." The grant for religious purposes was only given in two cases—in the grant to the Ohio company, now cited, and in that to John Cleves Symmes; but section 16 of each township, or its equivalent, has been reserved for the support of schools in all territory since organized under the authority of the United States.

There has been some variation in the forms of the grants made to the different states. The grant to the Ohio company provided that the section number 16 should be granted "to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools." In this case the township was granted control of the land appropriated for school purposes. When Illinois was organized the school grant was given into the custody of the state "for the use of the inhabitants of the township for the use of schools." There was a fund for each township of the state, but kept by the state. The final change in the form of grant was made at the time Michigan was organized. This provided that section "numbered 16 in every township of the public lands . . . shall be granted to the state for the use of schools." By this provision the common-school fund in the state of Michigan became a state fund, and this form of grant has been used in all states subsequently organized.

In 1848, when the territory of Oregon was organized, another section (number 36) was added to the grants for school purposes. This additional section was first given to California in 1850, and has been given to all states organized since that time.

When the territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, provision was made for the regular reservation of sections 16 and 36 in each township. In the following year a constitution for the territory of Kansas was framed at Topeka, which provided that all funds arising from the sale of public lands, granted to the state for educational or religious purposes, should be preserved inviolable and undiminished and the income from such funds applied to the specific object of the original grants.¹² The constitutions framed successively at Leecompton, Leavenworth and Wyandotte, had similar provisions. The Wyandotte constitution, the one finally adopted, added several clauses, among which was one providing that "The school-lands shall not be sold, unless such sale shall be authorized by a vote of the people at a general election; but, subject to revaluation every five years, they may be leased for any number of years, not exceeding twenty-five, at a rate established by law."¹³

NOTE 10.—McDonald's Select Documents. See Ordinance of 1787.

NOTE 11.—This refers to the preceding Ordinance of 1785.

NOTE 12.—Thorpe's Constitutions and Charters, 1909, vol. 2, p. 1189, art. 7, sec. 1.

NOTE 13.—*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1252, art. 6, sec. 5.

During the early part of the territorial period little attention was given to formulating any system of schools. The early flood of immigration poured in from the North and the South—on the one hand to make Kansas a free state, on the other to extend and perpetuate the institution of slavery as it existed in the Southern states. In this great crisis the matter of education was secondary to the great political issues. But when the territory was rescued from the grasp of the South the free-state men turned their attention to internal developments, and to the education of those who were to be the future citizens.

In his message to the first territorial legislature, 1855, Governor Reeder recommended to their consideration the subject of education;¹⁴ but the breach between the governor and the legislature over the temporary removal of the seat of government occurred just then. This trouble led to a petition of the legislature to President Pierce asking that Governor Reeder be removed, and affairs became so complicated that the subject of schools and their support was completely subordinated to more pressing issues.

For two years the subject of public schools and land grants lay quite dormant. In 1857 the house passed resolutions petitioning Congress for a grant of the equivalent of sections 16 and 36 on lands sold by the general government to the Indians and on lands preempted by citizens under laws of the United States. No action was taken by Congress upon this petition, and the subject was abandoned within the territory until 1860, when the movement began which finally formulated the public-school system of Kansas. On December 31, 1859, the territorial superintendent of the common schools laid before the legislature the first report of the condition of the public schools. This report also contained recommendations from the superintendents of public instruction in Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, advising the sale of public lands.¹⁵

On January 3, 1860, the governor's message to the legislature recommended the subject of education to their consideration. He also protested against a resolution in the constitution framed at Wyandotte (1859) which provided that "the legislature shall make provision for the sale or disposal of the lands granted to the state in aid of internal improvements and for other purposes, subject to the same rights of preëmption to the settlers thereon as are now allowed by law to settlers on public lands."¹⁶ According to this provision no more would be derived from these lands than from any other equal amount of public land. This part of the message was referred to the committee on education, but a breach occurred between the governor and the legislature over the removal of that body to Lawrence for the session, which rendered legislation upon the subject impossible.

Early in the year 1861, after Kansas had been admitted as a state, a resolution was submitted to the committee on public lands to report on ordinance.¹⁷ On April 17 two reports were sent by the committee—one by the majority, reporting that the grants of Congress had not given a sufficient recompense for the relinquishment of the right of the state to tax the public domain, and that the grants to other states had been more liberal; one by the minority, asserting that the propositions to Kansas had been as liberal as those to any other state. The minority report was taken up and accepted

NOTE 14.—House Journal, 1855, p. 15.

NOTE 15.—House Journal, 1860, pp. 34-82.

NOTE 16.—*Ibid.*, p. 22.

NOTE 17.—Senate Journal, 1861, pp. 96, 97.

by joint resolution. January 20, 1862, an act was passed giving the governor power to select the lands granted to the state in the Act of Admission, and appropriating a sum sufficient to defray the necessary expenses.¹⁸ The governor appointed a committee of three, who selected the land granted to the state institutions and that given in lieu of sections 16 and 36, otherwise disposed of.

The grants to the state as offered in the enabling act were thus confirmed. This provided, *First*, that sections numbered 16 and 36 in every township of public lands in the state, and where either of said section or any part thereof had been sold or otherwise disposed of, other lands, equivalent thereto and as contiguous as might be, should be granted to the state for the use of schools; *Second*, that seventy-two sections should be reserved for the benefit of the State University; *Third*, that ten sections should be reserved for the purpose of completing or erecting public buildings; *Fourth*, that the lands adjoining or contiguous to the salt springs, not to exceed seventy-two sections, were to be granted to the state for its use; *Fifth*, that the five per centum of the sales of public lands lying within the state should be paid to the state, after deducting the expenses incident to the same, for the purpose of making public roads, internal improvements and for other purposes as the legislature should direct. By a clause in the state constitution, the five-per-cent grant was turned over to the state school fund.

In accordance with the provision of the constitution that the school lands should not be sold until the sale was approved by a vote of the people, the legislature passed an act February 26, 1864, providing that the sale of the public school lands should be submitted to a vote of the people at the next general election.¹⁹ The act also provided for the appraisal of the land by committees, and established a minimum price of \$3 per acre. Purchasers were to pay one-tenth of the price of the land down, and the remainder in not more than ten equal installments, bearing interest at ten per cent. The proceeds of the sales were to be invested in interest-paying securities of the state or of the United States, at the current market price. At the election in the fall the sale of the school lands carried and the land was immediately placed upon the market.²⁰

The first investment was made on February 1, 1866. During this year over \$26,000 was received from land sales, and all invested in state bonds except a 1000-dollar United States bond bought at 101. From this time the school fund has increased annually from the sale of public lands and other sources, and has become a valuable source of income for the support of the common schools of the state. Mismanagement and frauds have doubtless reduced it to half the amount it would have reached had it been managed in a more business-like and sincere way.

The constitution provides that "The state superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state and attorney-general shall constitute a board of commissioners for the management and the investment of the school funds."²¹ They have been controlled, at least to some extent, by

NOTE 18.—Laws of 1861, chap. 40.

NOTE 19.—Laws of 1864, chap. 102.

NOTE 20.—The vote to sell carried by 3437 to 2186. See Public Documents of 1861-'64, abstract of votes in appendix.

NOTE 21.—Constitution of Kansas, art. 6, sec. 9.

legislation, although in the first case they successfully maintained their independence of the legislature.

On March 2, 1868, the legislature passed a bill authorizing the school-fund commissioners to invest \$25,000 in state bonds, to be issued in pursuance of an act "Providing for the issuance and sale of bonds of the state for the purpose of paying the officers and members of the state legislature and current expenses of the state." The commissioners met and adopted a resolution to the effect that they would invest the amount in pursuance of the act, "if after the law had been published it seemed that they were bound to do so." On receipt of this resolution, the legislature passed a joint resolution, which was duly signed by the governor, prohibiting the commissioners from investing the fund in any other bonds authorized to be issued by and under any law passed during that session of the legislature. The commissioners, however, questioned the constitutionality of the act authorizing the issue of bonds of the state for the purpose specified in the bill, and refused to invest in the bonds in question. A petition for a mandamus was filed and the case brought before the supreme court. The court in an able and exhaustive opinion sustained the commissioners and held that the commissioners could not be compelled to invest in bonds other than those provided by general statute.²² Had the commissioners vigorously insisted upon this right at later times the school fund would to-day be larger than it is. During the same year another suit was begun which was of importance in its effect upon the school fund of Kansas. The constitution as adopted provided that the 500,000 acres of land granted to the new states, under an act of Congress distributing the proceeds of public lands among the several states of the Union, approved September 4, 1841, "shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools."²³ The lands had been chosen by the committee appointed by the governor and registered as school land.

Contrary to the provisions of the state constitution, the legislature of 1866 appropriated this land to four railroads of the state.²⁴ State Superintendent McVicar instituted a case in the form of an injunction, restraining the officers constituted by the law of 1868 to consummate the sale from issuing patents to purchasers of the land, granting certificates or receiving moneys on such sales. A formal decision was rendered in the district court and the case taken before the supreme court. In the supreme court it was agreed to waive all technical points and present to the court for decision simply the question whether or not the title to these lands, as stipulated by the constitution, vested in the state for the benefit of the common schools. The attorney-general rendered an opinion that the state had no right to appropriate these lands to schools²⁵ without the direct approval of Congress by special act, as had been done in the cases of Iowa, Wisconsin and Nevada.²⁶ He held, by the clause in the Act of Admission in which Congress

NOTE 22.—Supreme Court Reports, vol. 4, pp. 223-233.

NOTE 23.—Constitution of Kansas, art. 6, sec. 1.

NOTE 24.—Laws of 1866, chap. 61.

NOTE 25.—Webb's Statutes, 1897, vol. 1, pp. 769-773.

NOTE 26.—For Iowa see U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. IX, p. 117; Wisconsin, *ibid.*, p. 179; Nevada, U. S. Statutes at Large, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 1865-'66, p. 85.

refused to recognize "any or all grants as provided in the constitution of the state of Kansas," that the right to transfer this grant to the school fund had been denied. By this decision the school fund was deprived, if it ever possessed it, of 500,000 acres of land—a loss keenly felt by those interested in the schools of the state. The railroads appropriated these lands to their use as fast as the fulfillment of their contracts entitled them to it. However, in 1885 there was a little over \$8000 of the proceeds of this land still unused in the railroad fund of the treasury and 4500 acres of land still unsold.²⁷ By act of the legislature this was transferred to the permanent school fund of the state.²⁸ This insignificant sum was all that the school fund received from what had bidden fair to be one of its chief sources of wealth.

Thus far the permanent school fund had been invested in state and United States bonds. The demand for a new building at the State University became so pressing that Lawrence, in order to make sure of the permanent location of the institution at that place, voted to raise \$100,000 for that purpose. The bonds were voted, but found no ready market. In 1870 the legislature passed a bill giving the commissioners of the permanent school fund the power to invest a sum not to exceed \$100,000 in Lawrence University bonds. The commissioners purchased \$50,000 worth of the bonds at 90, but refused to invest a larger sum in the bonds of any town. However, they finally put in an additional \$10,000, refusing to jeopardize the school fund for a greater amount. After the University building had been started and the funds exhausted, the legislature passed a resolution pledging the credit of the state for the amount of \$50,000 in addition to that already invested in the Lawrence bonds.²⁹ After the passage of this resolution the school commissioners invested an additional \$40,000, thereby increasing the liabilities of Lawrence to the permanent fund to \$100,000, as provided in the original act of the legislature.

By this liberality the citizens of Lawrence assumed a considerable burden, which it was the duty of the state to bear. In 1883 Senator Solon Thacher³⁰ introduced and succeeded in carrying through the legislature a bill for the relief of the city of Lawrence and protection of the common-school fund, releasing the town of Lawrence from the payment of the principal of the bonds when the amount of interest paid should equal the face of the bonds. When this amount had been paid the regents of the University were to issue an equal amount of bonds running for twenty

NOTE 27.—Webb's Statutes, 1897, vol. 1, p. 166.

NOTE 28.—Laws of 1885, chap. 2, sec. 269.

NOTE 29.—Laws of 1871, chap. 52.

NOTE 30.—**OLON OTIS THACHER** was born at Hornellsville, N. Y., August 31, 1830. The Thacher family came to America from England on the second or third vessel after the Mayflower. He was the son of Otis and Hannah Kennedy (Graves) Thacher. His father was born at Gloucester, R. I., but emigrated to New York in 1804. Solon O. was educated in the common schools of his native town, graduating from Union College. He pursued his legal studies at the Albany Law School and was admitted to practice by the New York supreme court in 1856. He entered politics that year as a stump speaker, and was elected to the New York legislature, serving as a member in the winter of 1857. The same year he opened a law office in Chicago, and in July, 1858, came to Kansas. He became interested in the Lawrence *Republican*. In 1859 he was elected a delegate to the Wyandotte constitutional convention. On the admission of the state he was elected judge of the fourth judicial district. In 1864 he was the anti-Lane candidate for governor. He was in the state senate of 1881 and 1883. In 1884 President Arthur appointed him a member of a commission of three to negotiate treaties with South American countries. He was president of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1895. He died August 11, 1895.

years, and the interest on the same was to be paid from the income of the University endowment fund. It is not necessary to go into the consideration of the constitutionality of this act, as Lawrence never fulfilled its requirement, but stopped paying interest on the bonds in 1884. In his report of 1891 and 1892 the state superintendent of public instruction recommended the appropriation of \$100,000 by the state legislature,³¹ to be used in purchasing and canceling the Lawrence obligations, thus preserving the two funds entire, but the legislature never acted upon his advice. Thus it was necessary for the commissioners of the school fund to bring the controversy into the courts, where the case is still pending judicial decision.³²

The question of investing the school fund by 1869 had become a difficult one. The law thus far limited the investments to state and United States bonds. At the time the law was enacted government bonds could be purchased at par and state bonds at a large discount. Under the continued prosperity of the country, government bonds had advanced to a high premium, and the issue of state bonds was exhausted. The constitution forbids the state to issue over one million in bonds, except in time of war.³³ This amount had already been issued, and of the sum the school-fund commissioners had secured only \$289,450 worth, the balance being held by capitalists in Wall Street. To meet this difficulty the superintendent recommended the establishment of a sinking fund sufficient to cancel the bonds of the state,³⁴ but the legislature took no steps toward adopting his plan.

Many felt that the money should be expended in the state for improvements, and insisted that the bonds in Wall Street could be carried and the school fund applied to the internal development of the country. Many schools could be established throughout the state but for the want of funds to build schoolhouses and to provide for the necessary equipment to carry on school work. A plan was finally formulated which would aid such localities to establish schools, and at the same time make what has proven to be a satisfactory and secure way of investing the school fund of the state. This plan was incorporated into our school system when, in 1872, the legislature passed a bill extending the power of the school-fund commissioners so that they could invest in district-school bonds.³⁵ The first year 150 schools were established under the system and over \$100,000 of the permanent school fund safely invested where it would bring adequate returns both to the common-school fund and to the districts using such moneys. At the present time over \$500,000 of the school fund are invested in these district bonds.

The lands given to the state for school purposes were not well defined, and in some instances were only secured after a long and expensive process. However, the custodians of the school fund made a manly effort to secure the full amount of lands due the state, according to their interpretation of the Act of Admission. This act provided expressly that "nothing in said constitution respecting the boundary of the state shall be construed to im-

NOTE 31.—Public Documents, 1891-'92, vol. 2; Report Supt. Pub. Instruction, p. 149.

NOTE 32.—This case was decided in favor of Lawrence, the opinion of the Douglas district court being affirmed.—Kansas Reports, vol. 79, p. 234.

NOTE 33.—Constitution of Kansas, art. 11, sec. 5.

NOTE 34.—Report of State Superintendent, 1869, p. 25.

NOTE 35.—Laws of Kansas, 1872, chap. 190.

pair the right of the persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or include any territory which by treaty with such Indian tribe is not without the consent of the tribe to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory."³⁶ The grants for school purposes within the territory to be acquired at a later time from the Indians depended upon the interpretation of this clause.

In May, 1867, N. G. Taylor was sent from Washington, as president of a commission, to hold a council with the Osage Indians and to draw up a treaty, subject to ratification by the senate, ceding part of the Osage lands to the general government. Superintendent McVicar met the commission at Humboldt and presented the claims of the common schools to sections 16 and 36, which should revert to the schools of Kansas. His claims were disregarded, and the treaty signed by the commissioners and chiefs of the tribe. By the terms of the stipulation not a single acre was reserved for school purposes, but the whole domain, with slight exception, was to come into the possession of a Mr. William Sturgess, of Chicago, representing the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railway Company, at a price less than 20 cents per acre. Indignation meetings were held over the state and petitions sent to Washington against the action of the commissioners,³⁷ and Congress reversed the construction given to the clause of the Act of Admission by passing an act, in the form of a joint resolution, securing to the state, for the use of public schools, sections 16 and 36 in the ceded Osage district. However, the railway company took the matter before the Department of the Interior, and the secretary, in a lengthy opinion, decided that the ceded lands were not a part of the state, but were held in trust by the United States, and the benefit derived therefrom could not be given to the school fund and must be returned to the Indian tribe.³⁸

No further action was taken in regard to the treaty depriving the state of this land until 1875. In his report of that year the state superintendent announced that he had no means of determining the amount of school lands sold unless it was reported by the superintendents in the various counties. During the year he had received reports from only forty-seven counties, so that any report for the whole state of the sale of public lands would necessarily be inaccurate. "Moreover," he continued, "the exact amount of land to which the state is entitled has never been determined." He further showed that the keeping of the school-land account was not included within the duties of any officer, and recommended that the legislature authorize the governor to appoint a land officer, who should make a list of all lands owned by the state and also take measures to secure the full amount of school lands to which the state was entitled by the Act of Admission.³⁹

In accordance with this suggestion the legislature passed an act authorizing the governor to appoint an agent to prosecute to final decision the claims of Kansas against the United States for school lands not received,

NOTE 36.—U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. XII, p. 127.

NOTE 37.—Report State Superintendent Public Instruction, 1868, p. 12.

NOTE 38.—Report State Agent, 1868, p. 4.

NOTE 39.—Report State Superintendent Public Instruction, 1875, p. 11.

and also to secure the proceeds of the grant of five per cent on the sales of public lands within the state.⁴⁰ Ex-Governor Samuel J. Crawford was appointed land agent, and was to receive ten per cent of the lands and money he should secure as agent for the state.⁴¹

Mr. Crawford was a man thoroughly acquainted with the situation and exceedingly tactful in his proceedings. So ably did he present his cases that he gained his point in every one, either by a direct presentation of the case before the proper authority or by appealing to Congress after an unfavorable decision. He entered upon his duties March 6, 1877, and first took up the loss of the school lands in the tract ceded by the Osage Indian tribe to the general government. In accordance with the opinions of the Department of the Interior, these lands had been turned over to the railroad without respecting the claims of the school-fund commissioners. He presented the case of the state to the commissioner of the general land office, and showed that all precedents were contrary to that decision.⁴² He received an opinion from the commissioner of public lands, approved by the Department of the Interior, reversing the former opinion and guaranteeing to the state the benefit of sections 16 and 36 in the land ceded by the Osages to the general government.

The decision was accompanied by a request that the governor should select the indemnity lands and certify the selection in the local land offices, in order that they might be withdrawn from market and be certified to the state. This would entail an expense to defray which it would be necessary for the legislature to make an appropriation. Public land was being taken up rapidly, and to delay the selection until the meeting of the legislature would cause great loss to the state, in location and quality of the land. Accordingly, Governor Anthony called a meeting of the state officers and solicited their advice. They responded, and the conclusion was reached that the interest of the state demanded immediate action. It was agreed to select competent men, commission them as agents of the state, and set them to work according to their instructions. To meet the expenses the state officers assumed jointly personal obligations by which they were paid. The commissioners selected the land and submitted a report to the state auditor, together with a detailed account of their expenditures.⁴³ In his annual message Governor St. John recommended an appropriation sufficient to remove the obligations of the state officers, in accordance with which the legislature made the appropriation to defray the expense of the commission.⁴⁴

When the lists of the lands selected by the commission reached the Secretary of the Interior a question was raised by the solicitor as to the validity of the decision in favor of the claim of the state, in so far as it related to certain Indian reservations, and the whole subject, by agreement, was referred to the Attorney-general for his opinion. After a careful examination he delivered an opinion that the state was entitled to indemnity for sections 16 and 36 in all Indian reservations except in the Cherokee Neutral

NOTE 40.—*Laws of 1877, chap. 176.*

NOTE 41.—See copy of contract in governor's message, 1879, p. 5.

NOTE 42.—*Crawford's Briefs, vol. 1, pp. 95-113.*

NOTE 43.—*Public Documents, 1877-'78, pp. 13, 14.*

NOTE 44.—*Laws of 1879, chap. 14.*

Lands. As to these he expressed doubts, for the reasons that the tract had been sold and conveyed by patent in fee simple to the Cherokee Nation prior to the date of grant to the state.⁴⁵ In this opinion the department acquiesced and proceeded with the work of certification on all lists except those on the Neutral Lands.

Mr. Crawford was unwilling to yield to the point made in regard to the Neutral Lands, and appealed to Congress for relief. On March 3, 1881, a joint resolution was passed "authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to certify school lands to the state of Kansas," providing "that the lands so selected by the state of Kansas be and are hereby confirmed to the said state; and the Secretary of the Interior be and is hereby authorized to certify the same to the said state in lieu of sections 16 and 36 sold and disposed of by the United States within the limits of any former Indian reservation as aforesaid."⁴⁶ This resolution not only authorized the secretary to certify indemnity lands in lieu of sections 16 and 36 in all Indian reservations within the state, but confirmed the title of the state to all lands selected in accordance with the original decision. In pursuance of this resolution and the former decision of the department, thirteen lists, comprising an aggregate of over a quarter of a million (267,898) acres were certified to the state.

At the time Mr. Crawford presented the case of the state for the lands sold by the general government, he also presented the claims of the state to the five per cent on the sale of public lands within the state, given for school purposes.⁴⁷ As soon as the Indian reservations⁴⁸ were declared to be public lands, after the title of the Indians had been extinguished, it was clear that this grant would be easily assured to the state. The state agent pressed the claims, and on December 3, 1877, it was accepted by the first comptroller of the treasury. J. A. Williamson, commissioner of the land office, reported that \$190,566.08 was due the state, and demand was made upon the Secretary of the Treasury for the same.⁴⁹

The decision of the comptroller was rendered May 6, 1880, but the money, having been paid into the treasury, could not be paid out except by appropriation from Congress. This was made by an act approved March 3, 1881. Of the amount thus appropriated, \$154,489.81 was paid direct to the state, and the remainder (\$35,778.46) was carried to the credit of the state on account of a balance claimed to be due the general government on a direct tax levied in 1861.⁵⁰

The five-per-cent grant was paid annually until 1884. When the account for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, was presented the commissioner of the general land office, whose duty it was to certify the same to the Treasury, declined to do so, and referred the whole matter as to the validity of the comptroller's decision to the Secretary of the Interior for his opinion.

This stopped the payment of the annual proceeds from the sale of lands, and made it necessary to go over the same ground a second time. The Sec-

NOTE 45.—Crawford's Briefs, vol. 1, p. 195.

NOTE 46.—Statutes at Large, vol. XXI, p. 310.

NOTE 47.—Crawford's Briefs, vol. 1, p. 196.

NOTE 48.—Shawnee, Miami, Osage, Kaw, Cherokee and New York reservations.

NOTE 49.—A small amount of the claim (\$197.81) was rejected.

NOTE 50.—U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. XXI, p. 446.

retary decided against the state and was sustained in his opinion by the attorney-general. Crawford was unwilling to yield and again turned to Congress, which accordingly passed an act granting to the state, on account of the five-per-cent fund arising from the sale of public lands within the state, the full amount due for the year. Since this act the grant has been paid annually.⁵¹

A constitutional question arose in regard to the payment of the state agent. By the terms of the contract he was to receive ten per cent of all the lands and money secured for the state. However, the constitution provides that the common-school fund shall be perpetual and shall not be diminished. The case was submitted to the attorney-general, who brought in an opinion that the state agent could not be paid out of lands or money belonging to the school fund. To avoid this constitutional difficulty, the legislature appropriated out of the general fund of the state not only the amount due on land and moneys secured for the school fund, but on all land and moneys secured for the state.⁵² In 1891 Senator W. W. Martin⁵³ was appointed successor to Mr. Crawford. When he asked the governor, state auditor and attorney-general to enter into a contract for his services as state agent the attorney-general maintained that the law authorizing them to make the contract was unconstitutional. An agreed case was made and submitted to the supreme court on application for a mandamus to compel the three officers before named to enter into a contract as required by statute. The supreme court sustained the attorney-general in his opinion, and the office of state agent came to an end.⁵⁴

The year of 1876, so far as the school fund is concerned, may be appropriately called the year of scandals. During this year some of the most criminal dishonesties were brought to light. These frauds deprived the school fund of \$14,500. It was only due to the care of the state officers that a scheme of A. J. Mowry, representative in the third district, from Doniphan county, was disclosed to the public, which would have cost the school fund \$40,000, had it been successfully carried out by its perpetrators.⁵⁵

NOTE 51.—*Ibid.*, vol. XXV, p. 921. A complete table of the receipts of the five per cent is given in the appendix of this paper, table "A."

NOTE 52.—The state agent took charge of all land claims of the state against the United States. The position proved to be the most lucrative in the state. See appropriations 1878, 1883, 1887.

NOTE 53.—WILLIAM WALLACE MARTIN was born November 12, 1840, at Crawfordsville, Ind., the son of Owen and Sarah (Reese) Martin. They were natives of Virginia, of Scotch-Irish ancestry. Mr. Martin was educated in the common schools of that state, and after four years' service in the army he graduated from the law department of Michigan University, in 1866. He enlisted as a private in the Fifty-fifth Indiana infantry, and subsequently served in the One Hundred and Sixteenth and One Hundred and Fifty-fourth Indiana. In 1866 he married Caroline Mills, and in that same year located in Fort Scott. His wife died in 1878, and in 1882 he married Elizabeth Truby. For many years he was the law partner of Hon. C. W. Blair. He served as city attorney of Fort Scott, probate judge of Bourbon county, and register of the United States land office at Independence. In 1888 he was elected state senator. In 1900 he was made department commander of the Grand Army of the Republic. In 1901 he was appointed state agent at Washington. Major Martin is now and has been for several years paymaster at the National Military Home, Leavenworth.

NOTE 54.—Report of State Superintendent, 1892. See, also, Attorney-general's Report, 1879-'80.

NOTE 55.—The years 1875 and 1876 were very vexatious ones for the state school fund. The Attorney-general's Report for 1876 is a pamphlet of about 200 pages, and it is devoted almost entirely to district No. 8, Raymond, A. J. Mowry and Samuel Lappin. The counties of Harper, Barber and Comanche were organized in fraud for fraudulent purposes. A. J. Mowry, a very prominent man in those days from Doniphan county, sold the school fund \$2000 of bonds for \$1750, representing a school district fraudulently or-

Mowry and several of his accomplices had fraudulently organized Comanche county and issued the above amount of bonds, which they contemplated selling to the school-fund commissioners. Only \$2000 worth were purchased, at 85½, when the fraud was discovered. Mowry took to the brush, but was captured at St. Joseph. He was expelled from the house and brought to trial, but the state failed to secure anything by his prosecution.

In 1872 an election was held in Rice county, school district No. 8, and \$10,000 in bonds voted for the purpose of building a schoolhouse, to be located at Raymond,⁵⁶ a small town within that district. The bonds were sold to the school-fund commissioners at 75. The next year they were discovered to be fraudulent. Both houses of the legislature took it upon themselves

ganized in the fraudulently organized county of Comanche. He was charged with forgery and perjury. Mowry was born in Cortland county, N. Y., in 1833. He went to Minnesota, where he remained until 1858, when he came to Kansas, settling at Wathena. He represented Doniphan county in the legislature of 1868, 1869 and 1870. He had served as a private soldier in the Fourteenth Kansas cavalry. In 1874 he appeared as a member from Comanche county, claiming to have secured 272 votes. In the special session of that legislature, held in September, 1874, his seat was declared vacant, together with that of William H. Horner, of Harper county. Horner was a resident of Baxter Springs, but he received 256 votes in Harper. According to the story, a buffalo hunting party in the summer of 1873 found Mr. Mowry, a Mr. Dunlap, of Doniphan county, and a man named Mills from Topeka, and two men from Hutchinson, five in all, engaged in organizing Comanche county, where there were just two *bona fide* settlers in the whole county. They filled all the county offices, and Mowry's part of the program was to be elected to the legislature and procure the passage of an act authorizing the issue and sale of \$40,000 of Comanche county bonds to pay current expenses. An old directory of St. Joseph furnished the names of about 240 voters. The county seat was located at Smallwood, and school districts created. The buffalo hunters asked how they expected to sell such bonds, and the reply was: "There is just as good a market for fraudulent school bonds in Topeka as there is for legal bonds; there is only a difference in the price." Mowry got his bill passed, and the total indebtedness on that county under this arrangement was \$72,000, with no people and no property to tax. Mowry returned to Doniphan county, and was elected to the legislature of 1876 from district No. 3 in that county. But in this session he was caught and expelled. He was arrested and tried in the district court of Shawnee county. The court held that there was not sufficient evidence of the fictitious character of the supposed officers who signed the bonds, which knocked the state out. A *nolle* was entered and Mowry discharged. The Historical Society has in manuscript a remarkable story of the gang who organized Harper county. The job was conceived in Baxter Springs. Three men got \$10,000 each out of a fraudulent issue of \$40,000 of bonds on Harper. The account says: "A team was hired, a camp outfit and grub for the trip procured, and several loafers around the saloons were hired at three dollars a day for the occasion. These saloon bums are the ones who gave the whole thing away after they came back, being somewhat disgruntled when they discovered that they had been made cat's-paws of." The party was gone between two and three weeks. W. H. Horner was elected representative and served through the session of 1874, and at the close went to St. Louis and cashed the bonds. Attorney-general Williams said: "Harper and Comanche were organized solely for plunder. The vast amount of bonds issued by the two last-named counties has seriously impaired our credit abroad. To issue those bonds required wholesale forgery and perjury."

NOTE 56.—The Raymond schoolhouse was one of the jokes of the day. The Santa Fe road reached Hutchinson June 10, 1872, and Great Bend the latter part of July, 1872. Raymond is between these two points. An election to vote school bonds in district No. 8 was held July 30, 1872, and on the 26th day of August following twenty bonds of \$500 each were issued. The notice posted calling the election was in the handwriting of S. N. Wood. At the time of the voting of the bonds, one witness says, there was a population of 300; one year after it was about 25. After considerable manipulation through two or three banks, the bonds were sold to the state school fund, the proceeds, \$8750, going to S. N. Wood. Joseph G. Waters, who was then attorney for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, was a witness in an investigation made by a committee of the legislature. We quote: "About the 1st day of August, 1872, I had occasion to go into Rice county. People were then first commencing to come in the town of Raymond, a station on the line of our road. In fact, I went with about the first train of cars that took any people to that station. They consisted of a large proportion of strumpets and gamblers from Newton and other points on the road. They constituted nearly the entire population of Raymond at that time, and did so for two or three months after. They erected tents and booths for the purpose of gambling and prostitution. Probably eight or ten persons went there for the purpose of legitimate trade; not more than that. That school district was formed a few days after that population went there. I was frequently at Raymond. My business was to keep posted as to the issuance of bonds, even of school districts. I had no intelligence of an election having been had or anything about the issuance of bonds for at least two or three months after they bear date." A contract was made with S. N. Wood to build a schoolhouse. S. N. Wood is one of the most conspicuous characters in the territorial history of Kansas. He was killed in a county-seat fight at Hugoton, Stevens county, June 23, 1891. (For sketch see volume 10, Kansas Historical Collections.)

to investigate the case, and recommended it to the attorney-general for prosecution, but he was unable to secure the money invested in these bonds.⁵⁷

In this same year the commissioners were duped into buying \$2500 worth of bonds of Norton county, issued for the purpose of building a schoolhouse. It was found by the attorney-general that the county commissioners had fraudulently issued this amount, first as script, and then converted it into bonds for the purpose of selling them to the school-fund commissioners. This they succeeded in doing, and thus deprived the school fund of the full amount of the bonds. Several times in later public documents the attention of the legislature has been called to the deficiency of the school fund in the amount of these bonds. The governor in his message of 1887 recommended the consideration of these losses, amounting to \$14,500. That part of the message was referred to a select committee, which recommended that an appropriation be made, thus preserving the integrity and permanency of the

page 242.) The population of Raymond had followed the end of the track, and when anything was said to Wood about building the schoolhouse he would respond, "I am waiting for some one to tell me where to build it." The contract called for a "belfry and a good bell that could be heard two miles." The legislature of 1876 made an investigation, and ordered suit brought against two banks and S. N. Wood. The attorney-general said the district was "twelve miles long and six miles wide, containing almost as many square miles as several of the minor Germanic principalities." At the time suit was begun three other districts were taken from it, leaving No. 8 "merely a sandy, uninhabited and treeless tract of land six miles in length and three in width, lying wholly south of the Arkansas river" from the site of Raymond. The schoolhouse remains unbuilt to this day. Capt. Joseph G. Waters contributed the following poem to the humor of the occasion, which had great circulation at the time:

THE RAYMOND SCHOOLHOUSE.

"I bind myself to build Raymond school district a house for school purposes, and will place on it a bell which can be heard two miles down the Arkansas."—*Dying words of Sam Wood.*

In bonds I bind myself and heirs,
And also each assign,
To build, complete, a schoolhouse good,
Of stone and brick and pine;
With desks and seats, likewise a stairs
That reach a belfry high,
And prompted by, says Colonel Wood,
My strong affections' tie,
I'll place within a deep-toned bell,
Where every breeze that fans us
Shall waft its sweetest note and swell
Two miles down the Arkansas.

The spire shall keep the dying light
Of sun, as shadows grow,
And noon shall see, as birds in flight,
The children hither go.
Of peace and joy the bell shall chime
Delightfully rotund;
The bonds shall run full ten years' time,
To please the state school fund!
And westward as we pioneers
Ere trains shall stop to land us,
The dulcet strains shall reach our ears
Two miles down the Arkansas.

And thus the edifice did rise,
But is not builded yet;
No steeple reaches to the skies,
For all its bonded debt!
The children weep upon the spot
And tell the passer by
Of Colonel Wood, not quite forgot,
And ask, "How 's that for high?"
But why should we the longer dwell
On this, which so unmans us?
No breeze shall bear the sound of bell
Two miles down the Arkansas.

NOTE 57.—Senate Journal 1876, pp. 254-257; House Journal 1876, pp. 545-625; Attorney-general's Report 1876, pp. 13-17.

school fund; but the report was never acted upon, and the school fund is short that amount.

An example of the most flagrant abuse of public trust is furnished by Samuel Lappin. That he did not succeed in his attempt upon the public money redounds to the credit of honest men in whom a similar trust had been placed. Lappin occupied no prominent place in politics, but was purely by accident nominated to the responsible position of treasurer of the state.⁵⁸ His principles were immediately questioned by the public, but his honesty was attested by reputable citizens of Nemaha county, where he resided and where he had been instrumental in founding the town of Seneca. He had amassed a considerable fortune in a few years, and was noted for his shrewd business ability. After a bitter contest he was elected by a bare majority in 1874.

In September of 1876 a lot of bonds, purporting to be issued by districts of Mitchell county, were sent to the commissioners of the school fund by a Mr. S. Whitcomb, of St. Joseph. The bonds were in regular form, and the state treasurer assured the commissioners that he "knew the gentlemen," so the commissioners purchased the bonds and ordered the money sent according to instructions. The treasurer remitted the price of \$5400 worth of bonds, at 90. A few days later the commissioners received an offer to sell bonds purporting to be issued by school districts in Jewell county, and then owned by a Mr. Manford, of St. Joseph. He spoke of the purchase of bonds from Mr. Whitcomb, and solicited an offer on his bonds. The commissioners answered the communication, and succeeded in procuring \$7000 worth at 90.

A little later, in November, a communication was received from Richard Milner, of Kansas City, soliciting the sale of \$7500 worth of bonds issued by school districts in Republic county. The commissioners invested \$6650 in these bonds, and Mr. Lappin remarked he paid the money over the counter of the state treasurer's office.

In December six bonds, amounting to \$8500, were received from J. S. Kibby, of Kansas City, soliciting the sale of the same and asking their immediate return if they were refused. By accident it was discovered that these bonds were all in the same handwriting, and an investigation was made which disclosed their fraudulent character. An investigation of all the bonds purchased was made and it was discovered that both batches from St. Joseph and the one from Kansas City were forgeries. In a few days the disappearance of the brother-in-law of Lappin, a partner of the state treasurer in a store at Seneca, caused considerable comment. This aroused suspicion that the state treasurer might have his brother-in-law, Mr. Scrafford, as an accomplice in looting the state treasury. Investigation confirmed the suspicion. Lappin was placed under arrest and lodged in the Topeka jail. The case was set for the August term of court, but on July 12 Lappin, after a second attempt, broke jail and escaped. He was traced through the northern part of the United States to Canada, but was last heard of in Peru, where he was safe because no extradition treaty existed

NOTE 58.—He was nominated by accident. In the Republican state convention held in 1874 about twenty-five delegates from southern Kansas bolted immediately upon the nomination of Governor Osborn. These men were all friends of John Francis, the then incumbent of the treasurer's office. Their absence from the convention gave Lappin a majority."—*Atchison Champion*, January 5, 1875.

between that country and the United States. His accomplice joined him somewhere on the way, and both arrived in Peru after a long chase by authorities. Later Mr. Scrafford was caught in Peru, and requisition papers being recognized, he was brought back for trial. He was tried as an accomplice and found guilty, but the case was taken to a higher court where the decision was reversed and Scrafford given his liberty.⁵⁹

Mr. Lappin left a considerable amount of real estate, which was immediately levied upon by the officers of the state. The amount of the forged bonds was secured, and the school fund sustained no loss, though the state incurred an expense of over \$2500 in the prosecution of the case connected with this fraud.⁶⁰

NOTE 59.—Public Documents 1879-'80, Attorney-general's Report, pp. 26-67.

NOTE 60.—SAMUEL LAPPIN was born near Cumberland, Tuscarawas county, Ohio, January 4, 1831. He was the son of Finley Lappin, and his family was a wife, two daughters, Ella and Jessie, and son, Grover. He came to Kansas from Louisiana in the winter of 1856-'57, settling first at White Cloud, but moved to Seneca in the autumn of 1857, being one of the town incorporators. He was elected justice of the peace, May 5, 1858, and commissioned on May 26. He was elected register of deeds for Nemaha county November 8, 1859, serving to 1861; a member of the senate in the first state legislature, and again in 1862, and served in the house of 1869. He was a director and president of the "Northern Kansas Railroad and Telegraph Company" (the St. Joseph & Grand Island). In a list of Kansas post offices, 1876, a town by the name of Lappin appears, located in Nemaha county, east of Seneca and about the present situation of Oneida.

Sol Miller said that when he landed in White Cloud, March, 1857, Lappin was a stockholder in the town company and had a claim near; that Scrafford and Lappin had a sawmill, and had come in 1856, but went to Seneca. They named the town for Seneca county, Ohio. Mr. Miller bought Lappin's land in 1862.

On November 26, 1862, Lappin was commissioned by the President assistant quartermaster general, with rank of captain, and mustered out September 20, 1865. He was elected state treasurer in November, 1874, serving from January to December 20, 1875, when his resignation was demanded by Governor Osborn. On December 9 the school-fund commissioners discovered that forged school bonds of Jewell, Mitchell and Republic counties had been bought with money from the state treasury, funds being sent to Richard Milner, S. Whitcomb and Thomas Manford, supposed to be of St. Joseph and Kansas City. Upon investigation by two members of the commission in Kansas City, they were convinced that Lappin was the forger of the bonds and the recipient of the money, and on December 11 so notified the governor, who instructed the attorney-general to bring the guilty parties to justice. Detectives were employed and evidence was completed before December 20, when the governor instructed the attorney-general to begin proceedings against Lappin and his securities for recovery of the funds taken, which was \$19,050. Peck & Ryan, of Topeka, were employed to assist in the prosecution. The governor wrote a two-page letter to Lappin requesting his resignation, which was at once tendered and accepted. Lappin employed A. H. Horton and the firm of Guthrie & Brown to defend him.

The governor appointed John Francis as treasurer. Thus was Mr. Francis called upon the second time to fill vacancies caused by defaulting treasurers, the first being Josiah E. Hayes in 1874. Each time he restored order and public confidence, as was attested by his nomination by acclamation in the Republican convention of August, 1876, and his election for three successive terms, serving until January, 1883. Mr. Francis had been a candidate for the nomination in the convention of August 26, 1874, against Lappin, who received the nomination. A bolting faction of this convention tendered to Mr. Francis the nomination as treasurer on a reform ticket, which he declined. December 30 the treasury was turned over to Mr. Francis.

Civil and criminal suits were begun, charging Lappin with forgery, counterfeiting and embezzlement. On December 31 he was allowed to go to Seneca, in charge of a deputy, to arrange for bond. Jacob Smith went on his bond, and then Lappin left for Chicago. In the meantime he was found to be short \$830 in his cash account, and the governor ordered his arrest, which was made by sheriff E. S. W. Drought, of Wyandotte county, in Chicago, January 13. They arrived in Topeka January 15, and Lappin was lodged in jail January 18, with bond placed at \$15,000, which he could not secure. His accomplice, Charles G. Scrafford, of Seneca, who was his brother-in-law and business partner, left December 13 and fled to Peru. Their conspiracy to defraud the state dated from about August 1, 1875.

Lappin attempted to escape from jail on the night of June 10, 1876, through the aid of an ex-prisoner, Bob Odell, but was caught in the act of crawling through a hole in the floor of his cell—a difficult feat considering his weight, which was 235 pounds. On July 11 he succeeded in escaping through the window, again assisted by Odell and another colored man. "Filibuster" Stanley, whom Lappin had employed as a treasury guard, was waiting with a two-horse team and spring wagon. They traveled by night until in Nebraska, part of the time Lappin lying on the bed of the wagon covered by a tarpaulin. This Walter Stanley had been in the United States army in 1856, and a captain in Walker's filibustering expedition in Nicaragua, thus earning his nickname. He had also served in the Civil War.

The route taken by the fugitives was through Nebraska to Sioux City, Iowa; then to Duluth, where they took boat for Sarnia, Canada; then to Quebec, and from there to

Experience teaches a dear lesson, and is commendable if its cost is not too great. The people are never willing to see the public money appropriated to private purposes without a protest. Accordingly, an issue of the campaign of 1877 was the security of the public money. The commissioners of the school fund were attacked by a most scurrilous press and charged with being negligent in their business relation with the school fund. John

Portland, Me., by rail. From Portland they took steamer to New York, where they sailed for Aspinwall, August 14, 1876. They were joined at Callao, Peru, by Scrafford, who had earned his passage from New York to South America, working as a stoker, starting with only eighty cents in his pocket. Later Lappin and Scrafford quarreled and did not speak for several years.

Lappin, escaping arrest with Scrafford at Callao in 1877, went to Central America, and to Brazil in 1879. He arrived in Boston January 3, 1880, where he took an agency to sell books and maps in southern states. Then he sold rubber goods for a Philadelphia house, traveling about on foot and in ill health. He had been in nearly every state, and attended the Cincinnati Exposition in 1882. He had seen many Kansans who recognized him. In South America he met General Caldwell, United States minister to Argentine Republic. He visited his two daughters in Chicago, but he had not seen his wife since his escape from the state, and much of the time had not known where she was. (Eugene Ware said that Mrs. Lappin had sold most of their belongings to raise money to send him, and that she lived in poverty in Chicago, supporting herself and one child with her needle and a washtub.) The other daughter, Ella, was employed in the mailing department of the *Commonwealth*. The son, Grover, had left home soon after the father's disgrace, drifting from bad to worse, and at the time of Lappin's return was in the penitentiary, sent from Emporia for robbery of a post office.

From Chicago Lappin went to Texas, then to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Victoria and Tacoma, where he met Jacob Wiesbach, a Kansan, who informed upon him. He had been selling books and magazines under the name of S. J. Campbell. He was brought back by the sheriff of Tacoma, arriving in Topeka October 23, 1884, and was lodged in jail.

Governor Glick employed Thomas P. Fenlon to assist Attorney-general Bradford in the prosecution. Mr. Fenlon's charge for services was \$1000. To provide for payment of this and other expenses of procuring evidence, the governor applied to the ways and means committee of the legislature of 1885 for an appropriation of \$2000, which was not made, discussion indicating that the committee believed the case could not be continued. So when Lappin appeared in court December 23, 1885, Attorney-general Bradford entered a *nolle prosequi* on the grounds that the forged bonds were missing, witnesses scattered, some of them dead; that the state had been fully reimbursed for the loss; that there was no chance for conviction, and that Lappin had been sufficiently punished. The case was dismissed December 24, 1885. Lappin returned to Seneca, where he was joined by his wife. There he was loaned about \$1000 by Scrafford and other friends, also given letters of credit, enabling him to open a store in Lenora, Norton county, in 1886. He proved unfaithful to his friends, putting all business in his wife's name. They compelled him to sign notes to protect them, which he did by forging his wife's name. The store was burned and creditors sued for the insurance money. Eugene F. Ware was attorney in the case of German Fire Insurance v. T. B. Bullene *et al.*, and characterized Lappin as a Kansas delinquent. According to the attorney-general, Lappin had the following aliases: S. Whitcomb, Thomas Manford, Mrs. Thomas Manford, Richard Milner, J. S. Kirby, and David J. Parkhurst.

His next venture was at La Centre, Wash., where he conducted a business in the name of a son-in-law, at whose house he died, August 4, 1892, aged sixty-one, his death being caused by hemorrhage of the lungs.

In the archives department of the State Historical Society is a most interesting file of original and copied executive correspondence, December 11, 1875, to December 24, 1885, which includes the blue-ribboned letters of Wm. H. Everts, State Department, Washington; the United States Minister to Peru, Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Governors Osborn, Anthony, St. John, Glick and Martin; five attorneys-general, from A. M. F. Randolph to S. B. Bradford; the Kansas congressional delegation; lawyers, detectives and informers; a petition from Nemaha county friends of Scrafford, asking the governor not to issue a requisition, which was followed by a letter from Edwin Knowles, of Seneca, who declared "the petition did not reflect the views of Nemaha county. This county furnished the state with a thief for treasurer and a brother-in-law to assist him in his dishonesty, and this is enough without our now trying to screen them from punishment."

The file also includes a letter from the city marshal of Evansville, Ind., dated December 13, 1877, saying he had in custody Robert Odell, who wanted to return to Kansas and give evidence about Lappin who, he affirmed, was helped to escape through friends who were well paid for it, and with full knowledge of the sheriff. The marshal asked if there was a bounty for the return of Odell. The reply to him from the governor's secretary is quoted: "In answer to your letter about Odell, I have to say: that he is not wanted in Kansas; no bounty is offered for him; nobody has a desire to offer a bounty for him. Keep him on the rock pile; keep him from Kansas. Do what you will with him, but protect us from his presence if possible."

One S. C. Gregory wrote from Callao to the governor May 20, 1877, that Lappin and Scrafford were there under assumed names, and desired to be commissioned to arrest them, asking about the reward. The governor informed him that the reward was \$1000 for arrest and delivery of both at Topeka, or \$500 for either; or \$500 for arrest and delivery of both to the United States consul at Callao, or \$250 for either. The governor forwarded to the State Department all the papers required for extradition, but before they

Francis,⁶¹ who had taken charge of the treasury since the Lappin affair, was elected treasurer upon the issue of the security of the public money, while public interest was such as to stimulate legislation upon the subject.

By an act of March 4, 1876, the state auditor had been made *ex-officio* register of the state land office. Acting in this capacity, he was to keep and preserve all records complete, showing the accurate chain of title from the government to the purchaser, along with all correspondence with any department of the general government. In relation to the state lands, separate tract books were to be kept for the University, the Saline lands, the half-million-acre grant, the 16 and 36 sections and lands in lieu of the same for common schools.

When the legislature met two bills were passed which were intended to

reached Callao the men had fled. Lappin escaped, but Scafford was arrested in the north of Peru by Gregory, who had trailed him across the Andes with a guide to talk to the natives, and landed him in jail at Callao, October, 1877, after a hand-to-hand scuffle in which Scafford pushed Gregory overboard from a Pacific steamer. Gregory came to Washington and to Kansas to claim his reward, June 1, 1878.

The vice consul of the United States at Callao was about to return home, and in his custody Scafford was started back in handcuffs, but at Panama was released by that government on a claim that person could not be held under arrest whilst in transit between two countries in an intervening one having no treaty obligations with the others to surrender fugitives. The United States protested against this meddling, demanding rearrest, but Scafford, finding himself free, voluntarily returned home. He had been provided at Callao, by order of the United States consul, with warm clothing and extra food, as he was in almost a starving condition. The vice consul presented a bill to the state of \$1022 for his services, but was allowed \$518, deduction being made for his own passage and expenses, on the ground that he was making the voyage home anyway.

There are also letters from Scafford, in jail at Callao, to the United States minister, complaining of ill treatment (1877), and from St. Louis to the governor, dated July 27, 1878, saying he would return to Topeka July 30 to meet all charges, expecting Nemaha county friends to sign his bond, and hoped for a speedy trial, adding that he was tired of bearing other men's sins. He returned July 30, surrendered to the sheriff, and was released on bond given by Nemaha men and others, including Sol Miller. On November 22, 1878, the sale of the property of Lappin and Scafford yielded about \$20,000, or more than enough to satisfy the state's claim.

On December 19, 1878, Scafford's trial was called. It lasted seventeen days, when a verdict of guilty was returned. He was granted a new trial, which began July 11, 1879, and on July 25 he was acquitted. He returned to Seneca, where his subsequent career justified the trust placed in him by his friends.

NOTE 61.—JOHN FRANCIS, who has had the unique distinction of being called at two different times to take hold of the state treasury in days of chaos, and establish order, resides on a farm in Allen county, and on the 23d day of February, 1912, celebrated his golden wedding. Mr. Francis was born in Norfolk, England, April 24, 1837. By the death of his father, John Francis, he was left at two years of age to the care of his mother, whose maiden name was Sarah Kitteringham. She was a woman of much energy and unusual strength of character, and under her hand he was educated and brought to his majority, in the meantime doing what he could toward his own support. Having acquired a taste for reading, he knew all about the free-soil contest in Kansas, and in August, 1858, he left England, coming direct to Kansas, remaining at Osawatimie for a time and mixing with the friends and followers of John Brown. In March, 1859, he filed on a claim in Allen county, which he afterwards entered, and which is within a mile of his present home. In July, 1861, he enlisted in the Third Kansas, Col. James Montgomery commanding. In the spring of 1862 the company to which he belonged was transferred to the Fifth Kansas, where it was known as company D. He was mustered out in November, 1863, on account of disabilities contracted in the line of duty. He returned to Allen county and was elected county clerk, and reelected in 1865, during which time he read law. He also held, under appointment of the late Judge D. M. Valentine, then judge of the fourth district, the office of clerk of the district court, and at the expiration of his appointive term was elected to the office, which he resigned in 1868. In November, 1867, he was elected county treasurer, and reelected in 1869. From 1869 to 1877 he engaged in merchandising at Iola. May 1, 1874, he was appointed state treasurer by Governor Osborn, and served until January 12, 1875. December 25, 1875, he was again appointed, this time followed by three elections, November 1876, November 1878, and November 1880. In his message to the legislature of 1876 Governor Osborn said: "For the second time during my incumbency of the executive office Hon. John Francis was invited to assume the arduous and responsible duties of state treasurer, and his acceptance is a sufficient guaranty to the people that those duties will be honorably discharged." February 23, 1862, he was married to Lodeska Coffield, whose parents came to Allen county in 1860 from Indiana, of which state she is a native. Mr. Francis represented Allen county in the legislatures of 1899, 1901 and 1903. In 1899 he was chairman of the committee on state affairs and a member of the ways and means committee, and in the sessions of 1901 and 1903 he was chairman of the ways and means committee. For the year 1901 he was president of the Kansas State Historical Society, having been a member since its organization.

place a check upon the dishonest actions of unscrupulous officers and give greater security to the public money. March 3, 1877, a bill was passed requiring the payment of the principal or interest on school bonds to be made at the treasurer's office, thus removing the opportunity for such frauds as those perpetrated by the former state treasurer. On the next day a bill was signed which made it necessary for all bonds purchased by the school-fund commissioners to be registered by the state auditor before they should be deposited with the state treasurer.⁶² By this bill the danger of fraud by the dishonesty of any one man was eliminated and the school fund rendered more secure.

In his report of 1880 State Superintendent Lemmon presented to the legislature a bill that would have formed a more economical system for the management of the school land. According to law, the land should be appraised every three years, the cost of which should be deducted from the sales of the land. The appraisers were men appointed for that purpose from the county in which the land to be appraised was located. The result was that neighborly feeling and logrolling had full play in the process. The school land often sold at far less than it was really worth.

Governor St. John, in his message of 1879, recommended that the sale and management of all school lands of the state, including the lands of the Agricultural College, State Normal, State University and common schools, be concentrated under one general head, to be known as the state land department. He renewed this recommendation the following year in a message which received the support of the other state officers. The state superintendent, in his report of 1880, showed that the expense for the sales and collection on school lands for that year had been \$15,681.57. He also gave illustrations of a land department as established in Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and other states, and showed that such a department could be maintained for \$7000 a year, thus saving to the school fund a considerable sum.⁶³ Moreover, the appraisement of the land would be more nearly correct if made by those who were interested in the school fund, rather than in the individual who procured the land. The unfairness of the appraisement as it had been made was clearly shown by the difference in the appraisement of railroad land and that of the school land. Thus far the price of school land had been about 25 per cent less than the railroad lands, notwithstanding that the rate of interest was lower and the time longer on the sales of school lands. The superintendent submitted a bill providing for a state land department as it existed in Iowa, but the senate moved a substitute, which was finally dropped.⁶⁴ This negligence on the part of the state legislature has doubtless cost the state 20 per cent of the receipts from the sales of school lands made since that time.

The investment of the school fund was at first limited to state and United States bonds. When it was found impossible to invest the funds in these bonds the legislature passed an act extending the power of the commissioners so that they might invest in school-district bonds. The funds were invested exclusively in these bonds, except in cases provided for by special legislation. The value of state and United States bonds increased until they could only be bought at a premium, which would diminish the school fund.

NOTE 62.—Laws of 1877, chap. 72.

NOTE 63.—Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1880.

NOTE 64.—Senate Journal, 1881, p. 696.

The districts of the state, it was estimated, would never use more than three million dollars at any one time, while⁶⁵ the school funds would ultimately be several times that amount.

By the end of the year 1882 the aggregate amount of the school fund was \$2,592,854.35. Of this amount, \$607,925 was invested in state bonds, \$1,410,269.23 in school-district bonds, \$390,000 in United States bonds, \$100,000 in Lawrence University bonds, while over \$80,000 lay in the state treasury not drawing a cent of interest.⁶⁶ Over \$100,000 of the bonds fell due the 1st of January, and these were immediately paid.

Governor Glick, in his message of January 9, 1883, called the attention of the legislature to the fact that there was \$187,769.95 of the permanent school fund in the treasury uninvested, and probably would remain so unless proper legislation was had extending the power of the commissioners so that they could invest in other bonds than those to which they were then limited. He recommended that they add county bonds to the three already named.⁶⁷ The senate referred this part of the governor's message to the proper committee, which returned a bill extending the powers of the commissioners to invest in "first mortgages on improved real estate, not exceeding one-third its value, at six per cent interest, and in city school-district bonds or in township bonds." The bill passed the senate and was sent to the house, where another was substituted for it, extending the powers of the commissioners so as to invest in "bridge, courthouse bonds, . . . county, township or city refunding bonds of the several counties, township and cities of the state of Kansas." The substitute bill was accepted by the senate and signed by the governor March 5, 1883.⁶⁸

However, the commissioners were prohibited from investing in bonds which, together with the other outstanding indebtedness, should exceed ten per cent of the assessed valuation. The superintendents in their various reports called the attention of the legislature to the fact that this clause practically prohibited the commissioners from investing in county, township and city bonds. The state superintendent recommended in 1903 that the legislature pass a bill partially removing this restriction, which it did by amending the act of March 9, 1883, so as to raise the limit of outstanding indebtedness of any county, township or city in which the commissioners might invest the school fund to fifteen per cent of the assessed valuation.⁶⁹

In addition to the losses previously cited, there has been considerable loss caused by the defaulting of county treasurers. By the law authorizing the sale of the land, the money accruing from the sales should be paid to the treasurer of the county in which the land was located. The county treasurer should turn the money over to the state treasurer after deducting the expenses incurred in effecting the sale. This law provided that the county treasurer should remit annually. In a great many cases this was not done. The state superintendents have frequently protested against the negligence of the county treasurers to report the sales of public lands. These treasurers can apply the proceeds of the sales to their own private use, and,

NOTE 65.—Over five million is invested in these bonds now.

NOTE 66.—Biennial Report Attorney-general, 1881-'82, p. 34.

NOTE 67.—Governor's Message, January 9, 1883, p. 7.

NOTE 68.—Laws of 1883, chap. 143.

NOTE 69.—Laws of 1903, chap. 73.

owing to the negligence which characterizes the management of the school fund, can go out of office, thus releasing their bondsmen, and after three years are themselves released by the statute of limitation from any obligation to remit. The total loss to the school fund by this means can only be approximated. In the late seventies the state auditor threw out accounts amounting to \$37,000, which may without question be considered as lost. The old system, however, continues, with very similar results. At the present time, by the books of the state auditor, about \$70,000 of the school fund is barred by the statute of limitation. Of this sum no doubt part will be paid, but it is safe to say that the state will lose one-half of this amount, which will increase the loss caused by the embezzlement of county treasurers to over \$70,000.

The management of the school land and the proceeds derived from its sale has been extravagant and unbusinesslike. The first mistake was in providing for the sale of land at a time when there was little demand for it. It is never good policy to keep a large tract of land exempt from settlement when it is needed by the people of the state for homes; but there were large tracts of other land in the state open to settlement, offered in competition with the school land. The land could have been leased for a term of years and the rent applied to the annual school fund. As has been shown by later experience, this would have yielded a better income, and at the same time given the permanent fund the benefit of the increase in the value of the land. The state received over 2,800,000 acres of land for school purposes, which under proper management would easily have brought \$20,000,000. However, all of this, except about 675,000 acres located in the western part of the state, has been sold, and the permanent school fund amounts to a little over \$8,000,000, of which the sale of school land has yielded less than \$6,000,000.⁷⁰

When the sale of the school land was provided for, a more economical and businesslike method of disposal should have been adopted. This might have been effected by the establishment of a land department, as established in other states. In Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin such a department was created and proved to be very satisfactory. Such a course would have been more economical, in that it could have been maintained for about one-half the expense incurred under the present system.⁷¹ It would have been more businesslike, in that there would be a proper officer who would be responsible for the conduct of that department, and whose interest would be to secure the best returns from the sale of school lands in the state.

However, the legislature has been negligent and dilatory in its relation to the school fund. At the present session (1905) the bill providing for the management of the school fund was dropped, and ten days spent in discussing the bill to establish an experiment station for destroying obnoxious insects. Such negligence has doubtless deprived the permanent school fund of half its principal and the annual fund of an equal portion of its income. The total income from the rent of school lands and the interest upon the bonds of the permanent school fund amounted to about a half million dollars for the year ending June 30, 1904. This income is perpetual. Great

NOTE 70.—A recapitulation of the sale of school lands is given in the appendix of this paper, table "B."

NOTE 71.—The land department in Iowa is supported at an annual expense of \$7000, while Kansas has paid as high as \$15,000 under the present system.

care should be taken to preserve the principal entire, that future generations may enjoy its benefit.

No subject more imperatively demands legislation than the school-land law. The present procedure by which the sale of school land is effected is very unsatisfactory. Resulting, as it has, from the tinkering and patchwork of forty years of disjointed legislation, it is cumbersome, impractical and expensive. The methods are unwieldy and complex, and there are instances where the entire proceeds of the sale have been consumed in appraisers', officers', printers' and witnesses' fees—all provided for and warranted by law. There is still a considerable amount of land unsold, which with proper precautions and management could be disposed of at a price that would increase the principal of the permanent school fund to a total of \$10,000,000. However, the practice has grown up by which all school lands are invariably appraised and generally sold for the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre, as established by the law of 1901, although adjacent lands of private owners, no more valuable, readily command their \$3, \$5, \$10, and in some instances even \$20 an acre. There is no doubt that the best interests of the school fund would be conserved by committing the matters of fixing prices to a school-land commissioner, with power to visit all lands, and, on actual view and comparison with adjacent lands, to set a price at which each tract shall be offered, and with authority, subject to proper regulations, to make sales and terms. That such a plan will ever be adopted is very improbable, but at least an attempt should be made to secure better protection for the school fund and more businesslike methods in its management.

TABLE A.

Amount received from the five-per-cent fund on sale of lands.

<i>Year ending</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
Jun. 30, 1867-'77.....	\$190,268 27
1878.....	2,443 52
1879.....	
1880.....	3,082 96
1881.....	4,155 80
1882.....	73,122 72
1883.....	201,074 36
1884.....	43,137 49
1885.....	26,636 22
1886.....	35,226 97
1887.....	
1888.....	
1889.....	159,749 92
1890.....	253,550 17
1891.....	181,991 23
1892.....	
1893.....	
1894.....	6,545 81
1895.....	1,194 94
1896.....	500 48
1897.....	123 96
1898.....	
1899.....	105 72
1900.....	76 96
1901.....	135 09
1902.....	231 74
1903.....	520 47
Total.....	\$1,182,874 80

TABLE B.

Recapitulation of school lands patented.

<i>Year ending</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Amount of sale.</i>
Jan. 1, 1865.....	523	\$1,855 00
1866.....	2,499	13,809 70
1867.....	4,234	21,624 55
1868.....	6,624	30,817 60
1869.....	10,183	46,996 71
1870.....	9,680	49,276 84
1871.....	15,037	57,824 87
1872.....	21,816	92,941 20
1873.....	19,911	86,945 47
1874.....	22,044	85,501 75
1875.....	21,119	89,251 15
1876.....	24,787	108,301 49
1877-'78.....	56,756	226,309 00
1879-'80.....	117,557	448,010 12
1881-'82.....	117,989.88.....	445,852 90
1883-'84.....	103,017.09.....	381,302 46
1885-'86.....	177,569	613,940 91
1887-'88.....	286,034.44.....	969,643 57
Jun. 30, 1888-'89.....	72,701.27.....	249,435 49
1889-'90.....	44,166.71.....	155,189 61
1890-'91.....	26,305.50.....	98,457 52
1891-'92.....	27,476.64.....	95,146 12
1892-'93.....	38,822.09.....	130,766 83
1893-'94.....	17,686	60,801 85
1894-'95.....	13,980.75.....	50,148 86
1895-'96.....	17,717.69.....	56,159 54
1897-'98.....	46,401.21.....	167,344 14
1899-1900.....	80,747.33.....	292,051 80
1901-'02.....	120,562.40.....	408,925 22
1903-'04.....	143,882.82.....	422,115 44
Totals.....	1,666,202.82.....	\$5,956,758 41

VI.

PREHISTORIC KANSAS.

A STUDY OF THE ROUTE OF CORONADO BETWEEN THE RIO GRANDE AND MISSOURI RIVERS.

By JAMES NEWTON BASKETT,¹ of Mexico, Mo.

INTRODUCTORY.

IT IS well known that in the year 1540 Coronado led an army from Mexico to the Santa Fe region of the valley of the Rio Grande. He had gone in search of wealthy villages of which Cabeza de Vaca had heard in his wanderings and concerning which he had many mysterious things to say after he arrived in New Spain. These villages had later been investigated by Marcos de Niza, and he made such a glorious report that the viceroy, Mendoza, determined to send an army to conquer the rich realm, which was called "The Seven Cities of Cibola."

It has been established that this army encountered the first pueblo at what is now the site of Old Zuni, passed on by "the rock of Acoma," and wintered on the Rio Grande at a pueblo which the chroniclers of the expedition called Tiguex—with variations of spelling. By its location with reference to the mesa, Acoma, the Sandia range of mountains and to certain villages in these hills, and from many later historical statements, the site of this village has been convincingly located by Bandelier, Hodge and others at the ruins of an old pueblo near the modern town of Bernalillo.

NOTE 1.—Though a Missourian, Mr. Baskett was born a Kentuckian, in Nicholas county, November 1, 1849, and came to Audrain county, Missouri, when he was eight years old. Here, at Mexico, he has lived most of his life. He was graduated Ph.B. from the Missouri University in 1872, and subsequently, in acknowledgment of his work, was given the degree of A. M. by his Alma Mater. He began life as a surveyor and engineer, but, incurring pulmonary trouble through field exposure, he went to Colorado in 1879, where, after three years spent in the open in the midst of nature, he recovered.

Having been aroused by the many new forms of plant and animal life found west of the plains, he began certain studies, which resulted in his becoming a contributor to various journals in attempts to popularize natural history, and, returning to Missouri in 1881, he drifted into a literary career. In 1896 Dr. William T. Harris, then United States commissioner of education, undertook to edit for the Appletons a home-reading series of books, and asked Mr. Baskett to write the initial volume. The result was "The Story of the Birds." Subsequently "The Story of the Fishes" and the "Story of the Amphibians and Reptiles" followed in the same series, the latter in collaboration with Dr. R. L. Ditmars, then the curator of reptiles in the Bronx Zoological Gardens at New York.

Previously, 1893, Mr. Baskett was solicited to read a paper before the World's Congress of Ornithologists, at the Columbian Exposition of Chicago, on "Some Hints of the Kinship of Birds as Shown by Their Eggs." This was then, perhaps, the most extensive review of the topic in America, and attracted the attention of Dr. Elliott Coues, forming the basis of a lasting friendship with that great ornithologist and historian. On his commendation, the Macmillan Company, of New York and London, asked Mr. Baskett to write a nature book, and to thread a light story through it which would hold the reader's interest; but when it was submitted the house informed the author that he had written a novel, and, as such, they would publish it. So Mr. Baskett found himself suddenly in a new realm, as the author of a piece of romance, which he scarcely designed as such. The result was "At You-All's House: A Missouri Nature Story"—a compound of didacticism and sentiment which had the virtues and frailties of its peculiar origin. Its literary success, however, both in America and England, was marked, giving a new name and habitation to the "Show-me" state, and was one of the pioneer books to call attention to the wealth of local interest which may cling about the rural life of the Middle West generally. Subsequently "As the Light Led" came from the same house, the theme

Coronado found the villages disappointing—not by any means another Mexico—and he was concerned about anything beyond them which promised greater wealth. While he was yet at the first village of Cibola, the Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh, there came to meet him, from a town twenty-five leagues beyond the Rio Grande, a deputation of Indians that had with it a hide of the bison and a man with a picture of the animal tattooed upon his skin. The Spaniards wondered at the queer sort of cow,² and began to desire to see not only these animals, but also the great plains beyond the Rio Grande, on which these Indians said that the herds ranged. Thus the snarly, woolly cow became one of the factors in bringing Coronado to Texas and to the valley of the Missouri; and it was solely by subsisting on the flesh of this animal that he was able to go to these regions and return. To be certain,

based on the denominational debates which were so frequent and acrimonious a fourth of a century or more ago. Later still the W. A. Wilde Company, of Boston, asked for a story similar to "At You-All's House," and Mr. Baskett wrote for them "Sweetbrier and Thistledown," which is in a certain sense a sequel to the former story, but of independent plot. It is a study of the uplifting influences which nature and rural life may have upon the character of a city-reared girl, and has, designedly, at the request of the publishers, much nature study in a popular form woven in with the story.

Some years later Mr. Baskett, noting what he thought to be many inconsistencies and errors in the tracing of the routes of the old Spanish explorers of the Southwest, began a detailed and systematic study of these from every point of view which he could obtain, but especially from that of topography. To this end he went over the originals of the narratives, and found that the usual renderings did not always conform to the situations, and were sometimes set forth in the light of prejudged conceptions. What is so far the most elaborate and detailed study of the route of Cabeza de Vaca from the eastern Texas Gulf coast to Sonora was published by him in the *Historical Quarterly* of that state, in the issues of January and April, 1907, with the help and commendation of the then editor, Dr. George F. Garrison, and of the scientific staff of the faculty of the State University. The germ of the article was first presented in an address to the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, of which Mr. Baskett is an honorary member.

Previous to this he had written a manuscript book on the entire route and various features of the Coronado expedition, from Mexico to Quivira; but failing to interest any publisher in the same, he had thrown it aside. Later, however, he was invited to read a historical paper on a topic of his own choosing before the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, when it met in St. Louis, and he made an address on the theme, "Did Coronado Reach the Missouri?"—claiming that he did not. Subsequent study of this matter convinced him that, with the exception of Hodge and Richey and a few Kansas students, a proper conception of the route from the Rio Grande to Quivira had not even been formed, many historians placing the latter place either north of the Platte or east of the Missouri river. Hence arose the study of the route of Coronado across the plains, to "the end" of which, the explorer says, he never came; and its presentation occurs in the accompanying paper, in which the author has gone into every detail from every point of view which he has been able to command, giving the results of many years of investigation.

Mr. Baskett has been connected with various scientific, historical and literary societies of the country, such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Ornithologist's Union, Washington Biological Society, National Geographic Society, and many state historical societies. He is a frequent lecturer on the topics of his studies, especially those connected with birds, and he also is a regular contributor to sundry periodicals on various nature topics. His permanent address is Mexico, Mo., though he is now resident in St. Louis.—SECRETARY.

NOTE 2.—The "cows" were naturally a source of curiosity to the Spaniards, and this feeling was whetted by the crude pictures and descriptions of the animals made by the Indians. When Alarcon gained an entrance into the Gulf of California, in 1540, and thence into the Colorado river, the Indians whom he met described the "cows" as follows:

"The Indian was asked about the leather shields, and in reply described a very great beast like an ox, but more than a hand longer, with broad feet, legs as big as a man's thigh, a head seven hands long, and the forehead three spans across. The eyes of the beast were larger than one's fist, and the horns as long as a man's leg, 'out of which grew sharp points an handful long, and the fore feet and hind feet about seven handfuls big.' The tail was large and bushy. To show how tall the animal was, the Indian stretched his arms above his head."—Bureau of Ethnology, Fourteenth Annual Report, Winship's Coronado, p. 405.

To Coronado and his men the vast herds of buffalo were a cause of constant comment, as all the narratives of the expedition show. This marveling at numbers was true of a later day than Coronado's, and the following accounts will be of interest here:

"Between the Rocky Mountains and the states lying along the Mississippi river on the west, from Minnesota to Louisiana, the whole country was one vast buffalo range, inhabited by millions of buffaloes. One could fill a volume with the records of plainsmen and pioneers who penetrated or crossed that vast region between 1800 and 1870, and were in turn surprised, astounded, and frequently dismayed, by the tens of thousands of buffaloes they observed, avoided or escaped from. They lived and moved, as no other quadrupeds ever have, in great multitudes, like grand armies in review, covering scores

the general sent forward Captain Alvarado, with a picked squad, to the plains past the homes of these visiting Indians, to investigate the wonderful beast and its equally wonderful habitat.

On his way Alvarado passed the village of Tiguex, crossed the Rio Grande, wound through the breaks and foothills of the Sandia mountains, and after four or five days from the river came to Cicuye,³ the village of the visitors. From here Alvarado started to the plains where the cows were, and for a guide the Cicuyens gave to him an Indian prisoner, whom they had taken from some of the far southern or eastern tribes and were holding as a slave. Before they started from Cicuye this fellow—whom the Spaniards called "the Turk," because he was brown and "looked like one"—had told Alvarado that there were "large settlements" in his country and beyond; and after he had led the captain to the cows, he spoke of vast countries and rich cities further on. After going one hundred leagues down the first river which they encountered on their way to the plains, and meet-

of square miles at once. They were so numerous they frequently stopped boats in the rivers, threatened to overwhelm travelers on the plains, and in later years derailed locomotives and cars, until railway engineers learned by experience the wisdom of stopping their trains whenever there were buffaloes crossing the track. On this feature of the buffalo's life history a few detailed observations may be of value.

"At my request Colonel Dodge has kindly furnished me a careful estimate upon which to base a calculation of the number of buffaloes in that great herd (a herd seen by Colonel Dodge in May, 1871), and the result is very interesting. In a private letter dated September 21, 1887, he writes as follows:

"The great herd on the Arkansas through which I passed could not have averaged, at rest, over fifteen or twenty individuals to the acre, but was, from my own observation, not less than twenty-five miles wide, and, from reports of hunters and others, it was about five days in passing a given point, or not less than fifty miles deep. From the top of Pawnee Rock I could see from six to ten miles in every direction. This whole vast space was covered with buffalo, looking at a distance like one compact mass, the visual angle not permitting the ground to be seen. I have seen such a sight a great number of times, but never on so large a scale. This was the last of the great herds."

"With these figures before us it is not difficult to make a calculation that will be somewhere near the truth of the number of buffaloes actually seen in one day by Colonel Dodge on the Arkansas river during that memorable drive, and also of the number of head in the entire herd.

"According to his recorded observation, the herd extended along the river for a distance of twenty-five miles, which was in reality the width of the vast procession that was moving north, and back from the road as far as the eye could reach, on both sides. It is making a low estimate to consider the extent of the visible ground at one mile on either side. This gives a strip of country two miles wide by twenty-five long, or a total of fifty square miles, covered with buffalo, averaging from fifteen to twenty-five an acre. Taking the lesser number, in order to be below the truth rather than above it, we find that the number actually seen on that day by Colonel Dodge was in the neighborhood of 480,000, not counting the additional number taken in at that view from the top of Pawnee Rock, which, if added, would easily bring the total up to a round half million.

"If the advancing multitudes had been at all points fifty miles in length (as it was known to have been in some places, at least) by twenty-five miles in width, and still averaged fifteen head to the acre of ground, it would have contained the enormous number of 12,000,000 head. But, judging from the general principles governing such migrations, it is almost certain that the moving mass advanced in the shape of a wedge, which would make it necessary to deduct about two-thirds from the grand total, which would leave 4,000,000 as our estimate of the actual number of buffaloes in this great herd, which I believe is more likely to be below the truth than above it.

"No wonder that the men of the West of those days, both white and red, thought it would be impossible to exterminate such a mighty multitude. The Indians of some tribes believed that the buffaloes issued from the ground continually, and that the supply was necessarily inexhaustible. And yet in four short years the southern herd was almost totally annihilated."—*Extirpation of the American Bison*, pp. 388, 390-391.

"Gen. P. H. Sheridan and Maj. Henry Inman were occupying my office at Fort Dodge one night, having just made the trip from Fort Supply, and called me in to consult as to how many buffaloes there were between Dodge and Supply. Taking a strip fifty miles east and fifty miles west, they had first made it 10,000,000,000. General Sheridan said, 'That won't do.' They figured it again, and made it 1,000,000,000. Finally they reached the conclusion that there must be 100,000,000, but said they were afraid to give out these figures; nevertheless they believed them. This vast herd moved slowly toward the north when spring opened, and moved steadily back from the far north when the days began to grow short and winter was setting in.

"Charles Rath and I shipped over 200,000 buffalo hides the first winter the Atchison,

NOTE 3.—Bandelier has shown that Cicuye was near the modern village of Pecos, N. M.; in fact, identifies it with Pecos.

ing great bison herds every day, Alvarado became so exercised about the new and wealthy region that he thought no more of "cows," but rushed back to tell Coronado of his good news. He found the army at Tiguex, where it had come and settled into winter quarters. He had brought the Turk back with him, and the Indian continued to tell wonderful things of the regions far beyond, often varying his story, and hinting at locations which ranged from the mouth of the Red river to that of the Platte. He so confused his hearers that his native country may be deduced from their varying statements as existing anywhere within these limits; but he especially stressed a province, which he called "Quivira," as being rich in gold, and mentioned "Arche and Guaes" as being still richer. The story of the Turk, therefore, was the chief cause of the journey of Coronado to Texas and to the watershed of the Missouri.

The Turk was too precious an asset to be allowed to escape; so the Spaniards determined to imprison him at Tiguex till spring, when they would start for Quivira. They did not treat him kindly, and provoked his animosity. Neither did they behave decently toward his old masters, the Cicuyens. In the hatred thus aroused in the Turk and the Cicuyens lay determining factors of the route which the army took later in the spring. As the Spaniards went by Cicuye they allowed the Turk to converse with his masters. He said later that the latter had promised him that if he would take this horde out on the desert plains and starve it, or confuse it so that it would be weakened, and therefore easily beaten and destroyed as it returned, he might have his liberty, so far as they were concerned. At least this was his confession when, a few months after, he felt the throttle tighten on the plains of Kansas. And it is in keeping with this story that the Cicuyens did make an attack on the army as it passed back by their village. That he so nearly succeeded, with well chosen means and skillful strategy, is another ground for trusting his statement. He had led them in a great detour "toward Florida, to the south," where one writer says he lived; and his last word was that one reason for leading them that way was that he wished to destroy them and because his country was in that direction. The homesickness of the poor, brown captive, then, was another factor in the march of the army of Coronado into Texas.

Beyond Cicuye four days, was a river. At about two days, going almost directly away from the river, Coronado's men came to the plains; at four or five days they saw bison bulls;⁴ and at two or three more

Topeka & Santa Fe railroad reached Dodge City, and I think there were at least as many more shipped from there, besides 200 cars of hind quarters and two cars of buffalo tongues. Often have I shot them from the walls of my corral for my hogs to feed upon. Several times have I seen wagon trains stop to let the immense herds pass; and time and time again, along in August or September, when putting up hay in the Arkansas bottom, would we have to put men out both night and day to keep them out of our herd of work cattle. We usually hunted them on horseback; that is, we would single out one animal in a herd and ride along by the side of it and shoot it with a six-shooter. Sometimes we would kill several buffalo on a single run, but very few white men killed them wantonly."—*Frontier Life in Southwest Kansas*, by R. M. Wright, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 7, p. 78.

"When in the West in 1872 I satisfied myself by personal inquiries that the number of buffalo then being slaughtered for their hides was at least 1,000,000 per annum. In the autumn of 1868, while crossing the plains on the Kansas Pacific railroad, for a distance of upwards of 120 miles, between Ellsworth and Sheridan, we passed through an almost unbroken herd of buffalo. The plains were black with them, and more than once the train had to stop to allow unusually large herds to pass."—*Plains of the Great West*, by Richard I. Dodge, p. xiv.

NOTE 4.—The Turk had led Alvarado to "a river on the edge of the plains," which was plainly the one that passed near Cicuye. Then he came, in four days, to the cows.

days found bulls, cows and yearlings mixed. Among this latter they encountered the first tribe of nomad Indians seen on the journey, which the chronicles call Querechos. These confirmed the Turk in mentioning great settlements toward sunrise, because he had so instructed them. Two days further he made a more direct turn eastward, or to the right; and here the Spaniards became skeptical and sent an exploring party east, because a free Quivira Indian, called Isopete or Ysopete, kept saying that they were leaving the way to the left. Here a soldier was lost on the very level plains, Cardenas fell from his horse, and the general rested a day, and on the next followed after the captain, Lopez, whom he had sent toward the rising sun the morning before. After reaching what Castaneda calls a "little river," he waited the return of Lopez, who met him and said that in twenty leagues he had seen nothing but cows and sky.

From this point a certain Maldonado went "forward," and at the end of four days found another tribe of nomads, called Teyas, in a ravine, which was the first crack in the earth which they had seen in their travels; and here the army rested and explored the country. These Teyas did not confirm the Turk about Quivira being east, but said it was forty days north on "no good road"—an Indian's good road meaning plenty of water, meat and wood on the way.

When Coronado became sure that the Turk was treacherous, he determined here that he would take thirty picked men and go north, and that the main army should go back to Tiguex. Then they all went "forward" one day to another ravine, where the army camped and rested for a fortnight, and which had "good meadows" and "a little bit of a river" in it, and some trees.

Taking guides from the Teyas—since Isopete, the Quivira, was so far out of the way that he did not know his way home—the general went north for about thirty days, when he came to a river with a great trend in it running northeast. Because they first saw it on St. Peter and St. Paul's day, they gave it that name, but one called it the River of Quivira. Here Isopete first knew where he was by recognizing it. After crossing and going about three days down this northeast trend, three days more to the valley of another river, and five or six days more across six or seven tributaries of this second stream, passing as many settlements, they came to the end of Quivira, on a third yet greater river, and stood on the border of the other adjacent provinces first mentioned by the Turk. After spending twenty-five days here in a vain search for wealth, Coronado started back to Tiguex by a more direct way, merely passing the edge of and recognizing the peculiar plains where he had nearly famished as he came out. He had strangled the Turk and left Isopete free in Quivira. As he had been guided to the river at the north by the Teyas, so now he was led homeward by Quiviras.

In like manner the Teyas had led the army home from the desert ravine by a shorter way, going much of the distance up the same river which they had bridged and down which Alvarado had gone. The army reached Tiguex in July, and the general arrived sometime before the 20th of October. He wintered again at Tiguex, on the Rio Grande, and in the following spring

on the plains. It seems quite probable that this was the extent of this journey away from this stream, since Alvarado went 400 leagues down it. But the Turk at once led Coronado away from this river, and though he bore back southward toward the last, he left the army at a place from which it took it many days to reach this river again as it went home, though it went the most direct route to it.

went home to Mexico—his whole expedition being a failure, from his view point.

THE CHRONICLERS OF THE JOURNEY.

The chronicles of this journey of Coronado from the Rio Grande to Quivira are mostly to be found in part 1 of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The text and notes of Mr. George Parker Winship's excellent paper, published in that volume, present all the main facts connected with the entire expedition. Therefore, for convenience in the present discussion, reference to his paper is made solely by means of the page figures of the volume. Other sources will be mentioned distinctly.

1. The chief chronicler was an old soldier known as Castañeda,⁵ who, though he says he wrote twenty years after, goes into much detail. He has made errors of statement, but they are such as are easily recognized. He went on the journey toward Quivira only as far as the Ravine where Coronado left the army, and he returned with it up the valley of the bridged river. In detail he is almost exclusively the narrator of this return journey by the shorter route.

2. The next in giving details of the trip was a Captain Jaramillo,⁶ who also wrote his narrative twenty years after the events. He admits that his memory is not always clear, but his narrative bears evidence of sincerity and observation. He was inclined specially to note the location of rivers and to indicate directions between points. In these latter he was often confused, as may be readily seen, but, on the whole, he was quite trustworthy. He was a man of position and wide travel in the Old World. He went with the general to Quivira and return.

3. The third chronicle in importance is called the *Relation del Suceso*,⁷ and the name of the author is unknown. He appears to have been one of the most scientific men of the army. He notes the latitude of various places, and was given to brief general statements of apparent sincerity. He, so far as we know, was the only chronicler who went with Alvarado on his journey of one hundred leagues down the Cicuye river in search of "the cows." He, too, was with Coronado on the journey "to the end of Quivira," and is the only narrator who gives the distance which the western edge of that province was from the crossing of the St. Peter's and St. Paul's river, and how far the squad traveled through it till it came to another river at its eastern edge. In this discussion this account is referred to as "the Suceso."

4. The narrative known as "The Relation Postrera de Sivola"⁸ is likewise by an unknown hand, and has little reference to this expedition. It contains the best brief description found in literature of the intimate relations between the Indian and the bison, and it describes briefly the plains on which they are found. The author did not go on to Quivira, and a statement in his relation implies that he wrote it in the interval between the

NOTE 5.—*Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola compuesta por Pedro de Castaneda.*

NOTE 6.—*Relacion hecha por el capitan Juan Jaramillo, de la jornada que habia hecho a la tierra nueva en Nueva Espana y al descubrimiento de Cibola, yendo por general Francisco Vasquez Coronado.*

NOTE 7.—*Relacion del Suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vasquez hizo en la descubrimiento de Cibola.*

NOTE 8.—Bandelier has attributed it to Fray Tovibio de Paredes, better known as Motolina.—H.

army's return to Tiguex and Coronado's return there, since he states that it was not known at the time of writing whether the general had returned or not.

5. The freshest chronicle of the whole journey across the plains is contained in the letter of October 20, 1541, which Coronado, shortly after his return from Quivira, wrote from Tiguex to the king of Spain.⁹ While this is not so detailed as the account of Castañeda, it is graphic and fairly complete, especially with reference to the journey out; and, so far as we can see, it is often more accurate than the other narratives, from which it sometimes differs. Its only blemish is a tone of complaint running all through it, along with a tendency to stress the hard luck of the expedition, in order to atone for the failure. There are hints of slight exaggeration at certain places, and the chronicle should be read in this light.

6. Besides these more immediate chroniclers, there are at least three historians who wrote ambitiously of Mexico and of Spanish affairs generally in America, and who have related much incidentally concerning Coronado's expedition. They are Mota Padilla,¹⁰ Gomara and Herrera.¹¹ They were not with Coronado, and must have had their information at second hand, but there is in their accounts much evidence of originality and accuracy.

7. In the writings of both Benavides and Zarate-Salmeron concerning the history of New Mexico may be found many statements bearing on the location, direction and distance of Quivira from the region of Santa Fe, but some of these are so evidently preposterous that they must all be used with caution.

The collation of all these accounts, in connection with the topography, and the hopes and animus of the Turk, should enable the student to approximate the position of the final camp of the main army at "the Ravine," and to determine the region of "the end of Quivira" reached by the general—along with something of his route thereto.

STAGES OF THE JOURNEY AND INCIDENTS ON THE WAY.

Now that we know the cause, purpose and scope of the expedition to Quivira, we may note the stages and incidents of the way, as elements of our study. Briefly they are as follows:

From Tiguex to Cicuye (or Pecos); thence to a river which the Spaniards called "the Cicuye," which ran down "from toward" that village; the tarrying here four days while the stream was bridged (only Castañeda's narrative mentions this, p. 504); the edge of the plains; among the first "cows"; to the first nomads, called Querechos; the point beyond these where the route changed to the right, or toward east, and where a soldier strayed and was lost, where Cardenas fell from his horse, where Lopez was sent forward one day toward sunrise in search of Haxa, mentioned by the Turk, and where the army rested at least one day; the journey thence to a "little river," where the horsemen heaped bisons in the ravines on the way (505); the waiting here for Lopez, and his return; the sending of

NOTE 9.—Carta de Francisco Vasquez Coronado al Emperador, dandole cuenta de la expedicion a la provincia de Quivira. . . . Desta provincia de Tiguex, 20 Octubre, 1541.

NOTE 10.—Mota Padilla derived his information from papers of Tobar.

NOTE 11.—Herrera's account is so palpably derived from that of Jaramillo as to be of little additional value.

Maldonado "forward four days"; the march of the army after him; "lost in these plains" (505 and 581); the finding of the Teyas in a ravine, which was the "first crack in the earth since they had left Tiguex" (504, note 3), where Cabeza de Vaca had passed (505); the side trip to the settlement of Cona; the final Ravine, where the army camped a fortnight; the revelation of Isopete, the native of Quivira; the confirmation of his claims by the Teyas; the Turk's disgrace, and the general's departure for Quivira with a picked squad.¹²

The events on the main army's way home were: The many bisons killed; the journey back past the Teya camp; the vastness of the plains; the shorter route taken; the Teya guides holding their way by arrows shot; the many salt lakes passed; the entrance of the Cicuye valley, "more than thirty leagues" below the bridge; the statement of the Teyas that this stream ran into the Rio Grande at "more than twenty days," turning eastward below; the Teya slave woman's escape; the passing of Cicuye; the threatened attack by these villagers, and the arrival at Tiguex in the middle of July, twenty-five days from the Ravine.

Of the general's journey to Quivira and return, the following are the main incidents:

No mention of rivers on the way for thirty days; he reaches the St. Peter and St. Paul river on the day of these saints; on the way no wood except at the streams, and water scarce; good appearance of the country at the crossing; three days toward the northeast, on the north side of this stream, they meet some Quivira hunters; three days more to their village; all Quivira villages found on small streams, running to another river with more water than the first; the western edge of Quivira settlement found at thirty leagues from the first crossing of the first river; the journey of twenty-five leagues through Quivira settlement; then passage of six or seven villages in five or six days; the coming to the end of Quivira on a still greater river, with Harahey (variously spelled) beyond; the twenty-five days spent here; the return over the same route to the former crossing of first river, and then home, going a more direct way to the right; the passing sufficiently near to the country of the Querechos to recognize it; the town of Cicuye passed, and Tiguex reached at last by October 20, 1541, when the general writes the king.

THE DISTANCES, TIMES AND DIRECTION, COLLATED FROM ALL THE ACCOUNTS.

If now we present a table giving the number of days, the number of leagues, and the direction of every important stage of the journey, we shall have in hand for ready reference all the material necessary for the discussion of the probable route by which this army went from the Rio Grande to the Ravine and Coronado's squad went on to Quivira—and back.

For convenience in the use of this table, the stages of the journey have been lettered. The figures following the statements designate the pages of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-'93, part 1, whereon the data cited may be found.

NOTE 12.—In this connection it would be well to read all the descriptions of the plains. These are found in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, part 1, pp. 504 (note 3), 505, 506 (note 2), 508-510, 527, 541-543, 570, 571, 580, 581, and 589.

A.

From Tiguex to Cicuye.

Castañeda has it: Twenty-five leagues, as the army went (503, bot.); but five days as Alvarado went (490, bot.).

Jaramillo: Four days for the main army. (587, bot.).

Postrera: Perhaps four days. (570, tp.).

B.

From Cicuye to the River or Bridge.

Castañeda: Four days. (504, mid.). Four days spent at bridge.

Jaramillo: Three days.

Suceso: Notes only that the river was on edge of plains, as Alvarado went.

Postrera: Four days to plains; no river noted.

C.

From River to Plains.

Castañeda: Thirty leagues from Cicuye to where the plains begin. (526, bot.) . He makes it five plus four days from Tiguex to the River, and fifty-five leagues from Tiguex to edge of plains. See A.

Coronado: Nine days from Tiguex he came to "some plains." (580, bot.) Before starting he had heard that these plains were eight days from Tiguex. This was probably the Indian rate.

Jaramillo: "We . . . began to enter the plains, where the cows are," after crossing the river, implying a short interval between. (588, tp.)

Suceso: [Alvarado] "proceeded to these plains, at the border of which he found a little river" (flowing southwest).

Postrera: Four days from Cicuye (570, tp.) to "a country as level as the sea, [with] a multitude of cows."

D.

From the River to the Cows.

Postrera: See above.

Suceso: Cows four days from the river as Alvarado went. (576, tp.)

Jaramillo: Four or five days to bulls, and two or three days further to cows and bulls together. (588, tp.)

Castañeda: Reached the Querechos in ten days, and had seen the cows for two days (504, mid.); it was more than forty leagues from where they began to see the bulls to where they began to see the cows (543, tp.).

E.

From the River to the First Querechos.

Castañeda: Ten days. (504, mid.)

Coronado: Seventeen days from Tiguex. (580, bot.)

Jaramillo: "Among the first cows." (588, tp.) See D.

Postrera: "After many days."

Mota Padilla: Four foggy days to the tracks of these Indians, and then some more before overtaking them. (528, note 2.)

F.

From the First Querechos to Bend in Route, Eastward.

Castañeda: Two days "through other roaming Querechos." (504, bot.)

Mota Padilla: Three days northeast. (504, note 3.)

From Other Narratives: Those who mention this bend in the route speak of it as occurring at the first meeting of these Indians generally, or in the region of their camp. See Discussion.

G.

From the Querecho Bend to the Teya Ravine.

Coronado: Five days. (581, tp.)

Jaramillo: After more than twenty days (from Tiguex.) (588, bot.)
 "Eight or ten days . . . along those streams" where the cows were. (588, mid.)

Mota Padilla: Five days to first ravine seen.

Castañeda: Implies that about eight days were consumed, with about three spent in resting, leaving five for travel. See Discussion.

Suceso: Says army went one hundred leagues east [to bend?] and fifty south or southeast to final Ravine. Its only detail is that Cardenas fell two days before the halt of determination. Since Castañeda makes this happen two days after meeting the first Querechos, the final Ravine would be four days away, according to this. The Suceso is out of harmony with the others in having Cardenas fall only two days before, and is in probable error.

H.

From Teyas to Final Ravine.

Jaramillo: One day. (589, tp.)

Coronado: Does not speak of the army going beyond the Teya, or first Ravine. So, also, Mota Padilla.

Suceso: Not over the two days noted in [G].

Castañeda: Is not clear. Has four days for Maldonado. Speaks much of the final Ravine. See Discussion.

I.

The Army's Entire March from the Ravine to Tiguex.

Castañeda: Thirty-seven days coming out, and twenty-five going back by a more direct way, besides time consumed on latter route killing bisons. He gives two hundred and fifty leagues as the whole distance out, but does not say how many leagues it was by the shorter route home. (508, tp.) On return, he says the army struck the valley "more than thirty leagues below" the bridge. (509 tp.)

Suceso: Also states it was necessary to hunt much on the way home (577, mid.), implying a slow rate.

J.

From the Ravine North to River of Quivira.

Castañeda: Forty-eight days (509, tp.) to [end of] Quivira.

Jaramillo: More than thirty days on the way, and almost thirty days of travel (577, mid.). Reached St. Peter and St. Paul's river on day of these saints (which was June 29, 1541). [So. Herrera.]

Suceso: "After proceeding many days by the needle, it pleased God that

after thirty days' march we found the River of Quivira, which is thirty leagues below the settlement." (577, mid.)

Coronado: "I traveled forty-two days after I left the force. . . . Having journeyed across the deserts seventy-seven days, I arrived at the province they called Quivira." (581, 582.)

Herrera: "Marching thirty days to the north, they began to see, on St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, a river," etc.

K.

From the First River to the End of Quivira.

Jaramillo: Three days along the river to the hunters; three or four days to their camp, and four or five days past their settlements, of which there were six or seven. (589, 590.)

Herrera: He does not note the distance to the villages, but says that they went five or six days through these, and came to the end of Quivira, where they found a river of more water and more population than the others. He adds that when asked what was beyond, the natives replied, "Nothing but Harahe." (509, note.)

Suceso: Thirty leagues to the "settlements" and twenty-five through them. (577.)

Coronado: After deducting the thirty days, which the others name as the march from the Ravine to the river, from his forty-two, there would be left twelve days of travel beyond the river. (581, bot.) See Discussion.

Castañeda: His forty-eight days for the whole journey would leave eighteen traveled beyond the river. It may easily be shown that he is in error here. (509, tp.)

L.

The Whole Distance to Quivira and Return.

Castañeda: Thirty-seven days (507, bot.) to the Ravine plus forty-eight (509, tp.) equal eighty-five. It may be shown that both of these estimates are wrong. He states that Coronado was forty days returning (from Quivira) to Tiguex, "traveling lightly equipped."

Coronado: Seventy-seven days. "Nine hundred and fifty leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it it is in the fortieth degree." (582, bot.) "After nine days' march I reached some plains so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went, although I traveled over them more than three hundred leagues." (580.)

Suceso: "We went back by a more direct route, because in going by the way we went we traveled three hundred and thirty leagues, and it is not more than two hundred by that by which we returned. Quivira is in the fortieth degree, and the river (the Rio Grande at Tiguex) in the thirty-sixth. (578, tp.)

Teya Indians: Coronado says (581, bot.) that the Teya Indians "made it out more than forty days" from their country to Quivira.

Zarate-Salmeron: [*Land of Sunshine* for December, 1899, p. 45] states that in 1601 it was two hundred leagues from San Gabriel, in the same New Mexico region as Onate went from, to Quivira, at first "east northeast, [and] afterward they went up toward the northeast, . . . but not in a straight line."

Benavides: [Memorial, p. 85] has a statement that the Quiviras were,

in 1630, confederated with a tribe called the Aixaos, whose kingdom had its center thirty or forty leagues from them "in that same direction of the east" [*i. e.*, as the Quiviras were from the Rio Grande missions].

DEDUCTIONS.

The Dates.

Castañeda says that the army left Tiguex the 5th of May. We shall see that this does not comport with the dates given by the other chroniclers, and that it is not correct. Coronado, whose entire data here may be trusted, says he left Tiguex on the 23d of April, and that the extent of his journey across "these deserts" was seventy-seven days, and that forty-two of these were spent after he left "the force." It will be seen later that these seventy-seven days occupy the entire time that he was on his outgoing journey, and they take him to the end of Quivira; but that he does not mean that every day was actually traveled can be shown. His statements leave thirty-five days for the whole time consumed from Tiguex to the final camp of the army, known as the "Ravine," whence he departed north. This is more probably the number than was Castañeda's thirty-seven, as we shall see by considering another date.

While the army was at the Teya ravine, Castañeda and Mota Padilla (506, text and note 3) each mention that a great hailstorm came. The latter says that on "the day of this, which was the Day of Ascension, 1541," it was determined that the army should return. This Day of Ascension has been calculated for me by the astronomical department of the St. Louis University as having occurred on the 26th of May, which is doubtless correct. This would make thirty-four days from Tiguex; and since Jaramillo also has the determination to go north made here at the Teya ravine, we may believe him when he states that (after this) "we all went forward one day, to a stream which was down in a ravine in the midst of good meadows, to agree on who should go ahead and how the rest should return." (589.) This would make it thirty-five days to the final Ravine, agreeing with the deduction from the statement of the general.

Since these thirty-five days must lie behind his journey north, we infer that the general and squad left the camp the morning of the 28th of May; so that, according to them, there would be consumed thirty-three days from the Ravine, inclusive, when he sighted the timber on the Quivira river on St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, which was the 29th of June. Sixty-eight of his seventy seven having gone, he would have only nine days left for his journey from the crossing of the river "to the end of Quivira," where the extent of his investigations of the plains came to an end. (582, top; 580, bot.)

The harmony of these dates and days of travel preclude that of Castañeda from being correct. We shall see, however, that it was more probably thirty-one days across these plains, and that the general may have miscounted slightly.

The Days and Distances.

Let us examine Castañeda's statement that the army was thirty-seven days of actual travel in going from Tiguex to the Ravine, and, in harmony with this, that the distance was two hundred and fifty leagues, at the rate of six or seven leagues per day. This rate of the army's going, when the army did go, was doubtless correct. It was De Soto's rate, and that of

large bodies of men in that day; but his other claims can be shown to be wrong. They have been sources of much error in the study of this route, and have led some students almost into Illinois.

As we have seen, there were only thirty-five days consumed between the points, and, by the old soldier's own account, four days were lost at the bridge; at least one where Cardenas was hurt, the soldier was lost, and Lopez sent forward "toward the sunrise" two days, and where the army waited till the next [otra dia] to follow him. (505, tp.)

This point was where the bend was made in the route, beyond the meeting of the first nomads called Querechos. Although Lopez went the two days or twenty leagues out, and the necessary time back till he met the army, there is no evidence that Coronado went more than one day forward in the meantime. This would make the trip of Lopez last three days till the army met him with its one day's journey, provided it went in his direction. Hence there were at least two days lost here altogether by the army. From here Maldonado (505, bot.) was sent forward four days, till he found the ravine of the Teya Indians; and the army went on slowly after him, over plains on which no trail could be left. If the army started immediately after Maldonado, as it seems it may have, it would take it at least five days at its rate of travel to go the distance; and this length of time is given by Coronado himself (581, tp.) and by Mota Padilla (504, note 3) as the time from the bend in the route to the Teya ravine.

Coronado mentions no lost days anywhere, though his figures imply them. "After seventeen days' march" [from Tiguex] he finds the Querechos; and then he travels "five days more" to some wonderful plains, where the hunters find the Teyas. He does not mention any rest here, nor does he note Jaramillo's one-day journey farther to the final Ravine. In all, twenty-two days of actual travel to the Teya ravine, and Castañeda's six days lost, would make twenty-eight consumed since leaving Tiguex, by this calculation.

Jaramillo is very indefinite, but at his largest estimate he does not confirm Castañeda. Thus he has only seven days from Tiguex to the Cicuye river, where he notes a slight change of direction to the left at first, but later a constant, gradual bearing to the right. In four or five days further he reaches "bulls"; in two or three days more, "cows, yearlings and bulls, all in together." "Among these first cows," by which he probably means the latter herd here, he finds the Querechos, six to eight days from the bridge. Then he says, "We went on for eight or ten days in the same direction along those streams which are among the cows." At the end of fourteen or eighteen days' journey he has the protest of Isopete occur; and he elsewhere adds that it was at the end of "twenty or more days in this direction" where they found the Teyas. His "twenty or more" days from the bridge, plus his seven back to Tiguex and his one to the Ravine from the Teya camp, would much more nearly approach Coronado's twenty-eight than Castañeda's thirty-seven. It is not probable that his "twenty or more" is to be estimated from Tiguex (as the general's twenty-two certainly are), since he seems to think that their direction was always north-east. Castañeda has the protest of Isopete made at the "little river" among the last of the Querechos, twenty-one marches out, where Coronado waited for Lopez at a point five days before the Teyas were reached. This point, according to Jaramillo, could not have been more than eighteen days

from the Cicuye river, and may have been only fourteen. The average is sixteen, and in between the limits is a confirmation of Coronado's seventeen to the Querechos.

While it would seem scarcely probable that the estimate of the Suceso, one hundred leagues east and fifty south, was made on the actual itinerary, but was a statement of attainment only, yet it may be more than an accident that its one hundred and fifty leagues divided by Castañeda's average rate, six and a half, gives just twenty-three days for the whole extent actually traveled.

In this connection it may be seen that the sum of all the days which Castañeda mentions as actually traveled by the army will not make thirty-seven minus the six he has it rest. Thus, according to him, it was twenty-five leagues, or four days, to Cicuye by the army; four to the bridge; ten to the Querechos; two through them to the bend where Lopez left; one to meet him at the "little river"; and four by Maldonado to the Teya ravine—twenty-five in all—and Jaramillo's one more to the Ravine makes twenty-six. Castañeda has one or two more days in his journey from the river to the Querechos than the other narrators, and he notes two days through this tribe, which is not mentioned elsewhere at all. These taken from the twenty-five put him in approximation of the twenty-three days of the others.

Castañeda is so at variance with the rest here that his account must be wholly discredited or in some way reconciled. He is so accurate generally in detail that it is with difficulty that he can be ignored. In what is usually considered a confused passage (507, tp.), he states that while the army was at the Teya ravine and was sending out squads to explore the country, "they" found Cona four days distant; and with Teya guides "they" explored it to the limits of its settlements, which extended three days more. This squad did not retrace its route out, for he says that the Teyas gave guides to these Spaniards "to pass onward" to a ravine, to which the main army had moved in the meantime, going, as we may be sure, Jaramillo's one day to reach this place. We know that this squad returned before the general left, and hence made its reconnoiter within the thirty-five days from Tiguex.

Now if the army went Jaramillo's one day directly toward Cona, it would have taken the squad seven days out and six back to join it again; so that at least thirteen days would have been consumed in this side trip. These added to the twenty-eight which we have seen to have been consumed to the Teyas make the forty-two between the dates of leaving Tiguex and reaching the final Ravine. This is preposterous, in view of Coronado's and Mota Padilla's statements. Although Castañeda says, just after the mention of the return of the Cona squad, that the whole army found that they had been out thirty-seven days of marching from Tiguex, and that "it was two hundred and fifty leagues to the settlements" (meaning Tiguex), it is easy to see that he included the trip to Cona and back, however long, as a part of the whole journey of the army. *We may, therefore, conclude with Suceso that the whole distance marched by the main army did not exceed one hundred and fifty leagues, and with the general and Jaramillo that only twenty-three days were actually traveled by the same.*

— Castañeda (507, bot.) says that the army rested here also, and explored the country; but we may feel sure that this was after the general had gone.

Thus, if the general left behind him at the Ravine thirty-five days already consumed, he started north, as noted, on the morning of May 28; and since Mota Padilla says that it was at the Teja ravine on May 26 that the decision was made to go north, we can see that there remained only two days in which to move and start. This beautifully confirms Jaramillo when he says that the two ravines were only one day apart, and it makes Castañeda's thirty-seven days impossible. The only theory on which the Cona squad could have reached the Ravine one day before the general started would be that it had struck the Cona settlement at its eastern end and explored it backward to a point only one day from the camp on the final Ravine and two from that of the Teyas. This is very probable. At best, this would have taken eight days, four to the settlement, three through it, and one to the camp, which time added to the twenty-seven days from Tiguex to the Teyas would make thirty-five. The phrase in the original concerning the journey of this squad from Cona to the army is "to pass forward"—"para pasar adelante"—(442, mid.), and the necessity of the guides implies such a condition, and that they did not journey backward on their outgoing route. We shall see later that the topography may justify this interpretation.

The Distance Home as the Army Went.

It may be readily shown that this last Ravine, according to Castañeda, was not more than twenty days from the bridge by the shorter route, on which this chronicler claims that the army went back to Tiguex. There, he says, they were twenty-five days going back and thirty-seven coming out, besides the delay on the latter trip, while stopping to kill bisons for their sole sustenance; and that they struck the Cicuye river "more than thirty leagues . . . below the bridge." From his description of their progress, there is no reason to believe that their rate exceeded five leagues per day. His "more than thirty leagues" does not mean forty, and probably not thirty-five, as any one may know who has followed these old chroniclers and noted their fondness for figures ending in fives and round numbers. If we presume that it was the latter number, and that the rate back was the same as that out, even—six and a half leagues per day—then of this twenty-five days six were consumed going up the valley to the bridge, four from the bridge to Cicuye, and four more from Cicuye to Tiguex, leaving only eleven in which to pass from the Ravine to the Cicuye river valley. It was on these ten or eleven days that the bisons were killed, so that it is safe to presume along here a rate of six leagues per day was not exceeded. Thus the Ravine was not over sixty-six leagues from the Cicuye valley, a hundred from the bridge (along an elbow bend), one hundred and twenty-five from Cicuye (see C, or 526, bot.), and only one hundred and fifty (see A) from Tiguex; or about four hundred miles in all. Hence, we lift our hats to the author of the Suceso's estimate of one hundred and fifty leagues by the shorter route from Tiguex to the Ravine, and wonder how Judge Louis Houck, in his "History of Missouri," can get this army into southeast Missouri, or Shea carry it into Illinois. It may be shown by the topography and geography, as well as by the distances, that this route was very little shorter than the one out.

From the Ravine to Quivira.

Let us glance first at the dates. Because Coronado says (582, tp.) that "after having journeyed across these deserts seventy-seven days I arrived at the province they call Quivira," many students have supposed that this time was to be taken from the edge of the plains, over which he says (580, bot.) he traveled more than three hundred leagues without finding "their limit anywhere." But since he says that he was forty-two days going from "the force," at the Ravine, to the end of his journey north (581, bot.), we can see that the remaining thirty-five days before reaching the Ravine would push the start back to April 23 for the date of leaving Tiguex. As seen, the thirty-four days from that date to the date of the determination to go north, Ascension Day, May 26, and Jaramillo's one day to the final Ravine, where the decision was made, makes up this thirty-five. Hence the seventy-seven days must be reckoned from Tiguex.

The introduction of Mota Padilla's Ascension Day date casts some doubt upon the accuracy of Jaramillo's St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, and introduces an inharmonious element into the next stages of the journey which is difficult to adjust. As seen, in order to have thirty-five days behind him, Coronado had to leave the Ravine on the morning of May 28. Between this and the 29th of June, when he reached the Quivira river, there are thirty-three days, inclusive; parts, at least, of both of these dates May 28 and June 29, were used in travel. There is a hint in Jaramillo, in the original, that the distance south of the river consumed more than thirty days; but this is not at all consistent with his statement elsewhere, or those of others, concerning the itinerary north of that stream.¹³ While there are left, by these dates, only nine of the forty-two days to be traveled north of the river, Jaramillo distinctly implies at least ten days, with possibly the twelve which forty-two minus thirty would give. The Suceso says that north of the river it was thirty leagues from the first river to, and twenty-five through, the settlements of the Quiviras. South of the river, Jaramillo says, the days' journeys were not long ones; and Herrera says that the stages were accommodated to the supplies of water, as they could find it. They had to kill all their meat on the way, also, as the general says.

We may infer, therefore, that they scarcely made more than five leagues per day. If they went on at that rate north of the river, then to go Suceso's fifty-five leagues noted above would require eleven days. When we come to discuss the topography here we shall see that it demands a little more than nine days on the north side. But just where the error of inconsistency lies does not appear, unless Jaramillo has erred in keeping the record of the Day of the Saints, as we shall see that he probably did about the date of the departure homeward from Quivira. He is the only narrator along with Coronado who gives the Day of the Saints as the day of reaching the river. Herrera merely copies him, varying by the statement that on this day they "began to approach" this stream.

NOTE 13.—The Spanish quoted by Mr. Winship in footnote 2, page 396, Fourteenth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, has scarcely been fully interpreted. Jaramillo says, "Seguimos nuestro viaje. . . mas de treinta dias u casi treinta de camino." This may not be inconsistent. The clause "pursuing our way for more than thirty days" may refer to the time consumed, and the other, "or almost thirty of traveling (de camino)," to the days of actual going. Herrera says they "began" to approach this river on St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, after marching thirty days. The Suceso says, "After thirty days' march we found the River Quivira." Certain it is that there were thirty days of *marching*.

Coronado's Return Dates and Distances.

Coronado says that he stayed twenty-five days in Quivira, which would make him start home on August the 4th, in accordance with his seventy-seven days from April 23. Castañeda, who was not present, says the general left Quivira "early in August" (512, tp.), and he would seem, therefore, to be correct here. Jaramillo, who was at Quivira, says it was after the middle of August (590, bot.) and more, "jera media y más de Agosto" (396, note 2), when they left; but he appears to be wrong.

Castañeda says that the squad was forty days going home, "lightly equipped." He notes nothing about a shorter route. Jaramillo says they came back on the outgoing route as far as the crossing of the first river (Quivira), and then bore to the right and went home by a "good road, along by watering places and cows." The Suceso says, "We went back by a more direct route, because in going by the way we went we traveled three hundred and thirty leagues, and it is not more than two hundred by that by which we returned." This, in connection with Castañeda's forty days, would give five leagues per day for their return rate, which we may infer was not exceeded by that out, since on the return they had some prepared food and did not have to zigzag for meat and water. This forty days, according to his dates and time, would put the general at home on September 13, twenty-seven days before he wrote his letter to the king.

The Date of the Army's Return.

Castañeda says the army reached Tiguex "about the middle of July." In this he seems fairly correct. Thus, if Coronado left "the force" on May 23, and it remained fourteen days more in the Ravine, it would have started home on June 12, and twenty-five days more consumed on the way would have brought July 8 for the arrival at Tiguex.

The Directions.

Because of blind reliance in the directions given by most of the chroniclers, without comparison with the topography, distances, time of return, etc., many students, especially the early ones, were wont to run this expedition anywhere from Nebraska to Arkansas. Shea thought Quivira might be in Illinois, and a recent writer in the daily press had Coronado floundering in three colors among the mountains of Colorado. It can be readily shown, as Hodge has claimed, that these chroniclers knew little about directions when the sun was above the horizon, and there is no reliability to be placed in the statements concerning these in most of the narrators.

Coronado in his account gives no directions. He merely went "as the guides wished to take" him, and implies confusion all the time, having such phrases as "where they (the guides) strayed about," "while we were lost on these plains," "fell in with some Indians who were hunting," etc.

Castañeda mentions no directions from Tiguex to Cicuye, nor any from the latter to the bridge. When he is speaking of passing through the roaming Querechos for two days, he says the direction was the same as that which the army had come "from the settlements," meaning plainly Tiguex. (504, bot.) This direction he gives as being here "between north and east, but more toward the north." He fails to note the necessary change of direction which was made at Cicuye in order to pass down any river near it. Mota Padilla (504, note 3) has the Spaniards going for three days "to the

east with much inclination toward the north," along the same place on the plains, and then they go two days directly east to the first ravine.

Jaramillo had a great propensity for giving directions, as his notes of the route from Mexico to the Rio Grande show, but he was wrongly oriented, even at Tiguex, because he says (587, bot.) that the Rio Grande flows "about southeast" there, whereas it flows considerably west of south. He is correct in saying that Cicuye was "toward the northeast" from Tiguex, but he never seems to have realized that any bend was made there in the route, nor later, except a gradual turning to the right after crossing the river below it, till they came to the Teyas. He appears to have thought that they went northeast to reach the river (Pecos) from Cicuye, and after crossing "turned more to the left hand (at first), which would be more to the northeast, and began to enter the plains." Doubtless the Turk did swerve to the left after passing the river (Pecos) to get away from its valley, but he could not go northeast from any possible crossing below the Cañon of the Pecos or Cicuye and reach such plains as are described. Jaramillo's turning "more to the northeast" after crossing implies that even he thought they were going more east than north at first. "After going on in the same direction," he comes to bisons and Querechos; but later he adds, "From the time when, as I said, we entered the plains, and from this settlement of Querechos, he (the Turk) led us off more to the east," and after "twenty days or more" in this direction (bearing to the right all the time) they found the Teyas. In the meantime he notes that after they had reached the Querechos they "went for eight or ten days in the same direction, along those streams which were among the cows." As Hodge has noted, this is a very significant statement, as we shall see later. There could be really no northeast direction in all this, as the topography of the region will show, and as the distance which the final Ravine camp was from the Cicuye, or Pecos, valley will confirm.

Mota Padilla (528, note 2) says that after crossing the river, "having gone four days through those plains, with great mists" or fogs (*con grandes nebilinas*), the soldiers found the tracks of the poles (*travois*) on which the Querechos dragged their property from place to place with dogs, and that the army later overtook the Indians. These fogs would readily enable the Turk to mislead the Spaniards and get them so confused that they might never recover their ability to know directions, just as one, on being wrongly oriented when first entering a city, rarely recovers a proper perception of direction. There is ample evidence that such was the case with these Spaniards. Castañeda says that at midday even, with the sun shining, the hunters were often lost, like crazy men, and wandered for days and could not find their way back to camp, the country was so level and unmarked, unless they struck the Ravine, which, he says, extended in both directions from the camp; and otherwise "the only thing to do is to stay near the game quietly until sunset, so as to see where it goes down, and even then they have to be men who are practiced to do it." (509, tp.) He says the Teyas, even, when they went to guide the army home, had to shoot arrow after arrow in order to hold the direction determined at sunrise. (509, bot.)

We have seen that the Suceso is very accurate on the general distances traveled, as a whole, and, from the foregoing conclusions, we may trust this narrative (when it says that Coronado went one hundred leagues east and fifty leagues south or southeast) in its accuracy concerning the direc-

tions also. Of course the statement is very general and has no reference to the meanderings, but everything conspires to show that it was mainly correct, though it was thought for a long while by students to be so preposterous as to be unworthy of grave consideration. When we recall that according to the statement of Castañeda—who speaks of “the great detour which they made toward Florida,” understood to be south of east of them—concerning the number of days home, and the drop into the valley of the Cicuye, so far below the bridge that there remained only ten to twelve days, or between sixty and seventy leagues, from the final camp to the river, we can not fail to see that the final Ravine would have to be well down into the southeast part of the Llano Estacado to be only that distance from the valley. This fact alone—the form and dimensions of this triangle—bars any possibility of this camp being northeast or even directly east of any crossing of the Cicuye or Pecos river that was only four days below the town of that name. Castañeda was deceived when he thought that the route home was so much shorter than that outward as is the difference between thirty-seven and twenty-five days. They were very much of the same length—and there is no evidence that either would extend beyond the Staked Plains—from the bridge in the valley of the Pecos. We will next examine the topography, and note how it confirms this conclusion.

The Topography and Geography of the Routes.

It was by the topography that F. W. Hodge was able to prove that this Coronado expedition went down toward and out upon the Llano Estacado from Cicuye, and not north or northeast from that village to a river “which ran down toward Cicuye,” as Mr. Winship’s translation then had it. In rendering the original, Mr. Winship inadvertently omitted a “de” in the phrase concerning the course of the Cicuye river—“de hacia Cicuye”—and, when courteously acknowledging the correction to the writer of this paper, added that Ternaux-Compans, in his rendering of the Spanish into French, had not given the direction of flow, but merely had said that the stream passed Cicuye. Owing to this omission of the “de” in the paper of Mr. Winship,¹⁴ many students were more firmly convinced than ever that the army went directly northeast from the village; but since the crossing of the river is shown by the revised translation to be below Cicuye, we know that Jaramillo is wrong in stating that they went northeast to reach the river from Cicuye, and we see that if this direction was traveled at all it was from the bridge. We have already seen how this also could not have been true, as we may further note by comparing the other statements of these narrators with the topography.

The crossing must have been at least as low as Anton Chico, for the river is canyoned down to this point. That the crossing was much lower is shown by the distance to it being seven or eight days’ travel from Tiguex, or twenty-five leagues—sixty-five miles—from Cicuye. This would take them to a point between Santa Rosa and Puerto de Luna, where, at Agua Negra, Whipple, in his search for a passage for the Pacific railroad, mentions a good crossing. Here the Rock Island railroad crosses now. It is just a little below the thirty-fifth parallel. When we recall that Mota Padilla says that they encountered no ravine, or “crack in the earth,” of any importance till they reached the Teyas, we can see that the Pecos was not crossed

NOTE 14.—See line 14, p. 504, and line 20, p. 440, Fourteenth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, part 1.

in its canyon. Castañeda (527, tp.) says that in going two hundred and fifty leagues (his estimate of the distance from Tiguex to the Ravine "the other mountain range was not seen, nor a hill nor a hillock which was three times as high as a man." Now, any one who may have read what Abert says concerning the region northeast of a crossing anywhere along here will be convinced that this expedition could not have gone out on the expanse (between the Canadian river and the Llano Estacado) known as the "Plaza Larga" without violating the truth of the above statements. The "great Tucumcari mountains" would have been in plain sight, and the Canadian was fearfully canyoned in any northeast direction from the bridge here.¹⁵

As this army mentions no river along here but the one which it crossed (the Pecos), and since it certainly did not go down either that or the Canadian, but went eastward, it follows that it went directly out onto the Llano Estacado, where may be found all the conditions described in the narratives. It seems quite probable that at first it went near the northern border of this great plain, and was deflected well into its center by the Turk continually bearing to the right. Along here would be found the small ditches into which Castañeda has the bisons heaped after Lopez left the army (505, mid.). Along here, down the tributaries of the Brazos (that is, the forks of the Catfish creek, which push their tips to within a few miles of the western borders of the Llano and traverse it eastward), Jaramillo could go "along those streams which are among the cows," as he went to the Querechos; and, turning southeastward more yet from this point, they could finally find in the various branches of the Brazos, as it gathers for its escape from this riven plain, at least two broad, ravine-like, depressed meadows only one day apart. Such condition may be easily found about Dickens, Kent or Garza counties, Texas, from which region ten or twelve days of travel, or one hundred and fifty miles, as required by Castañeda's home-going conditions, would have easily put the army back into the Pecos valley, past the many salt lakes on the way.

What these men say of this plain can apply to no other than that of the Llano. Coronado calls them "some plains with no more landmarks than as if we had been swallowed up in the sea, . . . because there is not a stone, nor a bit of rising ground, nor a tree nor a shrub, nor anything to go by"—just grass.

The Postrera says that "four days from this village (Cicuye) they came to a country as level as the sea." (570, mid.) Where for days from Cicuye could there be found such plains elsewhere? Castañeda's expressions concerning the levelness and expanse of these plains seemed so extravagant to

NOTE 15.—When Colonel Abert was well out on the high plateau north of the Canadian, at a point which he gives as slightly east of latitude 35° 50' and longitude 104° 10', at a place on his eastward journey twenty-two miles west of Utah creek (itself canyoned along here), he looked out over the broad bottom on the south side of the Canadian, and describes it thus: "The eye plunged into an ocean of mist over a prairie of indefinite extent far below, now and then pierced by the tops of seeming islands, whose summits, on a level with our feet, had once formed an integral part of this plain. Here the river escapes from the jaws of the canyon, where the rocks are piled to the height of 600 feet.

The valley of the Canadian, four or five hundred feet below, lay spread out to the breadth of twelve or fifteen miles, roughened by isolated ledges of rock and curiously shaped buttes, being bounded on the other side by cliffs scarcely discernible." [Quoted by Whipple, *Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys*, volume III, p. 18, of "Description of the Country."] It is almost needless to say that these cliffs were the northern edge of the Llano Estacado; and it may be easily seen that the expedition did not pass through this bottom, which it would have done had it gone at all north of east from the river, as asserted by the chroniclers.

the French translator of his narrative, says Mr. Winship, that he would not render them, omitting them altogether, yet every one of them may be correct, if applied to the Llano. Besides his assertions concerning its levelness and lack of landmarks, he has statements, too numerous to quote, which show that the army did not get off of the Llano.¹⁶ To this old soldier the horizon came down in a "crossbow shot"; there was nothing but "cows and sky" seen by Lopez; the sky could be seen under the legs of the bison; there were numerous salt lakes on these plains, with rock salt under the water (as may be seen there yet); away from these lakes the grass was only a span high, and nothing but grass;¹⁷ and this grass was so resilient that no trail could be made upon it by the army's march;¹⁸ Castañeda's description of the rivers on the Llano can scarcely fit any other region. When Mr. Winship was rendering this, he believed, with other students, that the army had camped north of the Canadian, and he was likely influenced by this impression. In his later studies he changed his views, but left the passage unchanged in his little book of the Trailmakers Series, as did Mr. Hodge in his "Spanish Explorers." As translated, the passage scarcely does the old soldiers involved and archaic Spanish justice, and is not so favorable to the Llano being the field of the expedition as it might be.¹⁹

In this connection a few quotations from the early American explorers when they first encountered this wonderful plain may not be out of place, since they are so strikingly similar to the description of the Spaniards made three hundred years earlier. Lieutenant Whipple describes his trip up the valley of the Canadian, after mounting to the Llano at Amarillo arroyo, near the 102d meridian, as follows:

"Ascending about two hundred and fifty feet, in about a mile from camp we reached the top of the Llano. Here . . . we saw what one might call an ocean prairie (he had seen the ordinary plains), so smooth, level, boundless, does it appear. It is covered with a carpet of closely cropped

NOTE 16.—It may be well for the interested reader to consult all the matter in Mr. Winship's paper concerning these plains, found mainly at 504 (note 3), 505, 506 (note 2), 508 (bot.), 509, 510, 527, 541-543, 570, 571, 580, 581, 583, 589 (tp.).

NOTE 17.—Abert found both long grass and flowers on the north side of the Canadian.

NOTE 18.—"Who could believe," says Castenada, "that 1000 horses and 500 of our cows, and more than 5000 rams and ewes, and more than 1500 friendly Indians and servants, in traveling over these plains would leave no more trace where they had passed than if nothing had been there—nothing—so that it was necessary to make piles of bones and cow dung now and then, so that the rear guard could follow the army."—Fourteenth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, part I, p. 542.

NOTE 19.—The original [466, tp.] is as follows: "No tiene arboleda sino en los rios que ay en algunos barrancas que son tam encubiertas que hasta que estan a el bordo de ellas no son bistas son de tierra muerta tienen entradas que hacen las bacas para entra a el agua que esta honda por estos llanos," etc.

Mr. Winship renders this: "There are no groves of trees except at the rivers, which flow at the bottom of some ravines where the trees grow so thick that they were not noticed until one was right on the edge of them. They are of dead earth. There are paths down into these, made by the cows when they go to the water, which is essential throughout these plains." [527, mid.]

It may be seen from this translation that the trees may have been in sight "at" the rivers; that they were so "thick" that they were not noticed, "encubiertas" being rendered "thick" and referring to the trees, whereas it means "concealed" and refers to ravines or "barrancas." "Honda" is rendered "essential," whereas it means here "deep down." Water is essential anywhere. The following gives the meaning more consistently with the text and conditions:

"There are no groves except on the rivers, which are in certain ravines, which are so concealed that they are not seen till [one reaches] the border [or bank] of them. They are of dead [or bare] earth [not grassy down the banks]. There are paths which the cows make to enter to the water which is deep down [honda] in these plains."

This is certainly an accurate description of the streams of the Llano.

buffalo grass, and no other green thing is seen. . . . Having traveled eight and a half miles, we arrived at a deep gorge with limestone cliffs, and a valley of grass and trees." Beyond this was again "the hard, smooth surface of the Llano."²⁰

Captain John Pope, in his report of his survey along the thirty-second parallel, states that he went from the Pecos to the Red river, noting the gentle slope of the Llano toward the Colorado valley; but here he found large patches of red sand, in which grew conspicuous clusters of bunch grass thirty inches high, and on the southern border there was a range of hills of white drift sand seventy feet above the level of the plain.²¹

Certainly Coronado's men never approached this region. Dr. W. P. Blake, the geologist of this expedition, says of the Llano north and west of this: "The Llano . . . is not broken by a single peak, and there is nothing to break the monotonous desert character of its surface except an occasional river gorge or canyon, invisible from a distance, and often apparent only when the traveler stands on its brink."²² Captain Marcy has a similar description: "Not a tree or a shrub; . . . a vast, illimitable expanse of desert prairie," and "trackless as the ocean," are his phrases.²³

All this sounds wonderfully like the words of Coronado and Castañeda. In this connection it may be said that there can be no doubt that the river which ran down from Cicuye, which was bridged and crossed, and up which the army went home from the plains, was the Pecos. When the army reached it on its return the Indians said that it ran into the Rio Grande "more than twenty days from here, and that its course turned toward the east." If those students who have so stoutly maintained that it was the Canadian which was bridged (and they are too numerous to mention) had considered this passage, and had the proper respect for Indian geography, they might have blundered less.

Topography from the Ravine to Quivira.

On this route the topography is mostly a matter of geography. About all there is of the former is the statement of Castañeda (speaking cosmographically about the two great ranges of mountains which he had heard were on each edge of the continent) that as the Spaniards approached Quivira they began to see mountains. (528, bot.) These were doubtless the Smoky Hills of the river of that name, which appear so mountainous at a distance. His statement here is: "Quivira is to the west of these ravines, in the midst of the country, somewhat nearer the mountains toward the sea, for the country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain chains." This has puzzled students, because they have always presumed that these "ravines" here are the same as those of the Llano camps, as may be inferred from the foregoing rendering. The Spanish is, that Quivira is "a el poniente de aquellas barrancas por el medio de la tierra"—literally, "those ravines through the midst of the land," with no comma after "ravines." The rendering of "por" as "in," and the placing of a

NOTE 20.—Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys, vol. 3, Report of Lieut. A. W. Whipple, p. 36 of Itinerary.

NOTE 21.—Ibid., vol. 2, Report by Capt. John Pope, p. 9.

NOTE 22.—Ibid., vol. 2, Report of Geology of Route, by William P. Blake, p. 9.

NOTE 23.—Report of Capt. R. B. Marcy on Reconnaissance of a Route from Ft. Smith to Santa Fe, 1849, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 64, vol. 14, p. 185.

comma after "ravines," is the main cause of the trouble. It is the ravines which are in the "midst of the country" and not Quivira. Castañeda, speaking cosmographically, as he much liked to do, refers to such ravines or valleys, like those of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, as he supposed lay between the two great Atlantic and Pacific coast ranges; and since the way was all level to Quivira, he naturally inferred that Quivira was west of them all, which is the fact. So he says (504, mid.) that the plains were "all beyond the mountains" (in the original), referring to the western range. Again, at page 526 more of his cosmography about this may be seen. In this connection it may not be out of the way to say that where Castañeda speaks of the Missouri-Mississippi river flowing across all the level country and breaking "through the mountains of the North sea," and coming out "where the people with Don Fernando de Soto navigated it" (529, mid.), he must have reference (from the Indian hearsay purely) to its rupture through the tip of the Ozark range below St. Louis.

On the journey north no mention of topography is made, except that Coronado (82, tp.) says that there was no wood except at the "gullies and rivers, which are very few." He is the first white man who was compelled to use "buffalo chips" for fuel. Jaramillo, however, speaks as if the first "good appearance of the earth" (590, tp.) came in at the place where they met the hunting Quiviras, three days northeast of the crossing of the first river noted. We shall see that this was near Great Bend, Kan., and was a natural conclusion. He and others mention the beautiful rolling country from this on, well watered and wooded.

Three rivers are mentioned here in Quivira by these narrators; but it is remarkable that behind these to "the Ravine" they had passed many streams, not one of which is noted specifically, as if the beginning and end only of the journey were important. If Coronado was far toward the east edge of the Llano when he started north, he had to swerve back well westward to pass around the canyon of the Red river, which is hundreds of feet deep for some distance into this plain. He had to cross the main Canadian, with its conspicuous bluffs, both going and coming; but he does not note it. So the Cimarron, down the tributaries of which he probably went, he omits, though it was up and along this that he must have found the well-watered way home. It was probably a drouthy time.

On their approach to Quivira, the writers speak of two other rivers as each having more water than the first one noted. This combination alone fixes the stretch of fifty-five leagues along the region ranging from about Larned or Garfield, Kan., to the mouth of the Republican river. *Within the reach of thirty days' travel from a point on the Llano, which is ten or twelve days from the Pecos valley, no other such combination or sequence of streams, with the distances and directions and topography given, can be found than those ranging from the Arkansas to the mouth of the Republican or Big Blue.* First they cross a river, go up its north bank three days, meet some Quivira hunters, whose village "was about three or four days still farther away from us." The "Indians went to their houses, which were at the distance mentioned"; so that the Spaniards also must have gone there, in order to so confirm the statements of the Quiviras. (589 and 590.) Then they found the settlements "along good river bottoms . . . and good streams, which flow into another (or second) larger than the one

I have mentioned"—that is, than the first. Here are at least six days to the settlements, which the Suceso says were thirty leagues from the first river. In like manner, Herrera (509, note) says that these streams ran into a "great river"; so that all the Quivira villages were in the watershed of this second river—a fact of significance, as we shall see. Then they went on four or five days, according to Jaramillo, or five or six days, as Herrera says, through these villages—the number of which the former says was six or seven, and the distance through which the Suceso says was thirty leagues. Then they came to another or third river, with more water and more people than had any of the others. Any one who has seen the Arkansas, the Smoky Hill, the Republican and the Kansas, the latter formed by the junction of the Smoky Hill and the Republican, will have no difficulty in reconciling the estimates of the size and situation of the three streams made by these writers, especially in early July, when a dry time prevails.

From the fact that Herrera says they passed the second river—"Rio Grande, que pasaron"—the writer once thought that this squad went down the Smoky Hill on the north side; but Mr. W. E. Richey and other local students soon convinced him that the "good streams" and old village sites, so consistently arranged with the requirements of the chronicles, were on the south side. Herrera's "pasaron" must refer to a mere tangential passing of the Smoky Hill near Lindsborg, and the bowstring cut across, farther out, to the mouth of the Republican, along which the settlements were found.²⁴

After this they came to the end of Quivira, and went no further north-eastward, but inquired and found that down the river the plains came to an end; that the people did not plant, but hunted; and that in that direction, especially, were other provinces, the most noticeable of which was Harahey. Coronado sent for the chief of this, and he came. The general stayed twenty-five days and made some explorations, but it would seem never farther eastward, simply hearing of the great river beyond. "This country (literally, 'to this country') was the last which was seen" (529, bot.), says Castañeda; and the information concerning the Missouri was obtained "there"—not "here," where Castañeda was writing, as one might infer from Mr. Winship's rendering of "alli." Then, returning two or three days into the midst of the settlements, the general had supplies prepared for the return journey, and went home over a route which was quite likely a close approach to what was later known as the Santa Fe trail.

It has been usual for students to state that Coronado struck the Arkansas at the western end of its great trend northeastward, and to have him travel six days up this, or down it, rather.²⁵ Since both Jaramillo and Herrera say the Quiviras were all in the valley of the second river, and since the former implies that it took at least three days to go to them after meeting the hunters at the end of the first three days, we can see that the latter three days must be measured from the region of Great Bend, *in order to reach into the watershed of the Smoky Hill*—as any map of Kansas will

NOTE 24.—See F. W. Hodge's paper, in Brower's "Harahey," 1889, and that of W. E. Richey, in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 6, page 477.

NOTE 25.—The writers of this expedition used the term "up" in the sense of thither; and the term "below" often in the sense of "on this side of" or "hither." Thus Suceso and Jaramillo say the Quivira river was *below* Quivira, and that they went *up* this stream, whereas they were really going down it. Castaneda says of Acoma that it was *below* the Rio Grande.

show. Therefore, the crossing of the Arkansas can only be three days southwest of this town, or in the region of Larned or Garfield. Again, if we measure Suceso's fifty-five leagues back from any third river which they could reach after crossing the first, we can see that they will not extend back to the region near Fort Dodge, so frequently cited as the place of crossing.²⁶

This question of Coronado's approach to the Arkansas has some difficulties in it, not because of water supply—which he says was always scant, though Jaramillo says they did not go without it any day—but because of the great eastward trend in the route which would be necessary in order for him to go to this crossing or bend on this river from any point which he could have attained toward the east before he started north. We have noted the great westward trend which he would have made to avoid the canyon of the Red river. He likely did not leave the Llano at any point east of the Amarillo arroyo, which furnished a very natural descent to the Canadian valley. Thence a line directly north would have struck the Arkansas one hundred and fifty miles *west* of Fort Dodge and two hundred west of Larned, roughly. The mention by the Suceso that the general went "by the needle" has led many students to infer that this journey was all directly north; but in the first place this may have been a mere phrase—as we say "bee line" or "as the crow flies." This army had certainly made poor use of the compass before this, if it had one; and then the Suceso does not say that they went by the needle all the way, but he almost implies a bend. Thus, "after proceeding *many* days by the needle it pleased God that after *thirty days' march* we found the river Quivira," is his statement. He does not say that all the thirty were marched by the needle, and after "many days" a bend could have been made. Jaramillo says "the direction all the time after this (the start) being toward the north."

That Coronado did go north for a while may be seen from the fact that if he had started sufficiently east, or had borne eastward at once, so as to be directly south of the Arkansas bend, he would have encountered the Cañon of the Red in the former case, and have run into the Western Cross Timbers north of the Canadian, which Abert found at longitude 99° 11'. This, from his own statements, we are sure that he did not do. It is not improbable that these exact expressions of directions here out on the Kansas plains were on a par with those of Jaramillo concerning the Llano; and after getting well out beyond the Cimarron, when the Antelope hills and the Wichita mountains, as well as the Cross Timbers, could not be seen, Coronado likely bore eastward and crossed the north-side tributaries of this river and those of the Big Salt Fork of the Arkansas, where streams were frequent, and then he turned more directly into the Arkansas. His Teya guides must have known the best way thither, since they said that none was good; and Herrera implies that the route was varied to find water.²⁷

NOTE 26.—In discussing this matter with Mr. F. W. Hodge and Mr. W. E. Richey, I received acknowledgments from both that the crossing *was certainly east* of the western bend, though they had maintained otherwise. Mr. Richey feared that Coronado could not have found sufficient water had he come directly to the Arkansas at the points I have indicated; so he made some personal, local investigations, and became convinced that he had been wrong. Mr. Hodge, however, in his "Spanish Explorers," published later, adheres to his first opinion.

NOTE 27.—It seems a little remarkable that Judge Houck, in his "History of Missouri," should claim that Coronado must have gone north by a route far east of this, in

In this connection it may be well to say that the claims of some students that Coronado reached the Missouri is not justified by the narratives. He says that he did not reach the "limit" of the plains, and that the Quiviras said that down the river they ended. Nowhere is the mention of so great a stream made except in one passage; and in telling Coronado of what was beyond, no mention is made by the Indians of any tribes beyond a river, but all are noted as immediate neighbors just "beyond," which was eastward. The passage noted above has already been mentioned, but it had better be quoted:

"The great river of the Holy Spirit, which Don Fernando de Soto discovered in the country of Florida, flows through this country (of Quivira). It passes through ("por") a province called Arache, according to reliable accounts obtained here ("alli"). The sources were not visited, because, according to what they said, it comes from a very distant country in the mountains of the South sea, from the part that sheds its waters onto the plains. It flows across all the level country and breaks through the mountains of the North sea, and comes out where the people with Don Fernando de Soto navigated it."

This is doubtless a combination of the information which the expedition obtained from the Indians there ("alli"), and from de Soto's men after their return, with whom Castañeda says he had communication. It exhibits the accuracy of Indian knowledge of geography. The original does not just say that this river flows *through* this country of Quivira. It says, "lleva sus corrientes de aquesta tierra"; that is, "carries (or derives) its currents *from* this land," implying that it had tributaries there, which it certainly had. It passed through ("por") a country called Arache, but it will be shown that this was likely the land of the Arikaras, whose home was then far north of this.

The Ethnology and Archæology.

The last sentence brings us to the ethnology of the expedition, and its archæology. In the matter of the last, we have already seen that the village sites on the tributaries of the Smoky Hill river seem to confirm the location of the Quivira, or at least some ancient tribes, along these streams.²⁸

The ethnology of this region can scarcely be touched here, even though this writer were capable of discussing it extensively. Three narrators say the Quiviras built round houses of straw; from which we may infer, with Mr. Hodge, that since the Wichitas yet build almost exactly such houses, the Quiviras were their ancestors. According to Sucedo, the neighboring tribe, called "Tareque," used straw exclusively, and another, called "Arae," used part straw and part skins, in their houses. That tribes during the centuries change the style of their architecture is certain, as was the case with the Humanos, whom Cabeza de Vaca and Espejo found

order for him to pass through woods and amidst good streams, when the general says that both were actually so scarce on his route that "it would have been impossible to prevent the loss of many men" had he taken the whole army with him.

NOTE 28.—See W. E. Richey's paper, vol. 6, Kansas Historical Collections, page 477, and Brower's "Harahey" and "Quivira." By examining the cuts in these last volumes, or by consulting the collections of Mr. Richey in the rooms of the Kansas Historical Society at Topeka, one may note quite a difference between the character of the flints found above the mouth of the Big Blue river and those found below it. Mr. Richey has called my attention to a kind of flint hoe which, polished and worn, is found above, and is not found below, this dividing line. He concludes, naturally, that this is in keeping with the statement of the Quiviras that the people down the river did not cultivate the soil.

with houses having foundations, on the lower Rio Grande, but who abandoned this form of structure when they moved.

In Brower's "Harahey," Mr. Hodge states that the Southern Quiviras have a tradition that they and some Pawnees were driven from the north by their enemies. That this was the case, and that these enemies were the Kaws and Aricaras, is almost a certainty. Thus Castañeda says (529, tp.) that Father Padilla, who returned as a missionary to the Quiviras after Coronado went to Mexico, was killed by them because he wanted to go to their enemies, the Guaes. The Turk, in contrast with Quivira, associates the names of "Arche" and the "Guaes"²⁹ (503 mid.), the former, likely, meaning the Aricaras, as we shall see. Salmeron ("Land of Sunshine," December, 1899, p. 45) says that when Onate went to Quivira in 1601 he met the Escansaques, who were on their way to fight the Quiviras. Depriving this word of its Spanish flourishes, the word Cansa remains.³⁰

The Turk and His Countries.

Before attempting the discussion it may be well to mass all that the various chroniclers say of the home of the Turk and the names of the provinces which he gave. Castañeda (491, bot.) says the Turk was a "native of the country toward Florida, which is the region Don Fernando de Soto discovered." Mota Padilla (492, note 1) says he was "from a province distant thirty suns," called "Copala," on a "lake which they navigated with canoes," etc. What most of the de Soto narrators call "Pacaha" Garcilasso calls "Capaha," which, with the frequent interchange of r and l in Indian dialects, may appear as "Capala," which "Copala" is much like. We know that the Pacaha chief was of the Kappa, Cappa, Quappa, or Quapaw Indians, which were the same as those later called "Arkansas" or "Alkan-sas" by the early French. "Capala" is more like the true name "Kappa" than is "Pacaha." When we consider that the name of the Turk's country, in Padilla, was "Copala," and that it was distant thirty suns, which is about three hundred leagues, as an Indian would go; and that Suceso says the Turk's country was that distance east of Tiguex (though it says at Harale), it could be possible that he was a native of Pacaha, where de Soto turned back down the Mississippi river, somewhere in the New Madrid, Mo., region, and that he was a Quapaw, or Arkansas Indian. This would harmonize with Castañeda's having his home toward Florida, and with his other statement that the Turk said that "his country was in that direction" (509, tp.) toward which he led the army astray; and with his bearing toward the east, and his trying to lead the army on east to Haxa, toward sunrise yet two days, when his case became desperate; and with Jaramillo's phrase, "it seems that as the said Indian wanted to go to his own country." (588, mid.)

As to the names of the provinces mentioned by the Turk, besides Copala,

NOTE 29.—In his paper, in Brower's "Harahey," Mr. Hodge suggested that in the word "Guaes," the G might be a misprint for Q, and hence "Quaes," pronounced "Kaws." This seemed very probable, but later he has repudiated this theory, since he has found that "Kaws" is a French abbreviation for Kansas—another very probable conclusion (see under "Guaes," Bulletin 30, part 1, Bureau of Ethnology), though the French and Spanish may have got the abbreviation from the same source.

NOTE 30.—"Some have thought that the Escansaques were the Utes, but the greater weight of evidence, as I have shown, seems to establish the fact that they were none other than the Kansa—now so considered by the United States authorities and the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington."—History of the Kansa or Kaw Indians, by Geo. P. Morehouse, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 10, p. 335.

there are six. In Castañeda there are "Quivira," "Arche" and the "Guas" or "Guaes"; also the statement that the Quiviras said the Missouri river passed through "a province called 'Arache.'" Jaramillo has "Quibira" or "Quevira" and "Arache" (588, 589), and speaks of the general writing to the "governor of Harahey and Quibira" (590, tp.). The Suceso always says "Quivira," and says the neighbors of these were at Tareque and Arae. It speaks of "Harale" only as the home of the Turk. Herrera says (507, note 1) that the Turk described "Harae" so that Coronado thought it [not?] impossible that some of de Narvaez's lost men might rule it; and Jaramillo says that the general, when he wrote the letter to this imaginary ruler, thought that he might be a "Christian from the lost army of Florida," *i. e.*, the army of de Narvaez. (590, tp.) Gomara brings in another country when he says "they had news [from the Turk] of Axa and Quiuira," where they worshiped the image of a woman (492, note 1). This is, doubtless, what put the idea in the general's head that the ruler of this land named Tatarraz was a Christian. But Gomara does not mention Harahey in any form in this connection. The Axa here mentioned is noted by Castañeda (504, bot.) when he says the first Querechos said that "Haxa" was a settlement on a river more than a league wide, and the Turk said it was only two days from there to "Haya." Hence Lopez went two days toward the rising sun to find it. This was a mere subterfuge, and the original Haxa is not a Texas province, as Mr. Hodge believes; but we shall see that it joins the Quiviras, as the narratives imply.

The list of names of the countries in these chronicles therefore comprises Quivira, Harahey, Tareque, Arche, the Guaes, and Axa—in their varied spellings—with Harahey and Guaes synonyms, as we shall probably see, since both of these are never associated with Quivira at the same time, as are Arche and Tareque. In fact, it is highly probable that only three tribes are comprised in all these terms, unless Copala be something non-chimerical.

In Brower's "Harahey," Mr. Hodge thought that the Haraheys were the Pawnees, because of Jaramillo's statement that they had "some sort of things on their heads" when they came to Coronado; but the Aricaras, whose name is derived from a word meaning "horn," wore similar "things"; and Judge Houck, in his "History of Missouri," says that Catlin found the Kaws wearing headpieces like horns. In a letter to the writer, written later, Mr. Hodge says: "The Kaws are called by the Caddos (who are of the same general stock to which the Wichitas, Pawnees, etc., belong) 'Alahe' or 'Arahee'—l and r being interchangeable in many Indian languages. The Pawnee name (for the Kaws) is 'Araho,' which comes about as near to the Spanish form as possible." From this it is easily seen that the Haraheys were the Kaws, who lived east of the Quivira region, where they were found later.

With regard to the Arche, in its various forms, one of which is the Suceso's "Tareque," they were undoubtedly the Aricaras, and not synonymous with Harahe or Arae, as Mr. Hodge has thought; for it is against the latter of these that Tareque is contrasted by the Suceso (577, bot.). Arche was the stem of the name for the province, and the termination "ra" may have been either tribal or plural. This combined with the stem makes Archera. The tribe later has been called simply "Rees"; and among the synonymy of this tribe by Mrs. Fletcher, in Bulletin 30, Bureau of Ethnol-

ogy, occurs Archarees. The k sound, involved in "ch" or "que," is present in most of the names, because of "araki" or "uriki," meaning a horn, from their kind of head ornamentation. For the same reason, Dr. George Bird Grinnell writes me that the Pawnees call themselves "Pa-ra-ki," thus indicating the same horn-wearing habit.

With regard to the Turk having associated Axa with Quivira, Benayides' Memorial, p. 85, says that the Aixaos bordered closely on the Quiviras, and that in 1630 the two tribes formed what was known as the kingdom of Quivira-Aixaos, since he so heads his paper, with the center of the latter people thirty or forty leagues from the former, "in the same direction of the east." In this is the word "Aix." Salmeron ("Land of Sunshine," December, 1899, p. 46) says that when Onate went to the Quiviras in 1601 they sent a delegation to meet him and ask him to go with them against their enemies, the Ayjaos. Since in archaic Spanish x and j, and also i and y are interchangeable, it may be readily seen that the two words are varied spellings of the name of the same tribe. In like manner, with x and y interchangeable in sound, Haxa, Axa and Haya are all the same neighbors and enemies of the Quiviras.

The identification of these people with a modern tribe is not so easy. Since the Pawnees fled south with the Quiviras, and were of the same Caddoan stock, we are justified in feeling sure of the intimate association of the tribes in 1630, so that it would be called the kingdom of "Quivira-Aixaos," and would imply that the Aixaos were some branch of the Pawnees. Since the Pawnee name for Kaws is "Arahe," and the Quiviras called the province of the Kaws (when asked about it) "Harahey," (590, mid.), "Harae" (509, note), and since the Caddoan name for them is "Arahee," the Pawnee language of to-day shows its kinship to that of the Quiviras of 1541. Since, also (Hodge, and Brower's Harahey), the Pawnees are known to the Wichitas to-day by the name of "Awahi," the word "Ayjaos," distorted by various spellings and pronounced in Spanish, may not be so far from a synonym of "Awahi," and "Awahi" may equal "Ayjaos" or "Aixaos."

The deductions concerning the tribes about the end of Coronado's journey north, are, therefore, that the Quiviras were the Wichitas; the Haraheys and the Guaes were the same as the later Escansaques, and were the Kaws; the Axas, Aixaos, Haxas, Ayjaos or Hayas were the Pawnees; and the Turk resorted to a subterfuge among the Querechos when he said Haxa was two days east; and he may have been playing on words, because there was a tribe with a similar name far toward sunrise, which caused the Querechos to confirm him. Arche, Ararche and Tareque were evidently the Aricaras, more to the north, so that the Missouri could flow through or past "a province called Arache," as Castañeda has it; for this Caddoan tribe was likely then beating its way northward to beard the Siouan lion in the great valley. Down the river below was the Kaw; northeastward, beyond and on the Republican, was the Pawnee, while beyond, up the Missouri, was the Arikara. It is not improbable that the Pawnees and Quiviras may have been enemies at one time, and friends later, when they migrated. It is said that the former have a tradition of visits of white men to them from the west long before they came from the east.

The Latitude of Quivira.

Three narrators give the latitude of Quivira as 40°. Only the Suceso gives that of another place in comparison, by which we may know how much here was the error which the Spaniards always made in this matter. Their estimate was usually about two degrees too great. In comparison, the Suceso says that the latitude of "the river" was 36°. (578, tp.) Some writers have erred in thinking the river referred to was the Quivira or Arkansas. It was evidently the Rio Grande at Tiguex. Just below this citation the Suceso says of the Teyas and Querechos, that "they exchange some cloaks (made of skins) with the natives of the river for corn"—meaning, of course, with the Pueblo Indians, who obtained their skins wholly by trade with these nomads. (524, mid.)

Now, Bernalillo is about 35° 20'. Four degrees, the difference between the Suceso's 40 and his 36, added to this would put Quivira in 39° 20', estimated from his figures for Tiguex. The error was not so great here, therefore. The mouth of the Republican is about 39°, and the most northerly bend of the Kaw at Manhattan is about 39° 10'. There is not much hope for Nebraska in all this.

The Routes of Coronado and Those of de Soto.

It has been a favorite theory of many historians and popular writers that the routes of Coronado and de Soto almost intersected each other, and that the two explorers themselves nearly met in the Indian Territory. From this it has been claimed that Coronado went farther eastward, both in Texas and Kansas, than he actually did.³¹ De Soto and Coronado each knew that the other was east or west of him, as the case may have been, and de Soto's men heard from Indians on the Mississippi that there were other white men, far west, conquering the country; but on the day that Coronado reached the Arkansas, June 29, 1541, De Soto reached Pacaha, the home then of the Quapaw or Arkansas Indians (according to ethnologists), at his highest point up the Mississippi, and in the swampy region of the Missouri Peninsula. While from here he went far west, well into Oklahoma, he did not reach this region till late fall, and turned back from it on October 19, to go still eighty leagues down the Arkansas, to spend the winter of 1541-'42. On October 20, 1541, the next day after de Soto's farthest west, Coronado wrote his letter at Tiguex, on the Rio Grande, to the king, having probably been there more than a month.

When Moscoso later went west from the mouth of the Arkansas,³² he probably approached the Llano Estacado, or at least his advance squad got beyond the Western Cross Timbers. His river Daycao (Elvas) was likely the Colorado; but all this occurred a year later, after Coronado was safe on his hacienda in Mexico.³³

NOTE 31.—As an instance, see J. G. Shea, Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History," vol. 11, page 292, where he says Coronado wrote a letter to De Soto, and quotes the incident in Jaramillo of Coronado's writing to the king of Harahey, already noted. This, we have seen, had nothing to do with de Soto. Coronado had in mind the men of de Narvaez, as the context shows.

NOTE 32.—In my paper on the Route of Cabeza de Vaca, published in the *Quarterlies* of the Texas State Historical Association for January and April, 1897, volume 10, Nos. 3 and 4, led astray by an erroneous rendering of the Spanish into French by Richelet, I claimed that de Soto died at the mouth of the Red river. Further investigation, especially into the ethnological connections, has convinced me that he died at the mouth of the Arkansas.

NOTE 33.—Castaneda says that a Teya woman escaped from Coronado's army when it struck the Pecos valley, going home, and that de Soto's men said that they took a woman

Cabeza de Vaca and the Teyas Ravine.

Castañeda says Cabeza had passed through the settlement of the Teyas in the Ravine (five or six years before), and blessed their goods, which they piled out there again to Coronado, with the same hopes, only to have them appropriated. Jaramillo, however, says that an old Indian told him that "he had seen four others like us many days before . . . near there, and rather more toward New Spain (Mexico)." This casts doubt on Cabeza ever having reached this place—Ravine of the Teyas—as does the narrative of Cabeza, especially since, in later times, the Teyas were identified with the Aisenis or Cenis [Mrs. L. C. Harby, Annual Report American Historical Association, 1894] and associated with the Humanos of the lower Rio Grande. They were great wanderers, doubtless, and may have been with Cabeza when he records the Humanos as heaping their belongings in the midst of the floor for him to bless, away southward near the mouth of the Conchas. Now, in June they were probably following the bisons in their annual northward migration.

It was late fall when Cabeza was wandering in the interior of Texas. The bison must have been migrating southward then. He notes that they were only a few days up the Pecos when he went up the Rio Grande in midwinter; and yet he never records having seen one in this region while wandering west on the plains, though he says they came at times, evidently in winter, to the region of Matagorda bay when he was there. While he had time to go as far as this Ravine, there is considerable to make us feel that he may have come to the Rio Grande from the south, because he actually describes the country and his experiences while he was south of the permanent houses, at which latter place it was warm in winter. It is equally remarkable that Moscoso's party found no bison herds—only learned that they came to one place "in seasons"—and yet he was in Texas at the time when he might meet them on the southward migration, had he gone very far west.³⁴

The Teyas and the Conans and the Querechos.

Castañeda says (588, tp.) the first nomads seen were called "Querechos" by those living in the flat-roofed houses, because they were found among the cows. Mr. Winship says (396, note 1) quoting Mr. James Mooney, that "Querecho is an old Comanche name of the Tonkawa."

The Teyas, says Castañeda (524, tp.), seem to have been immigrant to the region years before in vast numbers, so that they had destroyed many pueblos (in the foothills of the Sandia range). But the Pueblos, Indians of the Rio Grande, were finally able to resist them. The latter pointed toward the north in speaking of the former home of these foes, but now allowed some of them to winter under the wings of the settlements, never admitting them to their homes. This narrator says the word "Teyas" means "brave men" in the Pueblan tongue, and is applied to any men so charac-

who said she had run "away from other men like them nine days." A year later Moscoso's men, at about their farthest west, found a woman who said she had seen Christians near, but later denied it. She was probably the same in both cases, and the Teyas, in the fall of 1542, when Moscoso was west, may have been much farther east than in June, 1541, when Coronado's "force" was going up the valley of the Pecos to Tiguel.

NOTE 34.—See the author's discussion of "The Route of Cabeza de Vaca," in the Quarterly of the State Historical Association of Texas, April, 1907, vol. X, No. 4, pages 320 to 324, where these topics are discussed more fully.

terized. Later, among Texas tribes, it meant friends or allies. There may have been really many tribes to whom the term was applicable, as the subsequent history of this name would imply. Early Spanish writers concerning the history of Texas say that the Cenís, Aisenís and Teyas were the same.

Castañeda (507) implies that the Conans were a different tribe from the Teyas. The extent of their permanent settlements, and the fact that they had "beans," would hint the same. Furthermore, he says that the settlement was "a manera de alixares." Mr. Winship has not rendered the phrase; and since the margin gives "Alexeres," he felt, very plausibly, that it was like some town which the old Spaniard had seen elsewhere. He says that "alixeres" means threshing floor; and the roads through so extensive a settlement might well resemble this. Ternaux-Compans renders it "bruyeres," or heaths, which is what a meadow bottom might seem like to a European. But if we remember Castañeda's fondness for *x* where *j* is usual, the word may become "alijares," which is found in the dictionaries as "uncultivated ground," and which, Mr. James Mooney informs me, has long been applied in Mexico to old, worn-out fields. Since the Conans were a planting people, this does not seem an improbable meaning, and implies an old, settled rancheria. It seems, therefore, that some broad meadow on one of the forks of the Brazos may have held Cona.

The writer has never been in this region, but he is going to make a guess, based on the records, at the location of all these places—a hypothesis at harmonizing the especially inconsistent statements of Castañeda about the trip to Cona and back being made in about nine days, and one in keeping with the suggestion that the squad struck Cona at its farthest end. It seems that the main army went to the Teya Ravine from the direct west, and yet intersected it; and Mota Padilla says they passed it. This was likely the Canyon Blanco branch of the Salt Fork of the Brazos, at some point near the line between Crosby and Dickens counties, Texas, where the stream runs directly south, as the conditions demand. Thence the Cona squad went easterly across Dickens, King and perhaps part of Stonewall counties, to Cona, on the Salt Fork, where this stream also runs north for fifteen miles. It would thus lie directly across their path. Four days, or sixty or seventy miles, from the army camp would about reach this. Thence the squad followed the settlement up the Salt to the junction of the Double Mountain branch, and on up that for three days in all, through the rancheria of Cona, to within a short distance of where the army was camped on the same stream—it having moved one day south or easterly, which distance anywhere along here would bring it to the second Ravine. This would, from the topography,³⁵ likely be in the southwest corner of Crosby or the northwest corner of Garza county. Thence west, the Pecos river, at a point near Roswell and at the proper distance below the site of the bridge, is distant about one hundred and seventy-five miles in a direct line; and

NOTE 35.—See Hill's *Topographical Map of Texas*—a government publication.

Since writing the above I have become convinced that this squad, in going four days east, or from eighty to one hundred miles at least, must have left the Llano behind and encountered some very rough country. If Castaneda had intended to include this trip in the two hundred and fifty leagues which he says the army went, in the whole of which they did not see a hill higher than a man, he may be inconsistent with the facts; but he was not with this party, and doubtless his statements had reference only to the experience of the main army.

over such route the Teyas could lead the army home by shooting arrow over arrow.

To pass the many lakes of salt on the road home from here, if this road were straight, the position of the two camps should have been farther south—that of the Teyas about the northwest corner of Kent county, and the final camp in the middle of eastern Garza county, which would suit the presumed position of Cona almost as well; and then the road from the Teya Ravine westward to the Pecos would pass the many lakes in Lynn and Terry counties which are noted in the records.

Placing the Querechos back five days, or eighty-five miles, from this Teya Ravine would locate their camp about the northern edge of Lamb county, Texas, where the southern kink and bend of this same Canyon Blanco, or Catfish creek, would form the "little river" which one day further back Lopez could intersect as he returned westward from his search for Haxa. West of this, as noted, this stream is one of those "among the cows," along which Jaramillo says they came to the Querechos. It is highly probable that the Turk led them southeastward, down between Catfish creek and Double Mountain fork, till he reached the region where these streams were in one day's march of each other.

It would be interesting to know if there are any indications of village sites along the bottoms of the Salt and lower Double Mountain forks of the Brazos.

In a straight line, the Querechos camp, as located, would have been about one hundred and forty miles from the bridge at Puerto de Luna, which distance, without meandering, would have consumed about eight days at their rate of an average of six and a half leagues, or seventeen miles, per day, which is Coronado's time to the Querechos. From this point it may easily be seen that Lopez could go toward sunrise twenty leagues, or about fifty miles, and see nothing then but cows and sky, still being on the Llano.

All this, which is plausible, puts the locating of these ravines on the Colorado river out of the discussion. Most students have held this, because they have presumed that the great number of days which Castañeda gives were actually marched; and, under this impression, the inference of great distance toward the southeast was natural. But it is certain that Coronado's army never got eastward of the Llano, and that he never reached the Missouri river.

In like manner, there is no possibility for Coronado to have reached Nebraska, since thirty or more days from these ravines on the Llano, at the rate of five leagues per day, the "not long" jornadas of Jaramillo, could be all easily spent between this and the Arkansas river.

This brief study is but preliminary. Doubtless, with a personal journey over the ground, much more will be done by others. I have simply attempted to mass the present material, so that others may think on the subject without much investigation in the lines which are so apparent on a little research.

I wish to confess my indebtedness to the generous aid I have received from Mr. W. E. Richey, of Harveyville, Kan.—now deceased—and to Mr. George Parker Winship, for personal help and special courtesies and large appropriations from his work. To Frederick Webb Hodge I acknowledge the

inspiration of this effort. Before I had read his paper in Brower's "Harahey," I had, from my discovery that the river "ran down from toward Cicuye," determined that the "Ravine" was on the Llano; and an extensive correspondence with this great student of all things pertaining to the Spanish expeditions in the Southwest has confirmed this. I owe him an apology for having, in my amateurish way, differed from him so often; but had he never written on this topic I should never have ventured to.

JEDEDIAH S. SMITH AND THE SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS.

Written by E. D. SMITH,¹ of Meade, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

BEGINNING with the dawn of its history and continuing to the present, the Teutonic races have been emigrant races. Whether their longing for the West is an inborn instinct or the result of heredity, which began by the pressure of some compelling necessity, the wise men have not decided. Born with this migratory desire as a ruling passion, yet, paradoxical as it may seem, these men have been preëminently home builders. Their westward progress always grew out of the hope of finding a fruitful land, where they could conquer and hold for their children a home surrounded by broad acres, richly productive; a land which they and their families after them should occupy and rule—by themselves their own particular holding, and with their kin the country at large. Having accomplished, as they supposed, their desire, and, with their families around them, seemingly firmly fixed in the soil, their sons were no sooner grown to manhood than they buckled on their slaughter weapons and took their departure for the promised land of the race, which always beckoned from the West.

This lure of the West, which seems to be as strong as the instinct of the homing pigeon for its native cote, is not peculiar to the fragments of the races settled in America, although it is considered an American habit. It existed before the earliest settlement of the tribes in the west of Europe, and compelled them, in frail boats, without compass or knowledge of geography, to launch boldly out into the uncharted North Atlantic, with no idea of where they were going or what they would encounter, except that they were headed west, and could hold that course while life lasted. Could they return? If successful, possibly; if unsuccessful, return was not desirable.

NOTE 1.—EZRA DELOS SMITH was born in Grant county, Wisconsin, November 9, 1854, the son of Ira A. and Maria (Isbell) Smith. His grandfather, Ralph Smith, married a Miss Simons, granddaughter of a niece of Charles Stuart of England. The Smiths came to the Plymouth colony soon after the Mayflower. They went into the wilderness, settling in New Hampshire. His great-grandfather, Jedediah Smith, moved to western New York while the Mohawks were still there; from there he moved to Ashtabula, Ohio, about 1805, but had lived a while near Erie. Jedediah Strong Smith, the great explorer, was a brother of Ralph Smith. The great-grandfather, Jedediah Smith, had fourteen children, of whom nine lived to old age. They were pioneers in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Utah and California. E. D. Smith's mother's people left France the morning after the St. Bartholomew massacre (it closed September 17, 1572), reaching St. Augustine, Fla., but soon after going to Canada. They next settled in western New York, then drifted through Ohio into Indiana. Young Smith's grandfather, Ezra T. Isbell, built the first business house in Kendallville, Ind. The next move of the Ira A. Smith family was to Dekalb county, Missouri, in 1868. Ezra D. was self-educated. He spent several years as a farm hand in Iowa. In 1882 he married Miss Clara V. Haas. He moved to Meade Center, Kan., January 6, 1886, where he found the people celebrating the location of the county seat. Later he was elected justice of the peace, read law, and was admitted to the bar. He has two sons and one daughter. The story of his great-uncle, Jedediah S. Smith, is one of the most interesting in the development of the midcontinent, mountain and Pacific slope sections of the country.

They found Iceland, Greenland and North America centuries before science and study revealed to the Spanish and Portuguese navigators that the earth was round and India lay to the west.

When in later years these peoples reached America, with larger vessels and surer knowledge of navigation, their habits were not changed. Having conquered the east coast, with its inhabitants, their westward way was again taken and their sailboats and canoes pressed ever upstream and westward along the rivers flowing into the Atlantic.

When the stream grew narrow and shallow, so that the bark canoe would no longer float, their belongings were transferred to the back of a horse, and they began climbing the Appalachians. And why not? This range lay to the west, and of necessity must be overcome. Thence it was downstream, and there was the current to favor further westward journeys.

In such manner the Boones, the Clarks and the Sublettes reached Kentucky, and the Smiths, Jacksons and Tylers came to southwestern New York and western Pennsylvania. They settled, built homes, and, as their ancestors for centuries had done, believed that for them and their families wanderings had ceased. But the call of the West was as strong and insistent to their children as it had been to them.

The lower Ohio valley had been for generations held by French settlers, and the Mississippi by French and Spanish. The French passed up the Missouri and settled in Kansas as early as 1727. Neither French nor Spanish had the true western instinct as did the Anglo-Saxon—by this time on this continent calling himself an American. The two Latin races were satisfied with following the navigable streams and trading with the Indians.

Kansas has few streams navigable for canoes very far west, and neither of the two dominant European races then trading along the Missouri had a desire to push west unless trade called; neither had they the hardihood of character to push trade along unfriendly routes.

Coronado visited Kansas in 1541, and noted it as a fertile country, well adapted to agriculture; but his quest was a people rich in portable wealth whom he could rob. Such a people were not then in Kansas, and he returned home disappointed and politically wrecked, to drop out of sight on his estates in Mexico.

It was impossible that such divergent peoples as those who came from the East into the river valleys of the West and those who came upstream from the sea should amicably mingle. Friction began with their first encounter, and the breach widened till the inhabitants along the Ohio threatened to drive the Spanish and French from the valleys. Just at this juncture it suited Napoleon to sell—instead of New Orleans, which Jefferson wanted for an outlet for the Ohio valley—all of Louisiana, recently wrested from the Spanish king. The sale being consummated, the current of westward pioneering, temporarily checked, sprang forward.

The expedition of Lewis and Clark brought to St. Louis a knowledge of the great wealth of furs to be obtained up the Missouri, and along that stream the first adventurers bent their course. But near the present Kansas City this stream comes down almost directly from the north, and could not carry the Americanized Anglo-Saxon west. The usual result followed; that is, where there was no stream the American hesitated not, but, with pack horse, rifle and ax, turned to the setting sun as his guide, and pressed on.

Daring adventurers from time to time reached the western mountains, then called the Spanish or Stony mountains, across the Kansas plains. But the route was difficult and dangerous for strangers from the well-watered western slopes of the Appalachian system; therefore, little progress was made in trade, although it was found that merchandising by pack horses across the plains and through the mountains to Taos, and thence south to Santa Fe, was very profitable.

But civilization can not long exist without practical trade routes, and a pack-horse route is not for long a practical one—which is to say, a profitable trade route among advanced people.

While the events just noted were transpiring, and the American was fretting and chafing at the impediments thrown across a directly western route from the bend of the Missouri, Providence was preparing the pathfinder for this unknown territory from that stream west to the Pacific—one whose achievements should result in the conquest of the country from its Spanish masters, and its final development into a wealthy part of the American nation.

Soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, Jedediah Smith, whose ancestors came to the Plymouth colony shortly after its foundation, and later pushed out in each generation farther west, came to western New York and settled. To him was born a son who was christened Jedediah Strong Smith.²

Jedediah, jr., grew up strong, hardy, healthy and bold, his playmates being the few white children near his home and the young Seneca Indians of Chief Cornplanter's tribe, which was then living peaceably on the headwaters of the Allegheny river in southwestern New York. From his Indian playmates he learned the lore of the aborigines, the habits of the wild animals, and last, but not least, of the learning gleaned from association with them he became an expert archer. Professing conversion to Christianity at a very early age, he united with the Methodist church, of which he remained a consistent and useful member till his death. There was living near his home a practicing physician, by name Simons, a profound scholar and a lover of children. This Doctor Simons took an interest in young Smith, and taught him the rudiments of an English education and a smattering of Latin. But his studies under the doctor did not continue more than four years.

At the age of thirteen he took service in the lake trade upon the Great Lakes. The neighbors of his father had served under Mad Anthony Wayne, and the most noted scouts of that time were frequent visitors at his home. When he was on the lakes he met the traders of the Northwest Fur Company, and their men. It is not strange, then, that his mind turned to the adventurous life of a trapper and trader, nor that he chose as his field the country commercially tributary to St. Louis.

Therefore we find him in St. Louis in 1818, where he immediately engaged in a venture on his own account to Santa Fe. Some trader, whose

NOTE 2.—In the manuscript collections of the Historical Society are the following letters from Jedediah Strong Smith: Letter to Gen. Wm. Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, dated Little Lake of Bear River, July 17, 1827. Letters to Ralph Smith, dated Wind River, east side of Rocky Mountains, December 24, 1829; Blue River, Fork of Kansas, 30 miles from the Pawnee Villages, September 10, 1830; St. Louis, January 26, 1831; St. Louis, February 28, 1831. Also a letter from Austin Smith to his father, Jedediah Smith, announcing the death of Jedediah S. Smith, dated Walnut Creek, on the Arkansas, 300 miles from the settlements of Missouri, September 24, 1831.

name is lost, had made arrangements with a Mexican trader to meet him at the international boundary, near where Fort Dodge was later established, and there make an exchange of goods. With this trader from St. Louis J. S. Smith arranged to travel to the rendezvous, expecting to accompany the Mexican merchant to Santa Fe. There seems to have been two others who intended to go to Santa Fe. But few details of this trip have reached me, and little of what I have heard is authenticated by contemporary writings or by the travels of other men. Much of my information came to me years ago by word of mouth, and consists of incidents related by Jedediah Smith to his brother Ralph on the only visit made to his home after he came west.

The trader, with pack horses and mules, left the Missouri at Independence and took his way over what was later known as the great Santa Fe trail. On the beginning of this trip, at least, Smith placed his rifle where it would carry safely and be easily reached in case of need, but kept handy for use a long, strong bow and quiver of arrows. It is related that soon after leaving the river one of the men approached Smith and asked him what he meant by carrying a bow, like an Indian, when he had a good rifle and knew how to use it? To this Smith replied that he could use the bow with certainty, and at almost the range of the rifle kill any ordinary game, and that, from what he had heard from men who were in the employ of the Northwestern Fur Company, he believed a man with a good horse, armed with a bow, could kill more buffalo out of a herd than a man armed with a rifle. Pointing to a hawk at about seventy-five yards, the man asked Smith if he could hit it. Smith replied by raising his bow and piercing the hawk.

Later, when buffalo were reached, Smith killed two out of the herd with his bow.

The American trader reached the place of meeting without any incident of note. The Mexicans, true to their reputation, failed to arrive on time. The American waited until he became satisfied that his Mexican merchant had given up the trip, or that possibly a force of Mexican soldiers were on the way to capture him and confiscate his goods, and then decided to betake himself to some point where he could dispose of his wares to Indians, and so announced his intention to Smith. This left Smith to go on to Santa Fe alone or remain with the band, and the trader strongly advised against his going to Santa Fe, since he was inexperienced in plains and mountain travel. To this advice Smith replied that he had come out to go to Santa Fe, and would go there, alone if necessary; but he would not return to St. Louis nor accompany his friend on a trading trip into the mountains. Two others said that they would accompany him, and accordingly began preparations for their dangerous journey. The next day they crossed the Arkansas, and, heading southwest, camped that night in a grove of timber on a creek. This would locate their camp in the grove on the head of Crooked creek, in what is now Meade county. The following day, continuing south and west, they saw a cloud of dust, which they approached with care until they saw that it was caused by a company of Mexicans. Smith and his companions joined this company, and found them to be men they had come out to meet at the Arkansas. Learning from Smith that the American trader had left the rendezvous two or three days before, the Mexicans turned about and

began their return journey, the three Americans accompanying them, and that night camped on the Cimarron.

This is the first time, so far as I can learn, that an American had taken the route from the Arkansas to the Cimarron to reach Santa Fe. Heretofore the trail used had been up the Arkansas, through the mountains to Taos, and south to Santa Fe. Whether or not Smith was the first American to learn of the well-watered route across from the Arkansas to the Cimarron and on to the capital of New Mexico, his knowledge had much to do with future commerce across the plains.

Before reaching their destination the company were set upon by Comanche Indians, whose defeat was largely due to the execution done by the long rifles of the three Americans. Having disposed of his goods, Smith, for some reason unknown to me, left Santa Fe via Taos, thence going north and west. He reached Great Salt Lake, and, continuing north and east, reached the headwaters of the Platte river. On this long journey, alone until he reached the Platte, he did not discharge his firearms for any purpose, and never considered himself in danger from Indians but once. After leaving his camp one morning for a short time, he returned, to find the track of an Indian headed toward it. Carefully approaching the camp, he discovered a lone Indian inspecting his belongings. An arrow from Smith's bow through his throat, he sank down without a sound; and Smith at once, and with caution, put distance between himself and the site of his camp. On the upper Platte he met and became friendly with a band of Indians who lived farther east along that stream, but were hunting near the mountains. He remained with them some time, trapping and trading. Continuing down the Platte, he fell in with some trappers returning to St. Louis. He joined them, reaching St. Louis sometime in the winter of 1819-'20.

The next year or more he was in Kansas and eastern Colorado, trading with the Indians and trapping, going as far north as the Platte. Coming in to St. Louis with his furs, he met a Santa Fe trader—which, for good reason, I believe to have been William Becknell—and convinced him that wagons could be profitably used to transport goods to Santa Fe. The result was that he contracted to guide a wagon train over a practical, well-watered route to that point. Becknell's object being to trade for mules, Smith either took some goods along or in some way became interested to a small amount in the venture. The trip was successfully and profitably made, the company returning to St. Louis in the fall of the same year, 1822, likely in the latter part of October. Chittenden says they reached St. Louis in November.³ Be that as it may, Smith reached his brother Ralph's farm, in north-eastern Ohio, not later than December, 1822, with a large band of mules which he had bought at Santa Fe.

The following spring, 1823, he joined Gen. W. H. Ashley at St. Louis, and accompanied that noted trapper and trader in his expedition of that year to the upper Missouri river country. Smith, after Ashley's defeat by the Aricara Indians, went alone⁴ across the Rocky range and found Ashley's

NOTE 3.—Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. 2, p. 503.

NOTE 4.—"After Ashley's retreat, and while he was waiting for the military to come to his relief, it became important to communicate with Henry on the Yellowstone. It was an extremely hazardous errand, and Ashley called for volunteers. To the astonishment of every one, young Smith, a mere youth, stepped forward and offered to go. Ashley was greatly impressed with the young man's intrepidity. He accepted the offer,

partner, Henry; then made a flying trip to St. Louis with the furs which Henry had with him. Smith after the Aricara fight, was known as Captain Smith, which rank was given him by Ashley, then general in the Missouri militia. Captain Smith soon bought Henry out, and continued the business as a partner of Ashley. Later, with D. E. Jackson and William Sublette, he bought Ashley's interest, and continued the business under the style of Smith, Jackson & Sublette, traders on the east and west of the Rocky Mountains.

The years 1826, 1827 and 1828 he spent in his California expeditions, on which he discovered the trail southwest from Salt Lake to Los Angeles and the pass through the Sierras from the American Fork to the Humboldt river. Both of these trails became thoroughfares during the gold days of California, and the prospectors thronged them en route for the mines.

In the spring and summer of 1828 he was in Oregon, trading with Indians and making his way to the Columbia river, which he expected to follow as far as the Snake or farther, and cross to his posts on the east side of the mountains.

Near the mouth of the Umpqua river his camp was attacked during his absence and his entire band of trappers wiped out, except one man in the camp and three who were with him. He made his way to the Hudson Bay post, Fort Vancouver, and through the assistance of the chief factor, McLoughlin, recovered his property from the Indians and sold it to McLoughlin.⁵

In the spring of 1829 he, with one man, returned along the Columbia and across the Flathead country to Henry's Fork, where he found one of his partners. That winter he was on the Wind river and the Powder river. By his advice and persuasion, William Sublette came down to St. Louis, leaving Wind river the day after Christmas. This was probably the first horseback expedition across the Kansas plains from the mountains in the wintertime.

Sublette's errand was to procure wagons in which to convey their large accumulation of furs to a market at St. Louis. By September of that year, 1830, Captain Smith was again in Kansas, on the Blue river, with these, the first wagons ever taken over the Oregon trail to the mountains. He camped thirty miles from Cantonment Leavenworth, now Fort Leavenworth, and crossed the Kaw river where Topeka now is, reaching St. Louis sometime about the first of November.⁶

but prevailed upon an experienced Canadian Frenchman to go with him. The mission was successfully performed, although not without great peril."—Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. 1, p. 253.

NOTE 5.—In a letter to the Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, dated St. Louis, October 29, 1830, and signed by Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson and W. L. Sublette, the following statement is made: "The treatment received by Mr. Smith at Fort Vancouver was kind and hospitable; that, personally, he owes thanks to Governor Simpson and the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company for the hospitable entertainment which he received from them, and for the efficient and successful aid which they gave him in recovering from the Umpqua Indians a quantity of fur and many horses, of which these Indians had robbed him in 1828."—Sen. Doc. 39, 21st Cong., 2d Sess., p. 23.

NOTE 6.—This expedition left St. Louis April 10, 1830, and consisted of "a caravan of ten wagons, drawn by five mules each, and two dearborns, drawn by one mule each." There were eighty-one men in the company, all mounted on mules. After leaving Independence the expedition proceeded along "the Santa Fe trail about forty miles; from which the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas and up the great Platte river to the Rocky Mountains, and to the head of Wind river. . . . This took us until the 16th of July." The return trip set out on August 4 for St. Louis,

The firm of Smith, Jackson & Sublette had sold out, before leaving the mountains, to Thos. Fitzpatrick, Jim Bridger, Milton G. Sublette, Henry Frabe and J. B. Gervis; and Captain Smith meant to quit the fur business and the West, but he found waiting his return at St. Louis two of his brothers. To accommodate them, he began fitting out a wagon train for Santa Fe. Later, for some reason, he decided to increase the size of the venture and accompany the expedition. His former partners, Jackson and Sublette, also decided jointly to take out a lot of goods. The train was the largest and best-equipped merchant wagon train which had ever up to that time left the river for Santa Fe, and consisted of twenty-three wagons loaded with goods, each drawn by six mules. Ten wagons were owned by Captain Smith, a like number by Jackson and Sublette, one by a merchant of St. Louis, one by a man from Independence, and another owned jointly by Smith, Jackson and Sublette, with a six-pounder cannon mounted on the hind axle and ammunition for it on the front axle. Thos. Fitzpatrick, who happened to be in St. Louis, accompanied the party, which in all amounted to eighty-three men. The expedition had been fitted out without regard to cost, for the partners had made an independent fortune out of the fur business, and lacked neither money, courage nor faith in themselves and their ability to carry out any western adventure.

On the Little Arkansas a man in the employ of Jackson and Sublette was killed by the Pawnees. No other accident occurred in the party until after the Cimarron crossing of the Arkansas was reached. Cimarron station, on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway, is located where this ford used to be. From there the old trail took a direct course west and south to the lower spring at the forks of the Cimarron—sixty-five miles over the buffalo grass without a drop of water.

Captain Smith did not mean to subject his men and teams to such suffering and risk. Accordingly, immediately after crossing the Arkansas he turned directly south for the upper pools of Crooked creek, in what is now Meade county. This watering place, well known to him, was only between fifteen and twenty miles south of the Arkansas. After a day's hard driving through the sand hills, against a hot wind blowing sand and alkali dust, he reached the pools, only to find them dry.

The following morning he left the camp early in search of water, accompanied by Fitzpatrick, who left him, when they were several miles out on the flat prairie, to return to camp, with instructions from Captain Smith to hitch up and follow. Fitzpatrick, with his glass, saw him when far off to the southwest. It was the last time a white man ever saw him alive. He reached the Cimarron river at what was later known as Fargo Springs, in what is now Seward county. While his horse was drinking he dismounted, quenched his own thirst, and then remounted. Twenty Comanches, who were in hiding, waiting for buffalo to come to the water, came out, and Captain Smith tried to get them to accompany him back to the wagons to trade, or to wait till the wagons came and trade there at the water. Their chief, a medicine man who believed that his great medicine rendered him

going "over the same ground as nearly as in going out, and we arrived in St. Louis on the 10th of October, bringing back the ten wagons, the dearborns being left behind." The weight carried in each wagon was about 1800 pounds, and the progress was from fifteen to twenty-five miles per day. "This is the first time that wagons ever went to the Rocky Mountains; and the ease and safety with which it was done prove the facility of communicating overland with the Pacific ocean."—Sen. Doc. 39, 21st Cong., 2d Sess., p. 21.

invulnerable, tried to approach, but was warned back. The Indians succeeded in frightening Captain Smith's horse, and as soon as it turned they shot at him with their arrows, one of which wounded him in the left arm. He instantly turned and shot the chief dead, and, drawing his pistols, killed an Indian with each. Then, grasping his ax, he dashed in among them, dealing death at every blow. Slashed with knife cuts and pierced with a lance thrust, he sank down from loss of blood. The Indians approached to scalp him, when he suddenly rose and stabbed three with his knife, and dropped dead. But he was not alone; there were thirteen of his enemies stretched dead on the ground. The Comanches concluded that he had been more than mortal, and that it would be better to propitiate his spirit; so they did not mutilate his body, but later gave it the same funeral rites they gave their chief's.

The career of the great pathfinder was closed, but his life work continued, continues yet, and will be growing while the plains and mountains are occupied by civilized man. The wagon trails made by him across Kansas became national highways; over them the thousands of miners, merchants and home builders, with their families, reached Oregon, California, and the great mountain domain now divided up into great states, with teeming shops, manufactories and pleasant farm homes.

His life, of a little more than thirty-two years, saw more of strenuous activity, hardships and splendid achievement than usually falls to those who live out their allotted span of three score years and ten. His body rests to-day somewhere near Santa Fe, in a grave now unknown.

To sum up the benefits to Kansas from the adventures and explorations of Captain Smith, we find that the interest in his life is not the study of his thrilling adventures, but the results following his success as a pathfinder, not alone of the plains country, but of the mountain region as well. For the Santa Fe and Oregon trails were chiefly valuable to Kansas because of their many branches which ramified the whole mountain country. The two routes from Great Salt Lake, which were discovered by Captain Smith, later became extensions of the trails through Kansas, thus making them transcontinental thoroughfares. Men, horses and mules must be fed on these long journeys; the white man must be protected from the red robbers of the plains and mountains and deserts threaded by the trails; hence supply stations were established at various points along their routes.

Where the two trails left the Missouri, Independence flourished and Kansas City grew up. Further west Council Grove became a supply point and outfitting station, as well as a missionary center for the Indians; here was established a school, with all that a school means in a wild and barbarous land. So it was at other points; and we find Larned and Dodge the survivors of the forts once established near. Later a former employee of Captain Smith, James Bridger, wrote his associates at St. Louis that in the spring there would be considerable travel through to California; that the travelers would need supplies, fresh animals, feed and blacksmithing, and that a post at a certain point named would be profitable from their patronage, and could do a good business trafficking with the Indians. Thus Bridger's post was established, to be bought in after years by the government, and known as Fort Bridger. Captain Smith's one-time partner, Sublette, established Fort Laramie at the mouth of Laramie creek, which in turn became a government post. These, with numerous others of like

character and of more or less importance, became rallying points near which villages sprang up and near which farmers or prospectors settled.

Then came the era of railroad building, and the old trails were found to be the most practical routes. The Union Pacific, beginning near Captain Smith's summer camp on the American Fork, which was named from the location of his camp there, followed through the pass found by him to the Humboldt, while the eastern end built across Kansas in the race to meet the line from the west and secure the premium offered by the government. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe built along the old trail to Santa Fe, later to be extended west to the Pacific, crossing the Colorado river about where Smith first crossed in 1826, and where his company were massacred in 1827.

Because Jim Bridger was able to tell the railroad engineers which of several passes was the lowest, although he could not read, he has been referred to as "the human barometer" by story-writers. It is my opinion that Bridger had a good memory, and handed on to the surveyors information gathered by association with his early employer, Captain Smith; for Captain Smith was able to ascertain the elevation of mountain passes. However, we should give Bridger credit for knowledge which could be gained by long residence in the mountains, coupled with that close observation which is usual with men of his class. Snow stays longer at high elevations than at lower, and memory in that particular would give an approximate knowledge of the elevation of various passes.

In their westward course the Spaniards searched for the fountain of youth, for wealth of gold, silver and precious stones. The Anglo-Saxon's lure was a home, an empire, an opportunity to serve his race. The first were brilliant knights of adventure, brave soldiers of fortune. The last were also brilliant knights of adventure, but they were founders of homes as well as builders of empires. They left their homeland forever, to either found new homes or leave their bones as magnets to attract others of their race.

For that reason I say that the most interesting study of the lives of Captain Smith and his contemporaries is not in their thrilling adventures and hairbreadth escapes, but in the service they rendered their race as pioneers of homes, advance agents of peace, enlightenment and prosperity.

The debt which later generations of Americans owe to such men as Pierre Chouteau, William H. Ashley and Jedediah Strong Smith will never be comprehended in all of its magnitude. While Smith came later on the scene than the others, he adventured farther, observed closer, and gave to the officers of the government the knowledge he gained by the exploration of half a continent.

CROSSING THE PLAINS.

Written by GEORGE H. HIMES,¹ Assistant Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, explanatory of certain statements concerning the gavel.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN CONNECTION with the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Historical building by President William H. Taft, September 27, 1911, the Kansas State Historical Society received from the Oregon Historical Society, as a gift for use on that occasion, a gavel made of twenty-three different kinds of wood, each piece having some very significant historical interest. A circular was issued and widely distributed, giving a sketch of each of the parts of this gavel. A reprint of the circular may be found in full in the secretary's report, as published in the Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Society. Mr. A. B. Adamson, editor of the *Beloit Gazette*, believing he saw some discrepancies in the description, wrote a letter, which is copied herein. It proved a very happy thing to do, because it gave Mr. George H. Himes an opportunity to elaborate on a trip across the plains away back in the thirties and the forties. Herewith are the three paragraphs referred to in this explanation:

"9.—PINE. Taken from the Blue mountains, Oregon, by Dr. Marcus Whitman, in the winter of 1836-'37, being part of a log used in the construction of the Whitman mission buildings, located six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, Wash. On November 29 and 30, 1847, Doctor

NOTE 1.—GEORGE HENRY HIMES, of Portland, Ore., assistant secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, was born at Troy, Bradford county, Pennsylvania, May 18, 1844. He is the son of Tyrus Himes, who was also born in Bradford county, April 14, 1818, and Emiline Holcombe, born in Bradford county in 1821. On the paternal side his ancestry is Welsh and English, coming to this country at an early date, and living, prior to 1810, in New Hampshire and Vermont. On the maternal side, his grandparents were Hugh Holcombe and Prudence Bailey Holcombe, who came to America about 1680. The Holcombes originally entered England from Holland about the twelfth century. His grandparents settled in Bradford county in 1796, and the westward movement of the family began in 1846, when they moved to Stark county, Illinois, in October of that year. On the 21st of October, 1853, the family arrived in Thurston county, which was placed in Washington by the creation of that territory March 2, 1853. The family had been seven months in crossing the plains with ox teams, and when they reached their destination they were destitute of everything. Mr. Himes attended the district school a few terms in Stark county, Illinois, and about the same in Thurston county, Washington territory, ending in 1859. He did the work of a man from twelve to seventeen years of age, felling trees from four to six feet in diameter with an axe. In June, 1861, he entered a newspaper office at Olympia and learned the printer's trade. March 12, 1864, he moved to Portland, Ore., where he has been a busy man ever since. The Oregon Historical Society was organized December 16, 1898, when the board of directors unanimously elected Mr. Himes to take charge of it as assistant secretary. The acquaintance with early settlers of the Pacific Northwest, gained as a result of fourteen years' experience as secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association before the Oregon Historical Society was organized, qualified him to do efficient work. Having twice visited the rooms of the Society, Kansas can say that the directors were most fortunate in their selection. December 24, 1866, at Salem, Ore., Mr. Himes married Anna Frederika Riggs, who was born at East Haven, Conn., September 21, 1849. Her father made the trip to Oregon via the Isthmus in 1853, returned to the States in 1855, and in 1858 took the family to Oregon. Mr. and Mrs. Himes have had eleven children, six of them growing to manhood and womanhood. The pioneer experiences in Oregon, while varying some from those in Kansas, were fully as interesting and trying. They lived in a log cabin for ten years. In the winter of 1853-'54 flour was \$18 a barrel. Boiled wheat often was the sole diet three times a day, but there was very little complaint. There was no market for any surplus of production. The settlers had war with the Indians for a year, beginning in October, 1855, and at four different times they were compelled to occupy stockades. The principal factor in subduing the Indians was the force of volunteers called into service by the governors of Oregon and Washington territories. This war, as well as the other Indian wars of the Far West, was caused by the failure of the United States government in keeping its promises after treaties were made. Mr. Himes has been a handy man in that section, having held many positions of honor and service, with but little emoluments.

Whitman, his wife and twelve other whites were killed by the Indians, and fifty-three women and children taken prisoners and kept for several weeks. These prisoners were rescued by Peter Skene Ogden, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and taken to Oregon City early in 1848. At the time of the massacre the buildings were destroyed by fire, except some portions of logs which were partially buried, from one of which this piece is taken."

"20.—SEEDLING APPLE. Taken from a tree which grew near the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Vancouver, now Vancouver, Wash., from seed brought to that place from London in 1825. Mrs. Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, one of the first two white women to cross the plains from 'the states' to Oregon, arriving at Fort Vancouver on September 12, 1836, made the following entry in her diary under that date: 'What a delightful place this is; what a contrast to the rough, barren sand plains which we have so recently passed. Here we find fruit of every description—apples, peaches, grapes, pears, plums and fig trees in abundance; also, cucumbers, melons, beans peas, beets, cabbage, tomatoes, and every kind of vegetable, too numerous to be mentioned. Every part is very neat and tastefully arranged, with fine walks, lined on each side with strawberry vines. At the opposite end of the garden is a good house, covered with grape vines. Here I must mention the origin of these grapes and apples. A gentleman, twelve years ago, while at a party in London, put the seeds of the grapes and apples which he ate into his vest pocket; soon afterwards he took a voyage to this country and left them here, and now they are greatly multiplied.'"

"22.—OAK, WHITE. From the spoke of a wagon wheel forming a part of a wagon built in Indiana in 1842, and used by Abijah Hendricks in crossing the plains to Oregon in 1843. That was the first year that wagons were brought across the plains from the Missouri to the Columbia river."

G. W. M.

BELOIT, KAN., October 6, 1911.

Secretary State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:

DEAR SIR—In looking over the enclosed folder, which contains matter of a very interesting nature, it occurred to me to inquire how Mrs. Narcissa Prentiss Whitman managed to cross the plains as early as 1836. Did she walk, ride or drive through in a carriage?—it being evident that she could not have gone across in a wagon, as further along in the folder the credit of being one of the first to take a wagon across the plains is given to Abijah Hendricks, who accomplished the task seven years later. Was Mrs. Whitman the wife of Dr. Marcus Whitman, mentioned as being killed by the Indians? Who was the other first white woman to cross the plains? It could hardly have been Mrs. Himes, as she seems to have appeared on the scene at a much later date, though sufficiently early to have the fact commemorated in the gavel.

The story of the vest-pocket grape and apple seed I have come across before, but have always been skeptical about its authenticity. However, whether it is a pleasing figment of the imagination of some old chronicler or not, it has no doubt for long been one of the very sacred traditions of the Oregon country, and as such should be respected by all future historians in the writing of so fascinating a subject as the winning of the West.

Yours truly, A. B. ADAMSON.*

* ALAN BLYTHMAN ADAMSON was born January 23, 1860, at Cullercoats, Northumberland, England, the son of William Adamson and Hannah (Benson) Adamson. He came to Kansas in 1885, having previously lived at Sun Prairie, Wis. June 30, 1894, he married Sada Armour, of Beloit, Kan. The wife was born in Delavan, Wis. They have two children, a son and a daughter. Mr. Adamson is editor and proprietor of the *Beloit Daily Call*, which was established in 1901. The Adamsons have been prominently connected with the north of England for centuries.

A. B. Adamson, *Beloit, Kan.:*

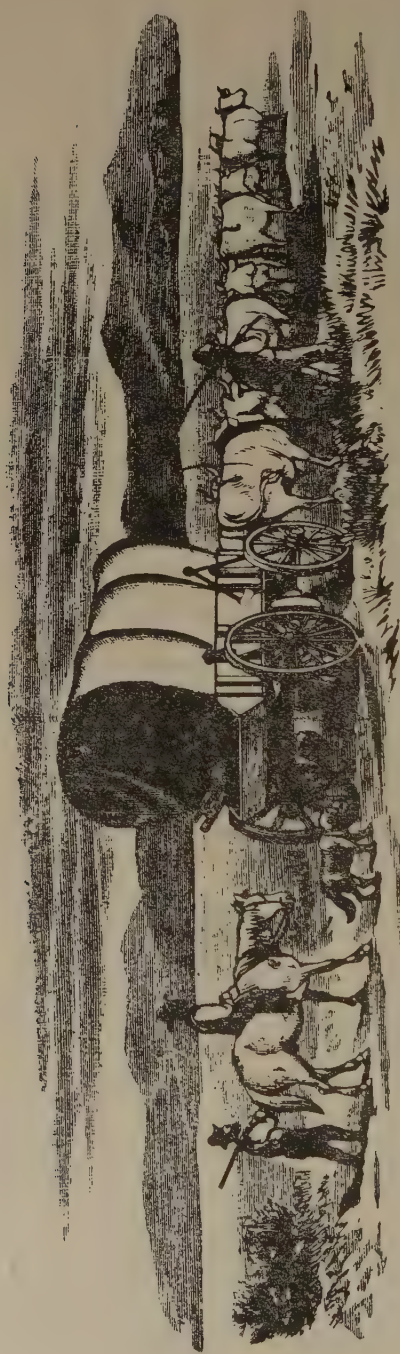
OCTOBER 12, 1911.

DEAR SIR—George W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, has kindly sent me your letter of the 6th inst., together with a circular marked by you, apparently suggestive, as you think, of a number of "discrepancies." In reply I would say that I am glad you called attention to them, as it gives me a chance to show that there are no real discrepancies in the circular, although the matter might perhaps have been more clearly stated. I was under a great deal of pressure the morning I prepared it, being anxious that the gavel should reach Topeka a little ahead of time. I will take the points as you call attention to them, as follows:

1.—*How did Mrs. Narcissa Prentiss Whitman cross the plains?* She with her husband, Dr. Marcus Whitman (an M. D.; not a D. D., as often supposed), Rev. Henry H. Spalding (not Spaulding), his wife, Mrs. Eliza Hart Spalding, and William H. Gray, started from southwestern New York sometime in February, 1836, on their way to the Far West. Spalding and wife had been assigned to mission work among the Osage Indians by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Foreign Missionary Society of the Congregational Churches of the United States, but were visited by Doctor Whitman at Howard, Steuben county, who learned that the board was willing that they should join him in going to the Oregon country, if agreeable to them. The change of plans being satisfactory, all reached Cincinnati in due time, and left that city by steamboat on March 22 for St. Louis, where the party arrived on March 30. On April 1 they started on the steamboat Chariton for Liberty, Mo., where they arrived on April 7. On April 27 William H. Gray and the two Nez Perces Indians joined the party at Liberty, and the same day started for Council Bluffs overland, taking with them the horses, cattle and wagons bought at Liberty. The women intended to take the American Fur Company's steamer at Liberty for Council Bluffs, but failing to secure passage thereon on account of the boat being overcrowded, a team was secured to convey the baggage, and the ladies rode on horseback to Fort Leavenworth, arriving May 5. On May 19 the party arrived at the Otoe Mission, the ladies riding horses, and at once pressed on and overtook the American Fur Company's train, in charge of Mr. Fitzpatrick, on May 27 at midnight, and camped on the south side of Loup Fork.²

On June 3 the mission party consisted of five missionaries, three Indian boys and two young men employed to assist in packing animals. The camp at that date was on Platte river, just above the point where Loup Fork enters. The mission stock then consisted of fourteen horses, six mules and

NOTE 2.—The Rev. Mr. Dunbar acted as pilot to the missionary party to the point where they overtook the American Fur Company's caravan. "At this point the missionary menagerie was first exhibited, not that they attempted to make any display or posted any handbills, . . . but the strange appearance of two white ladies in a caravan consisting of rough American hunters, Canadian packers with Indian women, with all the paraphernalia of a wild mountain expedition, drew the attention of all." The Fur Company's caravan consisted of nineteen carts with two mules to each, hitched tandem, and one light Dearborn wagon. With the train was an Englishman, Sir William Drummond, traveling under the name of Captain Stewart, who had with him two wagons. The missionary party had two wagons, one a two-horse light wagon and the other a four-horse farm wagon. All of the wagons and carts were to be left at Fort Laramie, but "Dr. Whitman insisted on taking one of the mission wagons along. The fur company concluded to try the experiment with him, and took one of their carts along. . . . To him (Doctor Whitman) must be given the credit of the first practical experiment, though Ashley, Ronneville and Bridger had taken wagons into the Rocky Mountains and left them, and pronounced the experiment a failure and a wagon road impracticable."—History of Oregon, W. H. Gray, pp. 115-118.



The "Winning of the West," initiated by Oregon pioneers starting from numerous points from the Atlantic to the Mississippi valley in March, April and May, 1832-1869.—Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.



Approaching the end of the "Oregon Trail" five to seven months later. From 1840 to 1859 not less than 25,000 emigrants were buried in nameless graves between the Missouri and Columbia rivers. Did the effort and sacrifice pay? The present conditions from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific ocean answer that question.—Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

fifteen head of cattle, four of them cows. Then there were *two wagons*, one being occupied by Doctor Whitman and wife and Mr. Spalding and wife; the other was driven by Mr. Gray, who had charge of the baggage. The fur company's outfit consisted of 70 men, nearly 400 animals, mostly mules, seven wagons drawn by six mules each, and one cart drawn by two mules, which carried a lame man, one of the partners of the company.

On July 25 Mrs. Whitman says in her diary: "Husband has had a serious time with the wagon to-day. . . . It upset twice." In speaking of her husband Mrs. Whitman says: "All the most difficult part of the way he has walked, in laborious attempts to take the wagon." On July 28 Mrs. Whitman again refers to the wagon, thus: "One of the axletrees of the wagon broke to-day; was a little rejoiced, for we were in hopes they would leave it and have no more trouble with it. Our rejoicing is in vain, for they are making a cart of the back wheels this afternoon and lashing the fore wheels to it, intending to take it through in some shape or other." On the 29th the party arrived at Fort Hall.³

On August 12 Mrs. Whitman says: "Husband thought it best to lighten the wagons as much as possible and take nothing but the wheels, leaving the box with my trunk." This was twenty miles below the American Falls, on Snake river.

On August 13 the mission party crossed Snake river by fording. In speaking of it Mrs. Whitman says: "Husband had considerable difficulty in crossing the cart. Both cart and mules were turned upside down in the river and entangled in the harness."

The party arrived at Fort Boise at noon August 19, and resumed their journey on the 21st. On the day following Mrs. Whitman says: "As to the wagon; it is left at the fort, and I have nothing to say about crossing it at this time. Five of our cattle were left there also, to be exchanged for others at Walla Walla. Perhaps you will wonder why we left the wagon, having taken it so nearly through. Our animals were failing, and the route in crossing the Blue mountains is said to be impassable for it. We have the prospect of obtaining one in exchange for it. If we do not we shall send for it, when (since) we have been to so much labor in getting it thus far. It is a useful article in the country."⁴

As a matter of fact, however, I have never been able to find any reliable evidence to support the statement sometimes made that the Whitman wagon ever left Fort Boise. It was there in 1839, according to the testi-

NOTE 3.—"At Fort Hall we had another overhauling and lightening of baggage. The doctor was advised to take his wagon apart and pack it, if he calculated to get it through the terrible canyons and deep, bottomless creeks we must pass in going down Snake plains. Miles Goodyear, the boy we picked up two days from Fort Leavenworth, who had been assigned to assist the doctor, was determined, if the doctor took his wagon any further, to leave the company. He was the only one that could be spared to assist in this wild, and, as all considered, crazy undertaking. . . . This loss of manual strength to the mission party compelled the doctor to curtail his wagon; so he made a cart on two of the wheels, placed the axle-tree and the other two wheels on his cart, and about the 1st of August, 1836, our camp was again in motion."—History of Oregon, W. H. Gray, p. 138.

NOTE 4.—"At this place (Fort Boise) McLeod and McKay and all the Johnny Cra-pauds of the company united in the opinion that it was impossible to get the doctor's cart any further without taking it all apart, bending the iron tires on the wheels, and packing it in parfleche (the dried hide of the buffalo, used as an outside covering for packs); in that way we might get it through if the animals we packed it on did not fall with it from the precipices over which we must pass. . . . A compromise was made, that after the party had reached their permanent location the doctor or Mr. Gray would return . . . and get the wagon. . . . To this proposition the doctor consented."—History of Oregon, W. H. Gray, p. 140.

mony of T. J. Farnham, so quoted by Maj. H. M. Chittenden, in his "History of the Fur Trade of the Far West."

Many writers upon historical matters in this part of the country have made statements regarding a variety of subjects that were not in accordance with the facts, because they depended upon Rev. H. H. Spalding for information. He was a devoted Christian man and untiring in his devotion to the effort to Christianize the Indian. At the same time he was—no doubt unconsciously—given to exaggeration, and that grew upon him as he advanced in years. This characteristic caused even Doctor Whitman, from the standpoint of a medical expert, to discount strongly Spalding's statements unless well supported by other evidence.

I will now quote briefly from the account of Dr. Robert Newell,⁵ who brought the first wagon to Fort Walla Walla, now Wallula, Washington, in 1840. The party consisted of Doctor Newell and family, Joseph L. Meek and family, Caleb Wilkins, and Frederic Ermatinger, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. It had been regarded foolish to attempt to take wagons west of Fort Hall. The doctor suggested the experiment, Wilkins approved, and Ermatinger yielded. Revs. Harvey Clarke, A. B. Smith and P. B. Littlejohn, missionaries, had accompanied the American Fur Company's expedition as far as Green river, where they employed Doctor Newell to pilot them to Fort Hall. On arriving there they found their animals so reduced that they concluded to abandon the two wagons, and Newell accepted them for his service as guide. In a letter written on February 27, 1867, presumably at Champoege, Oregon, to Hon. Elwood Evans, then a resident of Olympia, Washington territory, Doctor Newell said:

"At the time I took the wagons I had no idea of bringing them into this country. I exchanged fat horses to these missionaries for their animals; and after they had gone a month or more for the Willamette, and the American Fur Company had abandoned the country for good, I concluded to try the much-dreaded job of bringing a wagon to Oregon. I sold one of those wagons to Mr. Ermatinger at Fort Hall. Mr. Caleb Wilkins had a small wagon which Joel Walker had left at Fort Hall. On the 5th of August, 1840, we put out with three wagons. Joseph L. Meek drove my wagon. In a few days we began to realize the difficult task before us, and found that the continual crashing of the sage under our wagons, which was in many places higher than the mules' backs, was no joke. Seeing our animals begin to fail, we began to lighten up, finally threw away our wagon beds, and were quite sorry we had undertaken the job. All the consolation we had was that we broke the first sage on that road, and were too proud to eat anything but dried salmon skins after our provisions became exhausted. In a rather rough and reduced state we arrived at Doctor Whitman's mission in the Walla Walla valley, where we were met by that hospitable man, and kindly made welcome and feasted accordingly. On hearing me regret that I had undertaken to bring wagons, the Doctor said: 'Oh! you will never regret it. You have broken the ice, and when others see that wagons have passed, they, too, will pass, and in a few years the valley will be full of our people.'"

In a footnote, page 242, Bancroft's "History of Oregon," it is said that

NOTE 5.—A most interesting biography of Doctor Newell will be found in the Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, June, 1908. He was a picturesque character, and began his career with Smith, Jackson & Sublette, making a trip to the Rocky Mountains with them in 1829. He was afterward a free trapper, but gave up the life in 1840, realizing that the competition of the Hudson's Bay Company was too much for American trappers. He became a man of prominence in the Oregon country. It has been said of him that he "was head and shoulders above all the other mountain men in his knowledge of government and in the knowledge of the methods necessary to be employed in organizing a government; in fact, he was something of a statesman."

Newell took his wagon to the Tualatin plains, Willamette valley, in 1842, but I have never been able to find that statement confirmed by anything that Newell ever said. While Newell was a free trapper and a frontiersman in every element of his nature, he was a thoroughly dependable man. Jesse Applegate, a pioneer of 1843, a man who was respected most highly by all who knew him, said of Newell, whom he knew very well: "He was brave among the bravest, mirthful without being undignified, prudent and sensible, and of unquestionable veracity."

The foregoing, although not in the form I intended it should be when I began, covers many of the questions you raised in the body of your letter. It shows conclusively that Whitman did not bring the first wagon across the plains in 1836; that missionaries brought wagons to Green river in 1840, and that Newell brought one of those wagons to the Whitman mission, "which is over 200 miles from the end of the journey across the plains"; left it there, as plainly shown in a paragraph in the letter of Newell above quoted, when he started for the Willamette valley on October 1, 1840. I have no documentary evidence relating to the wagon of Abijah Hendricks. My personal knowledge of him and his family, however, began nearly fifty years ago, and the parts of the wagon referred to in paragraph 22 of folder relate to a wagon that all claimed was brought across the plains "from the Missouri to the Columbia river" in 1843. I might have added that there were many other wagons brought clear through that year that I have had personal knowledge of, but that when I began making the collection for this Society when it was started, on December 16, 1898, I was only able to find parts of two of the 1843 wagons—an axletree, three hubs and several spokes of the Hendricks wagon; and one hub of one of the Daniel Waldo wagons, and that was given to me for the Historical Society by a son of Mr. Waldo, born in Oregon in 1844. The fact of its being a hub of one of the wagons that was brought in 1843 was supported by an older son, who was eleven years old that year.

In conclusion, in the matter of the first wagon to Oregon, I submit that the question of definition must first be settled. As you will doubtless remember, the "Oregon country" prior to June 15, 1846, was bounded as follows: north, 54° 40'; east, summit of the Rocky Mountains; south, 42°; west, Pacific ocean. Therefore, since Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., on leave of absence for two years, on a trapping expedition, brought a wagon across the plains through the South Pass to a point west of the Rocky Mountains in 1832, it is clear that that wagon was the first to enter Oregon, although it was not within almost a thousand miles of any Oregon settlement; but if it is contended that the bringing of wagons from the starting points clear through to their final destination the same year should be considered as among the first, then the Hendricks and Waldo wagons deserve recognition.

In this connection it should be remembered that it is one thing for a trapping or a missionary party, well equipped in every way and amply supplied with funds provided by promoters, to barely enter Oregon or to proceed half way through it; and a vastly different thing for men with families, entirely self-dependent, to enter an unknown land and depend entirely upon themselves for protection and support. That was the point I had in mind when paragraph 22 was written. By reference to my original notes I find that the last sentence in that paragraph was as follows: "That was the

first year that wagons were brought across the plains from the Missouri river to the Columbia river by the settlers." And that is strictly true, and as the statement should be made if published.

2.—*The Story of the Vest-pocket Grape and Apple Seeds.* As will be observed in paragraph 20, referring to "seedling apple" wood, it will be seen that credit for the story is given Mrs. Whitman. It is certain that she got it from Doctor McLoughlin, as I have known other persons to refer to Doctor McLoughlin as their authority for the story, and Doctor McLoughlin established Fort Vancouver in the winter of 1824-'25. Furthermore, I was on the ground at Fort Vancouver in July, 1864, and personally knew persons then living who pointed out a number of the old apple trees, standing at that time, and declared that their origin was as stated in the paragraph noted above. About ten years ago I asked David McLoughlin, a son of Doctor McLoughlin, what his recollection of the origin of the old fruit trees in the Hudson's Bay Company orchard was, and he confirmed the story as already given, saying that he got it from the old Scotch gardener, Bruce; this after an absence from Fort Vancouver of about forty-two years. David McLoughlin first went to Fort Vancouver early in 1832, and was personally acquainted with all the surroundings there up to 1859, when he left this part of the country and did not return until 1901. John Ball, who arrived at Vancouver in November, 1832, in writing to his people in Lansingburg, N. Y., on February 23, 1833, says: "Trees are now in blossom." And again, "Many kinds of fruit trees have been introduced, which succeed well." It is probable that what I have given you will be sufficient to remove all "skepticism" which may exist in relation to this matter. If not, kindly make a trip to Portland, and I will go to Vancouver and show you one of the old trees still "doing business at the old stand." Of course, I confess that I am not able now to produce any witnesses to prove that the seeds came from London in somebody's "vest pocket." Nevertheless, I have no more doubt about it than that I am now alive.

Thus endeth this long, and I hope not altogether tedious and tiresome, "lesson." Yours truly, GEO. H. HIMES, *Assistant Secretary.*

DAVID E. BALLARD.

JOHN K. RANKIN.



EDWIN C. MANNING.

SAMUEL J. CRAWFORD.

HORACE L. MOORE.

Soldiers of the Second Kansas Cavalry in 1861.

Picture taken Sep. 26, 1911.

VII.

THE SOLDIER IN KANSAS.

A HISTORIC PICTURE.

THIS picture is a remarkable human epitome of a half century of Kansas. All these men came to Kansas in territorial days and served in the Second Kansas cavalry regiment in 1861, and three of them were at Wilson's Creek, close to General Lyon when he fell. One became governor, one became congressman, and four served in the state legislature. All married and reared families; all acquired a competence by industry and economy; all attended the laying of the corner stone of the Historical and Memorial building, September 27, 1911, and this group was taken then. The central figure in the lower line is Ex-Gov. Samuel J. Crawford; on his left is Col. Horace L. Moore; on his right is Hon. Edwin C. Manning. In the upper line on the left is Hon. David E. Ballard; on the right Hon. John K. Rankin.

These men still live in Kansas, and although ranging in age from seventy-three to seventy-seven, are still actively participating in private affairs and public life. All five are members of the Kansas State Historical Society. Moore and Manning are ex-presidents; Ballard and Crawford are vice presidents. They are wonderful contributors to Kansas history. They have known every phase of pioneer life. In all these years each has been clean, faithful and true in public as well as in private life. The entire list of ex-presidents of the Kansas State Historical Society has a most remarkable connection with the history of the state, all having been conspicuous in its historical and political development. The brief sketches following, of the men in this photograph, will show remarkable activity and usefulness on the part of each. The Kansas State Historical Society is very proud of such friends and promoters. Not in a hundred years to come will such a group be duplicated. It looks as though the Second Kansas cavalry had captured the State Historical Society in 1912.

DAVID ELLENWOOD BALLARD.

The subject of this sketch was born in Franklin, Vt., March 20, 1836. He was carried in his mother's arms the next year to central Ohio, Sparta. Here he attended the public schools until 1848, when his people moved to Lansing, Mich., while Lansing was a city of trees and stumps. In 1850 the boy went down to Mount Gilead, Ohio, to clerk for his uncle, Wm. Henry Harrison, and a year later returned home to clerk for his father and go to school. His father's store burned down in 1852, without insurance, and he was a bankrupt. Then young Ballard had to leave school, and went out to

central Iowa, Toledo, to sell goods for his uncle again, thereby helping support a family of ten brothers and sisters. By the way, there have been ten children in the Ballard family for five generations, and the subject of this sketch, not to be outdone, has accumulated the same number, all living but two.

Early in the spring of 1857 Ballard heard the call to Kansas, the *New York Tribune* calling for voters to go to Kansas to vote it a free state, and he packed his belongings, including a Sharps rifle, and went, arriving in Lawrence April 23. He voted there in July for a new city charter. Afterwards he settled on a claim near Powhattan, Brown county, and taught school the winter of 1857 and 1858. In the spring of 1858 he got into the town-site business, and laid out Pacific City, in Nemaha county, and ran it for the county seat against Richmond and Seneca, but lost. He hiked out for Washington county, where the next year, 1859, he laid out the town of Washington, which became the county seat the following year. He was elected the first county clerk and the first register of deeds of that county. He had been elected, December 6, 1859, a member of the first state legislature from the third district, composed of Nemaha, Marshall and Washington counties, and served during the session, but after Sumter was shot at by rebels he was on the drill ground half the time, with about twenty-five other members, all of whom went into the army, learning the step and march of the soldier.

He is of Puritan ancestry and Yankee born, with Revolutionary War ancestors on both sides of the house. His grandmother Ballard was of the Everett family of Boston, and his grandfather Ellenwood was a sea captain, and sailed from Halifax harbor and fought pirates in the Mediterranean.

In November, 1861, Ballard recruited forty-one men in Marshall and Washington counties and took them to Fort Leavenworth at his own expense. There they were all mustered in, he as first lieutenant. They were assigned to the Second Kansas infantry, which was reorganizing, and the detachment afterward became company H, Second Kansas cavalry. Lieutenant Ballard was in all the engagements in which that historic regiment participated during the war, serving three years and three months, when he resigned to accept the appointment of quartermaster general of Kansas under Governor Crawford.

He was married in Leavenworth city December 25, 1865, to Louise Bowen, of Brandon, Vt. In 1867 he moved to Manhattan and sold Kansas Pacific railroad lands, and in 1869 he moved onto his Little Blue farm in Washington county. In 1878 he was elected to the legislature again, and is the father of the penitentiary coal shaft, and now, at seventy-five years of age, is again a candidate for the nomination of representative, fifty-ninth district, Washington county.

G. W. M.

SAMUEL JOHNSON CRAWFORD.

Samuel Johnson Crawford was born in Lawrence county, Indiana, April 10, 1835. His parents were William Crawford and Jane Morrow Crawford, both born in North Carolina and emigrating to Indiana in 1815, five years after their marriage. The boy Samuel was educated in the common schools of Indiana, finishing his education at the law school of the Cincinnati Col-

lege. Of Scotch descent, with Revolutionary War ancestors, he had plenty of war blood in his veins, as his brilliant military service in the Civil War proves.

He came to Kansas in March, 1859, and settled at Garnett, in Anderson county, engaging in the practice of law. In December of the same year he was elected as a member of the first state legislature under the Wyandotte constitution, which had just been adopted. On March 26, 1861, this legislature convened at Topeka, and he became a lawmaker. After Sumter was fired upon, he, in May, obtained a leave of absence from the house of representatives and returned to Garnett to recruit a company of infantry for military service in suppressing the rebellion. He was elected captain of the company, which entered the service as company E of the Second Kansas infantry, at the head of which regiment General Lyon fell at Wilson's Creek August 10, 1861. When the Second Kansas infantry was mustered out and its reorganization as a cavalry regiment began, Crawford was active in the work and was made captain of company A.

October 22, 1862, at Maysville, Ark. (old Fort Wayne), Captain Crawford led a detachment, consisting of about 100 men on foot, in a charge upon a rebel battery which was supported by 3000 Confederates, capturing it and taking it off the field. Captain Crawford was the first man at the guns when they were captured. With this gallant act, done upon his own initiative, accompanied by Lieut. Horace L. Moore and Lieut. D. E. Ballard, his military fame was established. In all the engagements of the Second until October, 1863, he bore a conspicuous part. October 1 he was appointed colonel of the Eighty-third U. S. colored infantry, a newly raised and equipped regiment then at Fort Smith, Ark. Under his command this regiment did heroic service.

In the fall of 1864, and while in the field with his regiment, he was nominated governor of Kansas, and returned to the state after his nomination in time to render efficient service as a staff officer in driving out Price and his army. He was elected governor on the 8th of November, just two weeks after the battle of Mine Creek, when Price was driven from the state. After serving four years as governor he was commissioned colonel of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, and took the field with the regiment to subdue the hostile Indians on the plains. In 1911 he contributed to the history of Kansas a book entitled "Kansas in the Sixties," which is the chronicle of a busy, eventful and patriotic life.

E. C. M.

EDWIN CASSANDER MANNING.

Edwin Cassander Manning was born at Redford, Clinton county, New York, November 7, 1838, and lived with his parents at Burlington, Vt., until 1852, when he came to Dubuque county, Iowa. In the spring of 1859 he came to Kansas, spending the summer in the gold diggings near Denver and in the fall settling at Marysville, Marshall county. Early in 1861 he was appointed postmaster at Marysville, resigning in November to enlist in the Second Kansas infantry, shortly to be reorganized into a cavalry regiment. In the fall of 1862 he was appointed first lieutenant in the Indian Home Guards and assigned to the command of company C. On account of ill health, he resigned in 1863 and returned to Marysville, where he purchased

the newspaper named the *Big Blue Union*. In the fall of 1864 he was elected to the Kansas state senate from the district embracing Marshall, Washington and Riley counties. In 1866 he removed his printing office to Manhattan and established a paper there called the *Kansas Radical*. In 1867 he was elected mayor of Manhattan. He sold his paper to L. R. Elliott in 1868, and engaged in taking contracts for government supplies at frontier posts.

In the fall of 1869 he took a claim on the Osage reservation, organizing the Winfield Town Company in January, 1870, and succeeded in organizing Cowley county and making his claim the county seat of the county in February of that year. His claim cabin was the only house on the original town site of Winfield. In November he was elected the first representative of Cowley county to the Kansas legislature. He published the *Winfield Courier* from 1875 to 1878, erected the block known at the time as Manning's Opera House, and other business houses in 1876, 1877 and 1878, and in the fall of 1878 was again elected as a member of the Kansas legislature. From 1880 to 1882 he was engaged in mining and railroad work in New Mexico, and in 1882 went to Washington, D. C., and for twelve years was engaged in engineering work, mining in Virginia and railroad work in Virginia and Tennessee. In 1896 he returned to Winfield, where he now resides. He has been quite a contributor to the public prints, publishing his autobiography in 1911, and to the making of Kansas history. At the time this picture was taken, when the corner stone of the Kansas Historical Memorial Building was laid, September 27, 1911, he was the president of the Kansas State Historical Society.

G. W. M.

HORACE LADD MOORE.

Horace Ladd Moore was born at Mantua, Ohio, February 25, 1837, the son of Samuel Moore and Elizabeth Keyes Moore. He was educated at the Western Reserve Electric Institute, at Hiram, Ohio, James A. Garfield being after teacher in the institute at the time. Young Moore taught school in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and emigrated to Kansas in 1858, settling at Lawrence. There he read law in the office of Christian & Lane, but the Civil War coming on cut short his legal career.

On May 14, 1861, he enlisted in company D, Second Kansas infantry, serving in all the engagements of that regiment, among them the noted battle of Wilson's Creek. When the Second Kansas infantry was mustered out by reason of its expiring term of service he reenlisted in the Second Kansas cavalry, and was made second lieutenant of company D, and on May 1, 1862, was promoted to first lieutenant. He was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Fourth Arkansas cavalry February 16, 1864, and commanded that regiment until it was mustered out, June 30, 1865. On September 16, 1864, he married Esther A. Harmon, and they have reared a family of two sons.

In 1867, to check the depredations of Indians on the plains, the Eighteenth Kansas was enlisted and mustered into the United States service. Colonel Moore was given command of the battalion, with the rank of major. Indian hostilities increasing, Governor Crawford was authorized in the fall of 1868 to raise another Kansas regiment for frontier duty. The governor resigned

his office to take command of this regiment, the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, and, having been intimately associated with Major Moore in the Civil War, he prevailed upon him to accept the lieutenant colonelcy. Colonel Crawford resigned the command in February, 1869, Colonel Moore succeeding him. It was a memorable campaign for both officers and men. A graphic story of it was published in volume 10 of the Kansas Historical Collections.

When his time of enlistment had expired Colonel Moore engaged in business in Las Vegas and Albuquerque, N. M., but in 1882 returned to Lawrence. He has been treasurer of Douglas county, and was a member of the Fifty-third Congress from the second district. At the present time he is vice president of the Lawrence National Bank.

Such, briefly told, are the high points of a career of one of the "boys" in the picture. He has been a state builder, a history maker, and has filled full the measure of a patriotic American citizen. What better record can a man have?

E. C. M.

JOHN KNOX RANKIN.

John Knox Rankin was born in Cass county, Indiana, November 3, 1837, of Scotch-Irish parentage. His father, Rev. Robert Rankin, and three of his father's brothers were Presbyterian ministers. The Rev. Mr. Rankin died when John was three years of age, and his mother reared him, giving him an education in an antislavery school in Ohio, all his people being active antislavery workers. His great-grandfather, Capt. Thomas Rankin, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and took with him into that service four sons, one of whom, Richard, was the grandfather of the subject of this sketch.

On May 1, 1859, J. K. Rankin arrived in Lawrence, Kan., joining his brother who had come to Douglas county in 1857. Under Gen. James H. Lane young Rankin toured Douglas county on an electioneering tour in a "one-horse shay." He served as doorkeeper in the territorial council of 1859, and in 1860-'61 he was an enrolling clerk. He also served as journal clerk of the first state legislature, and was the first person to inform General Lane of his election as United States senator.

When the Second Kansas infantry was organized, in June, 1861, Rankin was mustered as second lieutenant of company C, and served in all the engagements in which that regiment participated, including the famous battle of Wilson's Creek. When the regiment was mustered out and the Second Kansas cavalry was formed, in the fall of 1861, Rankin engaged in its reorganization, and was chosen second lieutenant of company H. In the spring of 1862 he was, with other officers and 156 men, assigned to the artillery service in a brigade under Gen. Robert B. Mitchell, with orders to join General Grant's army at Corinth, Miss. Later this battalion was mounted as cavalry, with Lieutenant Rankin in command, and used as a body guard to General Mitchell through North Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky. Shortly after participating in the battle of Perryville, the detachment was returned to the Second Kansas, Lieutenant Rankin remaining with General Mitchell as personal aide-de-camp. His staff duties brought him to Lawrence, Kan., in August, 1863, and on the 21st of that month Quantrill raided the town, murdering 160 men and boys. Lieutenant Rankin was one of the only two men who offered open resistance to the guerrillas, by engaging in

a pistol duel in the street with six of the murderers. He later joined in pursuit of the raiders and engaged in the skirmish at the Fletcher farm. Here he was so overcome with emotion and rage at the failure of the attack on Quantrill and his gang that he wept with humiliation. The whole of that humiliating incident should be told by some one. Lieutenant Rankin served on General Mitchell's staff, taking part in all the campaigns of the army of the Cumberland until after the battle of Chickamauga.

At the expiration of his term of enlistment, June, 1865, he was appointed by Governor Crawford as paymaster and inspector general of the Kansas militia, with the rank of colonel. This appointment he held during the two terms of Governor Crawford's administration, in the meantime making final payment of the border militia of Doniphan, Douglas and other counties. In 1865 he was elected to the legislature from Douglas county, and elected again in 1888. From 1867 to 1871 he was postmaster of Lawrence, and in 1875-'76 was mayor of that city. In 1890 he was appointed special allotting and disbursing agent in the Indian service, where he remained for nineteen years, during which time he made allotments to about 15,000 Indians in Arizona, New Mexico, Washington, Oregon, Montana, Nebraska and Oklahoma.

Quiet and unassuming in manner and appearance, he has a personal history of trials, dangers, responsibilities and achievements that have fallen to but few of the generation of heroes who are passing away. The North American Indian is a better judge of men than is his civilized brother. If, after dealing with thousands of them, different in tribe and country, one remains high in their regard, it is a better certificate of character than can be obtained from any other source, and this is the certificate John Knox Rankin has earned. More moral and physical heroism and bravery was never clothed in flesh.

E. C. M.

GENERAL THOMAS EWING, JR.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by MAJOR HARRISON HANNAHS.¹

IN JULY, 1862, the President issued a call for 300,000 volunteers for "three years or during the war." Under this call Gen. James H. Lane was appointed, July 22, commissioner of recruiting in Kansas. He was authorized to raise three regiments, to be designated the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth. Thomas Ewing, jr., was authorized by Lane to recruit the Eleventh, Charles W. Adams, Lane's son-in-law, the Twelfth, and Thomas

NOTE 1.—In the month of February, 1911, Maj. Harrison Hannahs, being in Topeka attending the forty-sixth anniversary of the founding of Washburn College, called at the rooms of the Historical Society. In the course of conversation he had much to say of a very pleasant nature concerning General Thomas Ewing, which we asked him to make a matter of record. Upon his return to his home in Denver he promptly responded. This was most fortunate, because one week later, February 25, 1911, he died at his old home in Rome, N. Y. On the 18th of February, which was his seventy-ninth birthday, he celebrated by making an historical address at Washburn College, Topeka. An interesting feature of what he has furnished us in this article is something clever and unselfish about Lane, one of whose most formidable rivals for the senatorship was Ewing. Major Hannahs was born in Marcy, N. Y., February 18, 1832. He was educated in the public schools and the Albany Normal College. He taught school in Illinois in 1855. He arrived in Topeka April 10, 1856, with a party of six free-state men. About the first thing he did was to confer with W. H. Fitzpatrick and John Richey about a college. In 1858 he married Elizabeth Helen Pease. In 1862 he enlisted with General Thomas Ewing in the Eleventh Kansas and was commissioned as first lieutenant of company H, serving to the end of the war. Up to 1892 he conducted a dry-goods business in Rome, N. Y., when he removed to Denver, Colo. He was for several years an elder in the Presbyterian Church, was interested in the Y. M. C. A. and in every betterment movement. About the last thing he did was to write this paper about his old friend Thomas Ewing, for whom he had acted as adjutant during most of his military service.



THOMAS EWING, JR.,
First chief justice of Kansas—brigadier
general—author General Order No. 11.

M. Bowen the Thirteenth. The state was divided into three recruiting districts, and it was expected that each recruiting officer would confine his work to the district assigned him. Ewing had the first choice, and chose the district along the Kaw valley and north to the Nebraska line, and on the 6th of August, 1862, established regimental rendezvous near Fort Leavenworth, which he christened Camp Lyon. Ewing was chief justice of the state at the time, and ambitious to be the successor of Lane in the United States senate. He knew, as every one in Kansas knew, that in order to reach the goal of his ambitions he must have a military record back of him, for when the Kansas soldiers returned from the war they would dictate who should be the successor of Lane.

In six weeks the Eleventh was mustered. I enlisted at Topeka August 15, as private, and recruited a squad for company H. In the latter part of

August we were ordered into camp at Fort Leavenworth. Ewing came to my tent one evening and invited me to go to his house for supper. After supper he said: "I have a horse saddled here for you, and I want you to go to Lawrence with a message to Lane. Captain Joy has a squad of recruits at Burlingame, and they are outside my territory, and I want Lane to order them to report to me to be mustered into my regiment. I want you to be in Lawrence to-morrow morning, and as soon as Lane gets up, see him before Captain Joy's company reaches Lawrence. He will be there in the forenoon, and may attach his command to Adams' regiment." I reached Lawrence in due time, put up at a hotel, and waited for the morning. In the morning I walked out to the vicinity of Lane's house and watched for signs of life. Presently Lane came to the front door in his shirt sleeves, his shirt collar unbuttoned. I started for the house, knocked at the door, and Lane opened it and invited me in. I handed him the message from Ewing. He stood while he read it, and then inquired how the recruiting was going on. He then said, "I will see Mr. Joy when he arrives in the city, and I think I can arrange it with him to go on to Leavenworth and report to Ewing." About ten o'clock Joy and his squad arrived, and I accompanied Lane to meet him. Joy had recruited his men with the understanding they were to join the Twelfth regiment, and he said he would talk with them and see how they felt about joining the Eleventh. Lane talked with the men also. The result was that Joy and his men marched with me to Leavenworth and reported to Ewing, and subsequently were mustered in the Eleventh as company I. I relate this story to show that at that time Lane and Ewing were good friends. This incident shows it, for it would have been very natural for Lane to favor his own son-in-law, Mr. Adams, who

was recruiting the Twelfth. I talked with Adams about it then, and he objected strenuously to the transfer of Joy's men to the Eleventh. Our regiment was mustered on the 15th day of September, 1862, and started at once for Fort Scott.

It is not my purpose here to give a history of our march to Fort Scott and on to southwest Missouri, and of our campaign into Arkansas. Other pens have described that. I will state at this point that we left Fort Leavenworth on the day of muster without receiving our muster-in rolls, and the officers without their commissions, and we did not receive them for several months thereafter. Returning from our campaign into Arkansas, I was ordered to Fort Leavenworth on official business. We had not then received any pay, because we had no copies of our muster rolls. Arriving at the fort I called on the adjutant and inquired if he knew anything about our muster rolls. He did not. I called on the several officers there with like results, but I learned that Captain Thompson, who was the mustering officer, was supposed to be dead, and no one at the fort knew anything about what he did with our rolls. I went through the different buildings at the barracks, most of which were vacant, and finally found the one in which Captain Thompson had his office. It was empty, the door was open, and the only piece of furniture in the room was a desk, in which were some bits of paper but no muster rolls. I began to give up in despair of finding them. The desk was an old-fashioned one, reaching nearly to the ceiling. I finally hunted up a stepladder and climbed to the top of the book case over the desk, and there to my great joy I found the muster-in rolls of the several companies of our regiment, officially signed by Captain Thompson, mustering officer.

After the battle of Prairie Grove, Ewing was commissioned a brigadier general. In the spring of 1863 the District of the Border was created, with headquarters at Kansas City, and General Ewing placed in command, whereupon I became acting adjutant general. In the winter of 1864 Ewing was transferred to the District of St. Louis, and I went with him as acting adjutant general.

On the 9th of March, 1864, General Grant was commissioned lieutenant general in command of all the armies, and after receiving his commission he returned to Nashville to meet Sherman and talk over matters relating to the spring campaign. Sherman assumed command of the Military Division of the Mississippi on the 18th of March. Grant invited Sherman to accompany him to Cincinnati on his return to Washington, so they could mature plans for the movement of the armies.² About nine o'clock on the evening

NOTE 2.—"I had left Washington the night before to return to my old command in the West and to meet Sherman, whom I had telegraphed to join me at Nashville. Sherman assumed command of the military division of the Mississippi on the 18th of March, and we left Nashville together for Cincinnati. I had Sherman accompany me that far on my way back to Washington, so that we could talk over the matters about which I wanted to see him without losing any more time from my new command than was necessary."—Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, vol. 2, p. 118.

"On the 18th of March, 1864, at Nashville, Tenn., I relieved Lieutenant General Grant in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing the departments of the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee and Arkansas, commanded respectively by Major Generals Schofield, Thomas, McPherson and Steele. General Grant was in the act of starting east to assume command of the armies of the United States, but more particularly to give direction in person to the armies of the Potomac and James, operating against Richmond; and I accompanied him as far as Cincinnati on his way, to avail myself of the opportunity to discuss privately many little details incident to the contemplated changes and of preparation for the great events then impending. Among these was the intended assignment to duty of many officers of note and influence who had by the force of events drifted into inactivity and discontent."—Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman, vol. 2, p. 5.

of the 18th of March General Ewing and I were in our office at St. Louis, when he received a telegram from Sherman to meet him at Pana, Ill., at an hour designated. Ewing asked me to get a time table, and we found he could get the train that night for Pana. Mrs. Ewing and the children were in the city, and he requested me to notify them, then started at once. The following is the story he gave me on his return from the trip. Arriving at Pana, he joined Sherman and Grant, who were in a private car journeying east. Sherman had prepared maps of the country between Chattanooga and Atlanta, showing the various woods, strategic points and forts. I have one of these maps, also an original photograph of Sherman and his staff on Kenesaw Mountain, overlooking Atlanta, which General Ewing gave me after the war. Sherman laid before Grant his plan of march to Atlanta, and they discussed it; also Sherman's plan of March from Atlanta to the sea. Grant did not at first favor the plan of march to Atlanta, and refused utterly to consider the plan from Atlanta to the sea. Finally Grant said he would consent to the plan as far as Atlanta, and would submit it to Mr. Lincoln for his approval, leaving the matter there; and if Sherman should be successful in capturing Atlanta, then he would consider the plan to the sea.

Grant gave Sherman full power to choose his corps commanders and the regiments. Sherman selected, with one or two exceptions, West Point men as corps commanders, and mainly western regiments for his army. Leaving Cincinnati, Grant went on to Washington. Sherman and Ewing returned together to Pana, there separating; Sherman returned to Nashville and Ewing to St. Louis. On their return trip Ewing asked Sherman why he telegraphed him to meet him at Pana. Sherman replied that he wanted some one on whom he could depend for a witness to what might be said and done between him and Grant.

Sherman offered Ewing a command in his army. Ewing replied that he was only a brigadier general, and doubtless junior in rank to most of the brigadiers in Sherman's army. Sherman told him he would put him in command of a division and that he might select his regiments and brigadier commander, also that he should have a major general's commission just as soon as there was a vacancy, which would be very soon; but Ewing declined the proposition. Sherman told him that he was very anxious for him to go with him and have a share in the glory—"for," said Sherman, "I am going into Atlanta as sure as the sun shines, and I will show the world that the South is as hollow as an eggshell." The two generals separated at Pana, and each went to his command.

Ewing came direct from the train to my room. It was in the night, and he wakened me, and, sitting on my bed, told me the story. In response I said: "General, of course you told Sherman you would go with him." He said, "No." "General Ewing," I replied, "you have made the mistake of your life. Sherman will not only go to Atlanta, but he will go to the sea, just as sure as there is a God in Israel." He returned: "If I was as sure of it as you are I would go. You may go, and I will get Sherman to give you a position on his staff." "How would it look for me," I replied, "a field officer in a volunteer regiment, to accept a position on Sherman's staff among a group of West Point men. If you will go I will be only too glad to go." Continuing, I referred to his political ambition, saying: "General Ewing, you are ambitious to be Lane's successor in the United States sen-

ate; and if you go with Sherman in this campaign, which will be one of the greatest in history, and after the war you return to Kansas, the boys who were in the army will send you to the United States senate, no matter who is a candidate against you."

I could see in Ewing's face that he had been through a severe mental struggle. He left my room to go to his own, there awakening his wife. He told her the story as he had related it to me; and when he told her that Sherman had offered him the command of a division in his army, she said with enthusiasm: "General, you accepted, did you not?" He answered, "No." She then spoke with great earnestness, saying, among other things, "General, you have made the mistake of your life"—the exact words I had used. From that time on he seemed to gradually lose his interest in the war, although he gave strict attention to his military duties.

He fought the battle of Pilot Knob in September, 1864, when Price with 15,000 men attacked him. We had less than 1000 men in Fort Davidson, and Price left 1500 men dead and wounded on the field—the most sanguinary battle of the war, if not in history. Two weeks after the battle there were in the hospital at Pilot Knob representatives of seventeen different military organizations of the Confederate army. This gives some idea of the number of men of Price's army in that battle. Where is there another instance during the war, or recorded in history, where an army of 900 men killed and wounded in six hours more than once and a half times their number?

Ewing felt that he was never given full credit for that day's work. After it he began to plan to leave the service, and frequently told me that he should never return to Kansas to live. He said he should go to Washington, D. C., and resume the practice of law, and early in 1865 he obtained a leave of absence and went to Washington and handed his resignation to Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln urged him to reconsider his resignation, and told him if he would remain in the service and report to Sherman he would give him a major general's commission just as soon as there was a vacancy, and said: "There will be one soon." But Ewing declined to reconsider. Finally Lincoln said: "Ewing, I will put your resignation in that pigeonhole in my desk and not send it through the regular channel of the War Department; and now you think the matter over, and to-morrow you come to me and get it." And there Ewing's resignation remained until after Lincoln's death. Ewing wrote me the above facts, ordering me, as his acting adjutant general: "Until you receive official information through the regular military channels that I am out of the service, you go on signing orders. 'By order of Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, Jr.' You will be general in command and acting adjutant general at the same time." I consulted Gen. G. M. Dodge, commander of the Department of Missouri, showing him Ewing's personal letter to me containing the foregoing statements, and he said: "Major, go ahead; you are in command virtually, but the regular military form of orders must be observed." And so I went on issuing orders and signing them, in due form, "By order of Brigadier General Ewing," until long after Mr. Lincoln's death.

Ewing never returned to Kansas to live. I do not think this story of his resignation has ever been in print, and I have been invited to prepare it for the Kansas State Historical Society.

WHO MADE THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN?

There has been in the past, and it may there is in the present, some misunderstanding as to who planned the Atlanta campaign, Grant or Sherman. Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), in his "Autobiography," reports Grant as saying: "Neither of us originated the idea of Sherman's march to the sea; the enemy did it." General Ewing told me that he heard the plan discussed between Grant and Sherman in the car while journeying towards Cincinnati, and that the plan was Sherman's, and that Sherman labored with difficulty to get Grant's consent to it. Sherman left Chattanooga May 7, 1864, with three armies, the Cumberland, the Tennessee and the Ohio, commanded, in the order named, by Thomas, McPherson and Schofield, and after a series of fierce battles succeeded in shutting up Johnson's army in the defences of Atlanta by the 10th of July, 1864.³

October 17, 1864, Thomas wrote Sherman from Nashville: " . . . Mower and Wilson have arrived and are on the way to join you. I hope you will adopt Grant's idea of turning Wilson loose, rather than to undertake the plan of a march with the whole force through Georgia to the sea, inasmuch as General Grant can not coöperate with you as at first arranged." And Sherman continues in this connection: "So it is clear that at that date neither General Grant nor General Thomas heartily favored my proposed plan of campaign."⁴

November 1, 1864, Grant telegraphed Sherman regarding Hood's movements, and in this dispatch he uses the expression "your proposed campaign"; and further on says, "Attend to Hood's army first and make your other move secondary." Grant had grave fears as to whether Thomas could take care of Hood, and did not want Sherman to leave Georgia until Hood's army was crushed. November 2, Sherman replied from Rome to this dispatch of General Grant's: " . . . No single army can catch Hood, and I am convinced the best results will follow from our defeating Jeff Davis's cherished plan of making me leave Georgia by maneuvering. Thus far I have confined my efforts to thwart this plan." And again, November 2, Sherman telegraphed Grant from Kingston: "If I turn back the whole effect of my campaign will be lost. . . . I am clearly of opinion that the best results will follow my contemplated movement through Georgia."

NOTE 3.—"As there was some discussion as to the authorship of Sherman's march to the sea by critics of his book when it appeared before the public, I want to state here that no question upon that subject was ever raised between General Sherman and myself. Circumstances made the plan on which Sherman expected to act impracticable, and as commander of the forces he necessarily had to devise a new one which would give more promise of success; consequently he recommended the destruction of the railroad back of Chattanooga and that he should be authorized then to move, as he did, from Atlanta forward. His suggestions were finally approved, although they did not immediately find favor in Washington. Even when it came to the time of starting, the greatest apprehension as to the propriety of the campaign he was about to commence filled the mind of the President, induced, no doubt, by his advisers. This went so far as to move the President to ask me to suspend Sherman's march for a day or two until I could think the matter over. My recollection is, though I find no record to show it, that out of deference to the President's wish I did send a dispatch to Sherman asking him to wait a day or two, or else the connections between us were already cut so that I could not do so. However this may be, the question of who devised the plan of march from Atlanta to Savannah is easily answered—it was clearly Sherman, and to him also belongs the credit of its brilliant execution. It was hardly possible that any one else than those on the spot could have devised a new plan of campaign to supersede one that did not promise success.

"I was in favor of Sherman's plan from the time it was first submitted to me. My chief of staff, however, was very bitterly opposed to it, and, as I learned subsequently, finding that he could not move me, he appealed to the authorities at Washington to stop it."—Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, vol. 2, pp. 374, 697.

NOTE 4.—Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman, vol. 2, p. 156.

The same day Grant telegraphed Sherman: "Your dispatch of nine A. M. yesterday is just received. I dispatched you the same date, advising that Hood's army, now that it had worked up so far north, ought to be looked upon now as the 'object.' With the force, however, that you have left with General Thomas, he must be able to take care of Hood and destroy him. I do not see how you can withdraw from where you are to follow Hood without giving up all you have gained in territory. I say, then, go on as you propose."

Sherman says: "This was the first time General Grant assented to the 'march to the sea,' and although many of his warm friends and admirers insist that he was the author and projector of that march, and that I simply executed his plans, General Grant has never, in my opinion, thought or said so. The truth is fully given in an original letter of President Lincoln, which I received at Savannah, Ga., and have at this instant before me, every word of which is in his own familiar handwriting. It is dated Washington, December 26, 1864: 'When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge and remembering "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now the undertaking being a success the honor is all yours, for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce; and taking the work of General Thomas into account, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and immediate military advantages, but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole, Hood's army, it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next? I suppose it will be safer if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.'" ⁵

A COLONEL OF KANSAS.

A sketch written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by CAPT. CLAD HAMILTON,¹ of Topeka.

THE STORY of Colonel Lindsey ought not to be lost. He is a type. There are different types of soldiers—his is distinctive. He looks like a soldier, acts like a soldier, and is a soldier. He has come through one of those American life histories which are and always will be interesting.

His father, Elza Lindsey, was a stonemason living in Iowa City, Iowa, where Henry C. Lindsey was born, on August 27, 1844. The father was a descendant of one of the characteristic old North Ireland United Presbyterian families, and was himself a member of that church. The mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Gordey, died while Henry was a boy.

NOTE 5.—*Ibid.*, pp. 164-166.

NOTE 1.—CLAD HAMILTON was born in Delaware county, New York, May 17, 1867, the son of John H. Hamilton and Margaret (Mitchell) Hamilton. The family settled at Elk Falls, Kan., February, 1877. In 1881 he began work in a printing office, serving as compositor and reporter at Howard and Emporia, with six months in 1891 as a reporter on the *Chieftain*, at Pueblo, Colo. In the meantime he taught band music and studied law. In June, 1892, he graduated from the law school of the Kansas University. He entered the law office of Glead, Ware & Glead at Topeka, where he practiced law until May 16, 1898, when he enlisted as a private in company B, Twentieth Kansas. In this regiment he served as first sergeant and second and first lieutenant, and was mustered out as captain of company A. He returned to Topeka and opened a law office, serving as county auditor, special assistant attorney-general, and police judge of the city of Topeka. He has been useful as a lecturer at the Washburn law school, major and chief of engineers Kansas National Guard, and as state senator from Shawnee county for 1909 and 1911. He married Miss Helen Wells, of Lansing, Mich.



HENRY C. LINDSEY.

Captain company A, Eighteenth Kansas regiment; Colonel Twenty-second Kansas regiment.

Times were not very good in 1856, and the elder Lindsey and his son drove overland in a wagon to Topeka. They stopped on Fifth street, right about where the Lindsey livery stable is now located. The boy was sent down to water the horses at the little stream which ran through the low ground where the police station at Fifth and Jackson streets is now situated.

Later they went to Atchison. There they met Mr. Ward, who owned a farm just west and north of Topeka. He employed young Lindsey to work on his farm. The boy worked there for some time, but work ran short and he lost his place. He says that he had two suits of clothes, and sold the best one to get a little money. He knew another boy, Jimmy Conwell by name, who worked in the old *Record* office as a printer's devil. Young Henry told Conwell that he was out of a job and needed a place,

and asked if he could get work on the paper. Through Jimmy Conwell's influence Henry was presented to E. G. Ross, the editor of the *Record*, which afterwards became the *Commonwealth*, which in turn became the *Daily Capital*.

Lindsey was then and is yet profoundly impressed with the merits and character of Edmund G. Ross. Ross talked with the new boy and told him he would give him a job if he would quit swearing. The promise was, with reason, somewhat haltingly given, and Lindsey went to work on the newspaper for a dollar a week and board. This, by the way, was about the correct and usual rate for a boy's newspaper job in those days. The job looked so good to the boy that for a long time he was unable to bring himself to ask for any money, fearing that if he did so he would be discharged. He was only about sixteen years old, and he desperately needed the place. Finally, when Mr. Ross sent for him one evening, he nervously went into the editorial office with the feeling that he was to be dismissed. Mr. Ross spoke to him kindly, told him that he had made rapid advancement, gave him some money and raised his wages to \$1.50 a week.

Meanwhile the Civil War was progressing. In August, 1862, the Eleventh Kansas infantry was organized. Company E was mostly drawn from Shawnee and Lyon counties. Ross was given the captaincy of this company. When it went to join the regiment at Leavenworth it took five men from the old *Record* office. These were Ross, captain; Nathan P. Gregg, second lieutenant; Jimmy Conwell, John Kitts and H. C. Lindsey, soldiers. Lindsey was too young to be mustered as a soldier and was taken as a drummer boy. A man and woman stayed behind to edit and print the paper.

At Leavenworth the regiment was supplied with old Prussian muskets,² long and heavy. The command was equipped with a fairly good uniform, and the usual incidents of drill and discipline common to the early days of a regiment were experienced.

On October 4 the Eleventh was ordered south in haste to oppose the rebel movement north from Arkansas and Missouri. It marched to Fort Scott in five days, thence by hard marches to the vicinity of Bentonville. The troops lived largely off of the country, the commissariat having to be pieced out by soldier expedients.

The regiment came under fire late in November at Cane Hill, where there was some real fighting, and the printers got into it with the rest of the troops. At Cane Hill a printing office was found, the type and equipment having been pitched into the street. Soldiers are a busy bunch; they have an overflow of vitality. If there is no work or fighting to do they seek diversion in numerous channels. The "pied" printing office was its own suggestion of something to do. The printers picked up the type, sorted it out, and set up one side of a newspaper—the *Buck and Ball*. It was intended to issue this paper within a few days, but about December 7 it became necessary to go about fifteen miles and engage in that excessively lively engagement known as the battle of Prairie Grove.

This was one of the real fights of the war. The Confederate forces had struck General Herron with his force, intending to put him out of business and then attack General Blunt. They met General Herron at Prairie Grove. General Blunt, learning of the attack, took his men across country some fifteen miles by a forced march and arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon, while General Herron's men were desperately pressed. One wing of the Eleventh, in which Lindsey was serving, was placed right in front of the field pieces, the infantry lying down and the cannon firing over them. Three or four Texas regiments advanced upon the guns with great determination. They were led by General Herndon, who directed the attack with heroic energy. He finally fell and the attack weakened.

The boys from the *Record* office felt the pressure upon human stamina which comes at such a time. A man by the name of Judd was shot through the body, and Lindsey and Spencer Wade, of Topeka, were ordered by the captain to carry him back. It took a power of nerve to get up and carry that man out of the line while being fired upon with Minie balls on the one side and cannon balls on the other. They carried the man back, and Lindsey has not yet got over the feeling of surprise to find that both he and Wade got out of that frightful fire zone without being hit.

After Prairie Grove the Eleventh went back to Cane Hill, set up the type for the other side of the paper and got out the *Buck and Ball*.³

NOTE 2.—The regiment had been waiting for Enfield rifles, but when the order came to join the Army of the Frontier the only infantry arms at Fort Leavenworth "were a lot of Fremont's Prussian muskets, manufactured in 1818, of antique pattern, extra large caliber, and one-fourth heavier than either the Enfield or Springfield musket."—Report of Adjutant General of Kansas, 1861-'65, reprint, p. 200.

NOTE 3.—The State Historical Society has a copy of the *Buck and Ball* in its collections. It is a four-page sheet printed on lined foolscap. Under the caption runs this sentiment: "Kansas is pisin to the hull on 'em." The paper bears date Saturday, December 6, 1862, but a paragraph on the inside says: "The outside of this paper was printed on the 6th inst., but owing to the great battle of the 7th it has been impossible for us to issue our paper before the 15th inst." The outside contains a brief history of the Eleventh Kansas to date; the inside has accounts of the battles of Cane Hill and Prairie Grove, also Hindman's address to his troops, dated December 4, in which he says that the army of the enemy is composed of "Pin Indians, free negroes, Southern tories, Kansas Jayhawkers and hired Dutch cutthroats."

After this fight the regiment saw some further service in northern Arkansas and Missouri, and was finally ordered to report to Grant at Vicksburg. For some reason this order was not carried out, and the regiment was returned to Kansas City. There, by a department order, it was given mounts⁴ and converted into a cavalry regiment, with Thomas Moonlight as colonel and Captain Ross as one of the majors. The Eleventh as an infantry regiment had ten companies; as a cavalry regiment it had twelve troops.

When this reorganization took place young Lindsey, having been a corporal and now a sergeant, and nineteen years old, was made a second lieutenant.

This is enough to invest him with interest if nothing more were said. A nineteen-year-old boy, capable of taking care of himself, with the instinct of a soldier, and a second lieutenant of cavalry in a fighting regiment, is *somebody*.

Abraham Lincoln was a captain in the Blackhawk war, and he once said that he should never be more proud of anything than he was of that. The chances are that Abraham Lincoln was not so proud of being President as Henry Lindsey was of being second lieutenant in the Eleventh cavalry, with a fighting colonel and a fighting record.

Major Ross was his squadron commander, as well as his friend and fatherly counselor. Indeed, young Lindsey needed such a friend, because his own father had enlisted in the Seventh Kansas some time before and had died of fever at Germantown, Tenn.

The newly organized regiment was largely employed in taking care of the guerrillas and bushwhackers along the Kansas and Missouri border. One troop, company G, was a bodyguard for General Curtis; one troop was stationed here another there. This service stretched over a good many miles of prairie, and the young lieutenant was occupied with the duties and diversions appropriate to his rank.

In the year 1864 the Eleventh saw some very lively service in what is known as the Price raid, which practically spent its force in October of that year at the Battle of the Blue.

The regiment marched to Holden, Mo., on the Warrensburg road, and thence to Lexington, which was captured by it on October 18. It held the place only one day. General Price arrived with a force outnumbering the Kansas troops about ten to one. Price got into the city of Lexington before the Union cavalry outposts were relieved, and it was necessary for one company, under a young officer, Captain Palmer by name, to charge right through the town under the very noses of General Price's staff in order to escape. They did this without the loss of a single man.⁵

There was nothing for the Eleventh cavalry to do but retreat fighting. The march back towards Kansas City was a run part of the time, varied by

NOTE 4.—"The order mounting the regiment, and the subsequent one changing it to cavalry, were both intended by General Schofield as complimentary and a reward for service heretofore rendered, the change being earnestly desired by nearly the entire regiment."—Report of Adjutant General of Kansas, 1861-'65, reprint, p. 206.

NOTE 5.—Capt. H. E. Palmer had with him, in the charge through Lexington to join Blunt's army, his own company, A, together with twenty-two scouts; company F of the Eleventh, with John G. Lindsey commanding; Capt. Wm. Green, with company E of the Second Colorado, and sixty-five men of a Missouri cavalry regiment—250 men in all.—See Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 435, "Company A, Eleventh Kansas Regiment, in the Price Raid," by H. E. Palmer; also, Report of Adjutant General of Kansas, 1861-'65, reprint, p. 206, which says the command consisted of companies A, B and F. —

an occasional stand for volleys from carbines fired into the enemy's ranks. Sometimes the mounted column was simply formed into line and the fire delivered from the horses without dismounting. Whenever favorable ground was reached a stand was made and the enemy's forces obstructed by a well-directed fire. By reason of its superior numbers it was, of course, able to flank the cavalymen out of their positions. The retreat was continued until two A. M. on the morning of the 20th. The line of retreat was along the south bank of the Missouri river. At one place there was a creek, the Sni, of considerable dimensions, flowing into the river. It was crossed by one of those old-fashioned covered wooden bridges which look like a long house open at both ends. Word had got out that General Shelby of Price's army might be expected to flank our column at this bridge. The bridge did not look any too secure. However, our troops marched rapidly across and got over safely.

Lieutenant Lindsey, with about forty men, was left at the bridge with instructions to burn it. He got a lot of brush together and piled it into the bridge and set fire to it just as Shelby's forces approached. The detachment made its escape under fire.

Price's army was a strong and efficient force. It was moving rapidly from Missouri in the direction of Kansas City and Kansas. Great alarm was felt in the city and along the border. There was a feeling in some quarters of an inability to successfully resist the rebel force. The work of the Eleventh cavalry under Colonel Moonlight,⁶ when falling back, was one requiring real military ability. It was not desired to stand until the regiment should be cut to pieces. It was desirable to delay the advancing strong force by just as much fighting as could be successfully done. The determined courage and obstinacy of Colonel Moonlight⁷ was a powerful factor in the successful effect of this delaying fight.

Finally our forces reached the Little Blue, where they formed for a more determined resistance. From a favorable piece of ground the Union troops drove the enemy back, causing them considerable loss. Lindsey was then acting as battalion adjutant to Major Ross, and Ross had two horses shot under him during the fight.

During one phase of the fight at the battle of the Blue the regiment was for a time entirely out of ammunition. The enemy was immediately in their front. Colonel Moonlight directed the soldiers to stay in their positions and cheer. By his splendid personal courage and the force of his presence he was able to hold this line under these circumstances. And when the regiment fell back, even that was done in good order.

Lindsey has a very distinct recollection of a fine Colorado regiment which rode to the front to take the place of the Eleventh for a time. The regiment was elegantly uniformed and equipped. The men wore long gauntlets and presented a fine appearance. As they rode by they called out to the Kansas troopers in a half-bantering way, "Where are they?" The Kansas men, who had been in close contact with the enemy for two or three days, responded with a hearty assurance, "Just keep on going; you will find 'em."

NOTE 6.—For biographical sketch of Col. Thomas Moonlight, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 8, p. 353.

NOTE 7.—Col. Moonlight's report of the part taken by the Eleventh Kansas in the campaign against Price may be found in the Report of the Adjutant General of Kansas, 1861-'65, reprint, p. 215.

It is but just to say that the Colorado men did find the enemy without having long to wait.⁸

During the fighting Captain N. P. Gregg of Lindsey's company was wounded, and Lindsey was ordered to his troop to command the left platoon.

At Big Blue on October 23, the Eleventh again took part in the fighting, and from here the regiment made a remarkably hard and rapid march to Fort Scott, making as much as sixty-five miles per day on one occasion. From Fort Scott it marched to the Arkansas river between Fort Gibson and Fort Smith, and in November went to Fort Smith with General Blunt, returning to Paola on December 12 with the men and horses well worn out.

Shortly afterward the regiment was ordered to Fort Riley, whence, in February, 1865, two troops were sent to Fort Larned, and the balance of the regiment started under orders for Fort Kearny, Neb. The march was an exceedingly hard one, made under conditions of snow and rain and cold winter weather. The men were not sufficiently clothed. Many of them were on foot. Bridges had been washed out, and it was necessary to rebuild in several places.

At Fort Kearny the regiment stopped two days to shoe horses and draw supplies. Then the march to Fort Laramie, Wyo., was begun. On this march there was a great lack of firewood. The regiment reached Fort Laramie April 9, and from there proceeded to Platte Bridge, where headquarters were to be made and troops distributed to protect telegraph lines and hold the Indians in check.

In June, 1865, five troops, including the one of which Lindsey was lieutenant, marched to Fort Halleck for the purpose of affording protection to the mail route and to general travel. In this district the Indians had driven off almost all the horses. It was a danger zone, and it was often necessary for the soldiers to drive the stages. The work was dangerous and hazardous at all times, although Lindsey's troop saw little, if any, fighting. In August the various troops of the regiment were ordered to Fort Leavenworth, where they were mustered out in September.

Army life looked attractive to the young cavalry lieutenant. He decided he would like to try for a commission in the regular army. Immediately following the Civil War the regular army was short of officers, and the chances of getting in were exceptionally good. Lindsey was satisfied that he could pass the examination and secure a commission. He had fully made up his mind to try for it, when some one suggested that it would be necessary for him to secure the endorsement of his United States senator. Nothing easier. Major Ross, his patron and friend, who had been almost like a father to him in the army, had in the meantime become United States senator from Kansas. Lindsey set out to call upon the senator with a light heart. The young lieutenant, a fine horseman, a crack soldier, with an excellent war record and just twenty-one years old, felt that everything must go the way he wanted it.

He called upon Senator Ross and asked him for the necessary endorsement. Ross said, "No!" This was paralyzing. "It is not because I do not love you that I refuse this endorsement," said the senator. "I refuse it because I do love you. You know, Henry, what is done in the army in

NOTE 8.—This regiment was the Second Colorado cavalry.

time of peace. The life is one of card playing and drinking, and I care too much for you to wish you to go into it."

This was the thought and speech of a man of obviously fine fiber, and one who subsequently was to suffer a very real martyrdom for acting upon his undoubted convictions of public duty.

The young cavalryman was of course disappointed, but disappointment is a feeling to which a soldier does not long give way when he can ride and shoot—and when he is twenty-one. Lindsey liked a horse. He had been riding one for three or four years. A horse's good service sometimes meant life to the rider. He wanted to get into some business where he could have horses about him. Nothing could suggest itself more readily than the livery business; he bought out the stables of Tom Butler on Fifth street, in Topeka, where he and his father had picketed the horses nine years before.

Times were hard, business languished; the young business man was not getting rich though he did not lose all—especially he did not lose his nerve. In 1867 the Indians became restless and began making trouble on the Kansas frontier. Troops were needed, and it was decided to raise a battalion of volunteer cavalry in Kansas for service against the Indians. Governor Crawford was the executive. He took hold of the work like an old hand; he knew what to do and how to do it. He had himself been a distinguished cavalry officer during the war. Among other things he knew Kansas soldiers. He offered Lindsey a captaincy in the new regiment. Lindsey needed the job and needed the money, and he had learned the trade. He raised a troop and was mustered in.

The history of the Eighteenth Kansas was one of marching and patrolling the border; there was not much fighting. Lindsey's company had a small fight north of Fort Hays, in which it had several men wounded. While these were being sent back to Fort Hays they and the men with them were caught by the Indians and killed and scalped. The service was that which is common to most cavalry regiments in Indian wars—pursuit and menace to a swiftly-moving foe. The regiment was mustered out November 15, 1867, having been in service since July 15.⁹

It was during the service of this regiment that the quartermaster sergeant in Lindsey's troop found that there was a considerable shortage in the arms issued to the men. This is a condition which company and troop commanders are often obliged to face. Sabers had been thrown away; carbines had been lost. All such equipment is, of course, charged to the captain of the company, and by him in turn to the individual men. Lindsey, like a good troop commander, had a fatherly feeling for the men and he did not wish to have a large percentage of their wages used in paying for equipment lost in hard service. During the service the troop had lost a large number of men from cholera.¹⁰ Upon a consultation with the sergeant, a way was found by which the lost arms and equipment could be

NOTE 9.—"In four months this squadron marched 2200 miles, was nearly wrecked at the outset by cholera, fought Indians several times, lived chiefly on buffalo, lost about ten per cent of its members by death—two out of thirteen officers—and at the end of four months its muster rolls were seventeen per cent short of its original strength. Its services were substantial if not distinguished, and both Sheridan and Custer commended it highly. Its history abounded in dramatic and tragic elements, and if told would fill a volume. The ghost of its long-faded trail haunts almost every county west of Ellsworth. It is unfortunate that so interesting a story should remain untold and its landmarks be lost."—James Albert Hadley, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 10, p. 429.

NOTE 10.—See *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 6, p. 35.

charged to the deceased soldiers. Returns and reports were accordingly gotten up which charged these departed souls with the missing articles. The sergeant took the report over to the office of the battalion commander, Maj. H. L. Moore, now of Lawrence. The major began looking over the reports. Presently he said, "Sergeant, ask the captain to come over to my quarters." The sergeant did as he was directed. The captain walked into the major's quarters and stood at attention. The major was still reading the ordnance return. Finally he looked up and inquired, "Captain, do you think those dead men took *all* of those arms?" The captain said that was what the return showed. The major smiled and dismissed him without further comment. This closed the incident, and those unfortunate dead men must bear whatever responsibility there was for the loss of those rusty sabers and those now obsolete carbines.

In 1868 another volunteer regiment from Kansas was organized for the purpose of fighting the Indians; this was known as the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry. Governor Crawford was still in the executive chair, and ultimately resigned and took command of the regiment himself. At the organization of the body the governor sent for Lindsey and offered to make him a major in the regiment.

Lindsey's explanation of why he, a natural soldier, did not desire to accept the majority is naive. The regiment was expected to campaign against the Indians in winter. He had seen this sort of service, and he did not feel like again going into the army and fighting Indians at that season.

Upon digging around into his inner consciousness, however, it is found that a girl from Pennsylvania had appeared in Topeka, and as a result Lindsey had temporarily lost all interest in wars and warriors. He told Governor Crawford that he did not wish to accept a commission to go against the Indians in cold weather. The governor did not receive this as very much of an excuse. He said that he wanted Lindsey in his regiment and that he had to go. The captain then told the governor that he wanted to go east to see the young lady who was to become Mrs. Lindsey, and for that reason he was willing to let some other fellow have the desirable commission. The governor, then a bachelor, said that under the circumstances he might just as well give up, so he no longer pressed Lindsey to go into the regiment.

Accordingly the captain went east to see Mary Stewart, and allowed this opportunity for further military experience to pass, and Mary Stewart soon afterward became the captain's wife.

The serious and tragic incident of Senator Ross's vote against the impeachment of Johnson greatly stirred all Kansas, Lindsey with the rest. People were in a mood to lynch the man whom they regarded as recreant to his trust. It was said that he had been bribed.

Lindsey knew Ross—knew that he was incapable of a dishonorable or cowardly act. He had seen Ross riding along the battle front under heavy fire, and two horses had been shot from under him in Lindsey's view. He was a man of such morality that he even sought to influence a young orphan boy against the possibly not very important vice of swearing. He had kept the same boy out of the army for fear it might degrade his character. He was honest beyond question. His character was such that he must have done his duty not only in the face of physical danger—which was easy—but in the face of political martyrdom and social ostracism. Lindsey knew.

When the outcry against Ross was at its height he had two friends in Topeka to defend him with energy and to stand up for him with courage. Henry Lindsey and Charles Whiting knew Ross and believed in him. They voiced their belief in his moral guiltlessness at a time when it was almost necessary to defend an expression of such a belief with coats off and clenched fists.

One can scarcely have anything to do with the military in Kansas without becoming identified with politics. Captain Lindsey was no exception. He was active and courageous—a good sport. He hurraed for his friends and pushed them along. In the seventies he was appointed city marshal of Topeka, and subsequently under a change of law was elected to that position by the people. Afterwards he became county commissioner of Shawnee county, in which position he served six years. Later, in the political upheaval which resulted in the election of Governor Glick over Governor St. John, who was a candidate for a third term, Lindsey went from the Republican party over to the Democratic party, with which he has since been prominently identified.

In 1893, under the police commission system which then existed, Lindsey was appointed chief of police of Topeka under the Lewelling administration. While holding this position he performed an act which created a great stir and sensation. In the language peculiar to police circles, he “pulled” the Topeka Club. This organization was then, as it is now, composed of prominent business and professional men at the capital. The chances are that in 1893 at least ninety per cent of these men were Republicans. In those days political feeling was intense. The Republican feeling of toleration for the Populist government was practically a minus quantity. In Topeka the new governor and his administration seemed almost intruders.

The new police commission under Lewelling intimated to the chief of police that the clubs were doing a great deal of liquor business, and incidentally made some suggestion about the Topeka Club. The chief touched a button and called in a police sergeant. Within a very few minutes a detachment of policemen were on their way to the club, and shortly thereafter eight or nine prominent citizens were led to the police station and booked for violating the prohibitory law. A large amount of intoxicating liquors found at the club were loaded into the patrol wagon and also taken to the station.

A conviction in the police court resulted. This was reversed in the district court, and subsequently Lindsey was sued for false imprisonment by the men who had been arrested. One or more of the suits went to trial and resulted in a hung jury. After a while, when everybody cooled off to some extent, the cases were compromised and dismissed. The incident cost Lindsey about \$1300. He paid it cheerfully, and has no feeling of bitterness about the matter. He was rather gratified in later days when the supreme court enjoined the club from allowing liquors to be kept at its clubhouse.

In the meantime the livery business was going along quietly, making the owner a little money and keeping the wolf not only away from the door, but entirely out of the yard.

In February, 1898, the Spaniards blew up the Maine—that’s what we thought. There is a good deal of doubt about it now among engineers and

other technical men.¹¹ Whatever the facts about the explosion, there were lots of fellows between the ages of sixteen and sixty-four who were ready to put on some blue clothes and take a long-barreled gun and go out and shoot at perfect strangers. They always had liked blue clothes—and lots of people have a natural hankering for firearms which is readily aroused.

From the standpoint of a good many of us the state was again in the hands of the enemy. Governor Leedy, a pronounced Populist, was governor. Be it said to his credit, that he did about what other honest and patriotic men do under such circumstances. Such men do not undertake to make any war a Populist war, a Republican war, or a Democratic war. They rather undertake simply to carry out the purposes of the whole country, and that was what Governor Leedy did. Upon the declaration of war with Spain three infantry regiments were to be formed. The governor sought to divide them equitably among the political groups in Kansas.

Governor Leedy and Lindsey had not been affiliated in any friendly manner whatever. Their relations were really of an almost formal sort. Lindsey had not seen the governor for a year, though living at the capital all the time.

As soon as the military program was outlined Leedy went to see Lindsey and offered him the command of one of the regiments. Lindsey stated that his business required his attention, and that while a colonelcy was too big a thing to refuse, he did not covet the place. Leedy told him that he had it to take. He did take it.

The Twenty-second Kansas infantry was a fine marching regiment. It was composed of young, strong Kansas men, the sons of soldiers—themselves soldiers by instinct. The regiment went into camp at Camp Alger, West Virginia. Its duties were simply those of initial discipline and drill. It had one long, hard march. Colonel Lindsey speaks of the experience as rather one of an outing. We know, however, that the regiment was a regiment of soldiers, and that it was fit and ready for active service had it been called upon. Its commander had at intervals been a soldier and an officer from boyhood to mature manhood, and was by nature and training fit to command.

A good story, is n't it? The life of any human being is interesting. The least of mankind has a struggle or a turn here and there in his life which, if told in simple words, must attract our interest. The life of this old Kansas colonel, begun as a friendless boy, developed through the incidents of the march, the bivouac, the riding and the fighting of the border and the plains, can not fail to attract our sympathy and interest.

You may see him some day. If you should pass down Fifth street from the avenue to Jackson street, you are likely to see a square-shouldered, good-sized man standing in front of a livery stable with a long cheroot between his teeth. He has somewhat the dress and air of a soldier; he has the face of a soldier; he has the general look of one. It will be safe to

NOTE 11.—The following report of the joint army and navy board appointed to inquire into the destruction of the "Maine" has been given out: "The board finds that the injuries to the bottom of the 'Maine' were caused by the explosion of a charge of a low form of explosive exterior to the ship between frames Nos. 28 and 31, strake B, port side. This resulted in igniting and exploding the contents of the 6-inch reserve magazine, A-14-M, said contents including a large quantity of black powder. The more or less complete explosion of the contents of the remaining forward magazine followed. The magazine explosions resulted in the destruction of the vessel." This report sustains the findings of the Sampson board of inquiry, which investigated the affair in 1898, immediately after the destruction of the battleship.

address him as "Colonel"—though probably you will hear those familiar with him (and there are many) call him "Hank." It will be worth your while to look twice at him, for he has a history. If it is not the history of "the captains and the kings," it is, at all events, the history of a man, and one who has had the strength to take part in strenuous actions and stirring events.

FIRST KANSAS INFANTRY IN THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK.

Read at a meeting of the Loyal Legion, at Leavenworth, May 11, 1912, by JAMES A. MCGONIGLE,¹ first lieutenant, commanding company H, First Kansas.

THE First Kansas regiment of infantry was mustered into service in May, 1861, at Leavenworth, and was among the first regiments under the call for three-year men. Five companies were recruited in Leavenworth, two in Lawrence, one in Atchison, one in Elwood, Doniphan county, and one in Wyandotte. The First was composed of a fine body of men, and made first-class soldiers. After being mustered in they were marched to Fort Leavenworth and went through drill exercises for several weeks; then they were taken by boat to Wyandotte, where they remained but a short time, going on to Kansas City, Mo.² The government furnished only some shoes and blue blouses to the soldiers; the rest of the apparel was furnished by the men, and consisted of all kinds and colors of material. This sort of uniform lasted the men four months. On account of the illness of Capt. Daniel McCook³ at Kansas City, the command of company H devolved on me. Captain McCook's illness was a great regret to him as well as to all the company. When he recovered his health he returned to his native state of Ohio, and in the summer of 1862 raised a regiment, the Fifty-second infantry, of which he was commissioned colonel. He was assigned to the command of a brigade under General Sherman, and led the assault on Kenesaw mountain in July, 1864, where he was fatally wounded. He was a brave and an able soldier.

After being in Kansas City, Mo., for a short time, the command started on a march for Springfield and southwest Missouri. Generals Price and McCulloch of the Confederate army were engaged in recruiting and drilling their men in that part of the state, with the object of forcing Missouri out of the Union and into the southern Confederacy.

General Lyon was in command at St. Louis, where, as captain commanding the United States troops at the St. Louis arsenal, he had captured Camp Jackson and a large force of state militia encamped there. He was now on an expedition into southwest Missouri after Price and McCulloch.

NOTE 1.—For biographical sketch of Mr. McGonigle, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 154.

NOTE 2.—"The companies composing this regiment were recruited, organized, drilled and mustered into service within the short space of two months, and in little more than a week from the time the untried soldiers first responded to their names on the muster rolls they were ordered into active service."—Cutler's History of Kansas, p. 180.

It was a self-detailed detachment from this regiment that captured the rebel flag at Iatan, Mo., on June 4, 1861, before the regiment had left Fort Leavenworth for Wyandotte. The flag is now in the museum of the Kansas Historical Society.

NOTE 3.—Daniel McCook was a member of the law firm of Ewing, Sherman & McCook, of Leavenworth, in 1859-'60, and it is of interest to note that Sherman chose McCook to lead in the assault on Kenesaw, and asked Ewing to go with him on the march to the sea.

The First and Second Kansas regiments, four companies of regular infantry, five troops of regular cavalry and one battery of artillery were ordered, under command of Major Sturgis of the regular army, to join General Lyon at Grand river, Missouri. The command under Major Sturgis arrived on time. General Lyon had started with a considerable force from St. Louis and formed a junction with Major Sturgis' command at Grand river about July 7. The entire force under the command of General Lyon then commenced its march to Springfield, reaching there within the week.

Early in August the command moved on Dug Springs, where quite a skirmish occurred. The rebels were forced back, but General Lyon, for want of sufficient provisions, retired to Springfield, where he was hoping for reinforcements. The Confederate army went into camp at Wilson's creek, about twelve miles southwest of Springfield. The two armies, resting so close together, had skirmishes almost every night.

General Lyon, not receiving reinforcements from General Fremont at St. Louis, knew he was in a dangerous position. He had a complete topography of the Confederate encampment at Wilson's creek, under command of Generals Price and McCulloch, and finally called a conference of his general officers to decide what to do, whether to retreat or fight. One or two favored a retreat to Rolla, but General Sweeney waived his one arm (he had lost the other in the war with Mexico), and his face flushed livid red as he shouted, "Let us eat the last bite of mule flesh and fire the last cartridge before we think of retreating!" Colonel Deitzler of the First Kansas, and Col. Bob Mitchell of the Second Kansas, said their regiments were ready to march against the Confederates at Wilson's creek, to victory or defeat. General Lyon declared at the conference that he would not leave without a fight: "I shall go when I am whipped out and not before." He decided to march his army by night and take the sleeping camp of Confederates by surprise.

The plan of attack was arranged by General Lyon, General Sweeney and Major Sturgis, and the commanders of the several regiments. Colonel Sigel insisted upon having a separate command of 1200 men and a battery of six guns. He would then move by one road and attack the southern end of the Confederate camp, while General Lyon, with about 3800 soldiers, with two batteries of artillery of eleven guns, would attack at the same time from the north end.⁴ The evening of August 9th, about eight o'clock, both commands marched out of Springfield and arrived near the Confederate camp somewhere near one o'clock on the morning of the 10th. There they rested a while, resuming the march at three o'clock A. M.

In the Confederate camp there was not a suspicion that General Lyon was marching against them. The Confederates had decided to march the same night to surprise General Lyon in Springfield, but a drizzling rain prevented them. General McCulloch feared the ammunition would get wet on account of not having proper ammunition boxes to care for it, so he changed his plan and decided to march the next night. The Confederates felt so secure that they did not have pickets out; consequently Lyon's and Sigel's commands arrived at their respective places by 5:30 A. M., as per their plan of battle. General Lyon occupied the north hill and Colonel

NOTE 4.—War of Rebellion Records, S. 1, vol. 3, p. 60, gives Sigel 1200 men and Lyon about 4000, besides 250 mounted Home Guards. The Report of the Adjutant General of Kansas, 1861-'65, "History of Regiments," p. 5, reprint, says that Lyon had only 3000 men and Sigel 1500.

Sigel the south hill. Between the two hills was Wilson's creek, and along its banks was located the Confederate camp. After each command had arrived in its place a signal was given. The battle commenced. General Lyon placed his two batteries of eleven guns in position. In support of those guns and in line of battle at different times were the First Missouri infantry, First and Second Kansas infantry, First Iowa infantry, two companies of regular infantry and two companies of mounted dragoons, numbering about 3800 soldiers. Colonel Sigel surprised the Confederates in their camp. Generals Price and McCulloch were eating breakfast when Colonel Sigel commenced the battle. Everything favored him until the Confederates got under arms, when they rushed with a large body of soldiers and captured his six guns. This demoralized his men, causing the capture of a number of them, and the balance, with Colonel Sigel, retreated to Springfield.

After the retreat of Colonel Sigel to Springfield the entire Confederate army, including Sigel's six guns, were used against General Lyon's command. The battle between General Lyon and Generals Price and McCulloch commenced about 5:30 A. M. General Lyon was extremely fortunate in getting such a good position on the top of the hill. The space occupied by General Lyon was a level plateau of many acres, sufficient to receive his command. From the front of General Lyon's command the hill sloped down, in a southerly direction, to the Confederate line at Wilson's creek. The fighting force of Confederates was about 11,500 soldiers, with two batteries of twelve guns. The objective point of the Confederates was to capture our batteries and drive the infantry of General Lyon's command from the hill. The Confederates charged up the sides of Bloody Hill again and again, each time struggling to force Lyon's men from the hilltop, but each time they were repulsed. Totten's and Dubois' batteries swept the enemy, punishing them severely, and with every Confederate charge, their own batteries, stationed on the rise across the creek, raked the top of Bloody Hill.

The last charge of the Confederates was made about 11:30 A. M. The last discharge of infantry and artillery of both armies was terrific, and simultaneously it ceased, and not another shot was fired. The Confederates fell back to their camps, and the Union force, under command of Major Sturgis of the regular army, marched back to Springfield in good order, and from there to Rolla and St. Louis.

Early in the fight General Lyon's horse was shot from under him, and for a time after that he was on foot, directing the placing of companies in line of battle. Having secured another horse, he led the Kansas and Iowa men in his last charge against the enemy. There he was shot, and died soon after on the field of battle. General Lyon was an able and patriotic man and a great general. Thomas L. Snead, adjutant general of Missouri and chief of staff of General Price of the Confederate army, said of General Lyon: "True to his convictions, true to his flag, true to the Union men of Missouri who confided in him and followed him, true to himself and true to duty, he went out to battle against a force twice as great as his own with a calmness as pathetic as his courage was sublime." Colonel Deitzler of the First Kansas, and Colonel Mitchell of the Second Kansas, were both wounded. In fact, almost all the officers of the regiments were either killed or wounded.

The killed and wounded on the Confederate side were about 1278, and on the Union side about 1235. The First Kansas regiment had about 644 men in action, and lost, in killed and wounded, 284. I had command of company H, which numbered in action that morning 76 men; lost in action, 18 killed and 22 wounded. I was wounded, carried to the rear, and afterwards taken by two Texas Confederates to the Texas hospital, where I received good medical attention.

The battle of Wilson's creek was well fought and brought good results to the country, as it forced the Confederate army under General Ben McCulloch to quit operations in Missouri. It practically caused the western line of war along the border of Kansas and Missouri to be transferred to the western line of Kentucky and Tennessee. The results of that battle assisted very materially in keeping Missouri in the Union. Had General Fremont sent reinforcements promptly to General Lyon it would have been a decided victory for the Union side, or had the entire force been under General Lyon's command it would have been a victory.

General McCulloch and Major Sturgis made an agreement for the exchange of prisoners without giving any parole. Confederate prisoners were released, and all the wounded Union soldiers at Springfield, after recovering from their wounds, were permitted to return to their regiments without giving their parole.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS, FIRST KANSAS REGIMENT.

George W. Deitzler, colonel, Lawrence.

O. E. Learnard, colonel, Lawrence.

John A. Halderman, major, Leavenworth.

Edwin S. Nash, adjutant, Olathe.

George H. Chapin, quartermaster, Quindaro.

Samuel D. Smith, assistant surgeon, Elwood.

Ephraim Nute, chaplain, Lawrence.

Line Officers.

Company A.—B. P. Chenoweth, captain; P. A. Josephs, first lieutenant; C. O. Smith, second lieutenant. Address, Elwood.

Company B.—W. Y. Roberts, captain; J. P. Alden, first lieutenant; J. W. Dyer, second Lieutenant. Address, Wyandotte.

Company C.—Peter McFarland, captain; James Phillips, first lieutenant; Matthew Malone, second lieutenant. Address, Leavenworth.

Company D.—F. B. Swift, captain; N. W. Spicer, first lieutenant; C. S. Pratt, second lieutenant. Address, Lawrence.

Company E.—Powell Clayton, captain; Lewis Stafford, first lieutenant; A. W. Spaulding, second lieutenant. Address, Leavenworth.

Company F.—Samuel Walker, captain; L. L. Jones, first lieutenant; Theron Tucker, second lieutenant. Address, Lawrence.

Company G.—J. B. Stockton, Captain; James Ketner, first lieutenant; H. D. McCarty, second lieutenant. Address, Leavenworth.

Company H.—Daniel McCook, captain; Jas. A. McGonigle, first lieutenant; Michael Bransfield, second lieutenant. Address, Leavenworth.

Company I.—G. Zesch, captain; H. Sarstedt, first lieutenant; E. Umfried, second lieutenant. Address, Leavenworth.

Company K.—G. H. Fairchild, captain; C. Aguiel, first lieutenant; R. A. Barker, second lieutenant. Address, Atchison.

DIARY OF CHAUNCEY B. WHITNEY.¹

A Scout with Forsyth at Beecher Island,² with letters from GENERAL GEORGE A. FORSYTH and GENERAL LOUIS H. CARPENTER.

August 29, 1868.—Left Hays at two P. M.; marched until eleven and camped among the hills.

30th.—Started at seven o'clock for the Saline river; reached it at noon and camped for dinner. Rained all last night.

31st.—Rained part of the day yesterday. Killed some buffalo. About four o'clock a scout, Jo Lane, reported Indians a mile or two away; false report. Camped at dark on the south fork of the Solomon.

September 1, 1868.—Crossed Solomon yesterday morning. Marched until nearly sundown and camped on Prairie Dog creek. Was on guard last night with A. J. Pliley,³ my "bunkie."

2d.—Camped last night on Beaver creek; followed its course about ten miles for grass. The country is almost a barren desert. Prairies covered with thousands of buffalos. About ten o'clock yesterday, as a few of us were on rear guard, a sudden volley brought us to the front in double-quick time. As we came over the bluff a poor, frightened antelope was seen, and all unharmed.

3d.—Broke camp at eight o'clock. Country very broken. Followed Beaver to its source, then crossed



CHAUNCEY B. WHITNEY.

A scout with Forsythe at Beecher Island.

NOTE 1.—CHAUNCEY BELDEN WHITNEY was born March 31, 1842. Of his early life nothing is known, nor when he came to Kansas. Forsyth mentions him as among those of his scouts who had had service in the Civil War. He enlisted with Forsyth, serving through that short, sharp campaign, and we find him again in service against the Indians in the Second battalion, Kansas militia, where he was first lieutenant of company A. This battalion was called into service by Governor Harvey in July, 1869, and mustered out in November. Company A was under the command of Captain Pliley and was stationed at the blockhouse on Spillman creek, in Lincoln county. This blockhouse was built by General Sully, and was a one-story log building. While Pliley and his men occupied it they put on a second story, placing it diagonally across the lower one. The building was burned in 1872. Whitney evidently settled in Ellsworth county after his Indian fighting, for he was married at Ellsworth July 23, 1871, to Miss Nellie V. Henry. He was sheriff of Ellsworth county, and was shot by Bill Thompson August 18, 1873, dying from the wounds on August 21. The trouble originated over a game of cards, where the players were half drunken toughs, and two of them went forth to "shoot up" the town. Sheriff Whitney, in a friendly way, endeavored to quiet them, but he was unarmed and unaided and was shot down in cold blood by one of the half-drunken rowdies.

NOTE 2.—A cut of the Beecher Island monument, erected by the states of Colorado and Kansas, can be found in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 453. The story of the battle can be found in the Collections, vol. 6, p. 346.

NOTE 3.—For biographical sketch of A. J. Pliley, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 10, p. 431.

to Little Beaver, on which we camped last night. Are making for Sheridan or Wallace. Rations played. The country along the creeks is covered with wild plum and grape.

4th.—Broke camp at 8:30 o'clock. Marched until 11:30 o'clock and fed the horses. No breakfast or dinner yesterday. Marched about forty miles and camped at eleven o'clock; made a kettle of soup for supper. Guards all asleep last night.

5th.—Broke camp at eight o'clock; marched forty-five miles. Reached Fort Wallace at eleven o'clock last night. Horses all tired out. About five o'clock last night Indians were reported among the bluffs. A charge was ordered. Away all went as though the devil had rocked us, and charged upon a Mexican train. One man was thrown and badly hurt. Fort Wallace is situated on the broad, level prairie, 180 miles west of Fort Harker and about five miles east of the Colorado state line, on the south fork of Smoky Hill river. The buildings are built of a pink sandstone, dressed and polished.

6th.—Lay at Wallace all day.

7th.—In Fort to-day; up to Pond City to-night, about three miles from the Fort.

8th.—In Fort to-day, and up to city again.

9th.—In Fort to-day. Wrote some letters, but did not receive any.

10th.—Orders to march this morning. As we were ready to move, received a telegram from Sheridan that the Indians had surrounded the town. Made a hasty march and found some dead cattle and two dead Mexicans, but the Indians had decamped. Followed the Indians about twenty miles and camped in a ravine.

11th.—Marched to-day about twenty-five miles and camped on the head of Beaver creek about three o'clock.

12th.—Marched about forty miles without water; camped at night on Big Timber.

13th.—Marched down Big Timber to south fork of Republican until found an Indian camp; then struck across the country. Camped on middle branch of Republican, or Chief creek, at dark. Marched about thirty miles.

14th.—On guard last night. Marched down Chief creek and camped. Marched about twenty-five miles.

15th.—Marched up the Republican yesterday. Struck an Indian trail and followed it until near sundown. Camped on Republican. Marched thirty miles.

16th.—Struck camp at sunrise. Followed Indian trail until sundown and camped on Dry creek.

17th.—About daylight this morning was aroused by the cry of Indians. Eight tried to stampede the stock; got seven horses. In a few moments the bottoms were completely filled with red devils. Went across the river onto an island, when the fight commenced. About 500 attacked us on all sides, with their unearthly yells. The balls flew thick and fast. The colonel was the first man wounded. Lieutenant Beecher was wounded twice, as was also the colonel. In a few moments eight or ten were hurt, some fatally. The ground on which our little squad was fighting was sandy. We commenced to scoop out the sand with our hands to make intrenchments for ourselves. In a few moments I was joined by two others, who helped me. With a butcher knife and our hands we soon had a trench which com-

pletely covered us from the enemy. Behind the works we fought the red devils all day till dark. Only two men were hurt after we intrenched ourselves. Culver was killed and McCall wounded. William Wilson was also killed early in the morning.

18th.—This morning the Indians made a slight charge on us, but were speedily repulsed. They were after three of their dead who lay about twenty yards from us. About fifty of the red devils were killed and wounded. They kept firing from the hills and ravines all day. No one hurt to-day. Two men started for Wallace.

19th.—The Indians made another attack this morning, but were easily driven off. About ten o'clock this evening myself and A. J. Pliley were requested by the colonel to go to Fort Wallace. We started, but a few rods from the battle ground we found the Indians had surrounded the camp, and forced us to return. Was awake all night. It rained all night steady, and everybody was wet and cold. Am very lame with rheumatism to-day.

20th.—Sunday, and all is quiet. No attack this morning. Last night I slept for the first time in three nights. Our surgeon, Doctor Mooers, died this morning about daylight. He was shot in the head. He did not speak from the time he was shot until he died. We have twenty men killed and wounded; four dead.

21st.—No Indians seen to-day; all dined and supped on horse meat.

22d.—No Indians to-day. Killed a coyote this morning, which was very good. Most of the horse meat gone. Found some prickly pears, which were very good. Are looking anxiously for succor from the fort.

23d.—Still looking anxiously for relief. Starvation is staring us in the face; nothing but horse meat.

24th.—All fresh horse meat gone. Tried to kill some wolves last night, but failed. The boys began to cut putrid horse meat. Made some soup to-night from putrified horse meat. My God! have you deserted us?

25th of September, 1868.—A day long to be remembered by our little band of heroes. Arose at daylight to feel all the horrors of starvation slowly but surely approaching. Got a light breakfast on rotten meat. Some of the boys wandered away to find something to satisfy and appease their hunger. About ten o'clock the cry of Indians rang through the works. Some of the men being out, eight or ten of us took our guns to rescue them if possible. The word was given that it was *friends*. In a few moments, sure enough, our friends did come. Oh, the unspeakable joy! Shouts of joy and tears of gladness were freely commingled. Such a shaking of hands is seldom witnessed. Soon our hands were filled with something for the inner man, both in the shape of victuals and stimulants. The day passed off in joy and gladness among friends who condoled with us over our hardships and shouted for joy at our success against the enemy.

26th.—Very little sleep was done in our camp last night. To-day several hundred men came on with two field pieces. To-morrow we are to start for Fort Wallace, where I shall bid good-bye to our brave band of scouts to prepare to return east, where I will try to forget in a peaceful home the scenes of the past two years. One man very sick to-night.

27th.—Arose early this morning to prepare to start for Fort Wallace. Rolled out about ten o'clock, marched twenty miles and camped at four on the south branch of the Republican. Five of our boys killed and scalped a Cheyenne about one-half mile from camp.

28th.—Marched thirty miles to-day and camped on a branch of Beaver. Had buffalo for supper and cooked on buffalo chips.

29th.—Broke camp at seven o'clock, marched thirty miles, and camped within seven miles of Fort Wallace; wounded very bad.

30th.—Broke camp at 7:30 o'clock and reached the fort at ten o'clock. Helped get the wounded into the hospital. Drew and set up tents.

ROCKPORT, MASS., April 15, 1912.

Mr. George W. Martin, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society:

MY DEAR SIR—Replying to your courteous letter of April 11 last, I shall be very glad to get a copy of your next volume of Historical Collections, especially as it will contain a copy of the diary of C. B. Whitney, one of my scouts in the fight at Beecher Island in 1868. I send you by to-day's mail a copy of "Thrilling Days in Army Life," from my pen. I meant to have sent the Kansas state historical library a copy of it when it was first published. In fact, I thought I had done so. The article entitled "A Frontier Fight," published first in *Harper's Magazine*, is my contribution to the history of the fight. It was a hot time for both sides, and I was then, and still am, very proud of the splendid way my Kansas frontiersmen stood up to their work.

Sincerely yours, GEO. A. FORSYTH.

No. 2318 De Lancey Place,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., April 22, 1912.

Mr. George W. Martin, Secretary, Kansas State Historical Society:

DEAR SIR—I was stationed at Fort Wallace, Kan., as captain, Tenth United States cavalry, in command of troop H of that regiment, at the time of Forsyth's fight on the Arickaree Fork of the Republican in 1868. On the 21st of September, 1868, I left the post with my troop and about fourteen citizen scouts, some seventy men in all, under orders to proceed westward to Sand creek and endeavor to keep the road to Denver clear of Indians, who had been seriously molesting the stages and interfering with the delivery of the mails. On the 22d we encamped at Cheyenne Wells and made an early start on the following morning. About ten o'clock a courier overtook us with a dispatch from Colonel Bankhead, commanding Fort Wallace. The communication stated that two men belonging to Forsyth's party had arrived in the post with the information that Forsyth and his scouts had been attacked by over 700 Indians on the dry branch of the Republican river above the forks. Half his men had been killed and wounded; Doctor Mooers and Lieutenant Beecher killed, and Forsyth himself wounded three times, one leg being shattered with a comminuted fracture. The party was out of rations and had nothing but horse meat to live on. These couriers had escaped through the Indian line by night by using the greatest caution, and had succeeded in reaching Fort Wallace.

General Sheridan directed that every effort be made for the relief of Forsyth, and word had been sent to the troops stationed to the north in the posts on the Platte. Colonel Bankhead stated that he himself would leave the post as soon as possible, with about 100 men and a Howitzer, and march for the forks of the Republican, and that he expected me to do all in my power to relieve the beleaguered force. Bankhead took both of Forsyth's couriers with him; therefore I had no guide with me.



Gen. L. H. Carpenter, Philadelphia, who went to the relief of Forsyth.

Forsyth was said to be on the "Dry Fork" of the Republican, about north-northwest of Fort Wallace. The map that I had with me was as good as any, but utterly unreliable concerning the section of the country in question. A point north-northwest from Fort Wallace appeared to be about north 10° west from my position on the Denver road. I directed Lieutenant Orleman to see that this course was followed, and having decided to take my wagons with me and instructed the wagon master to keep them closed up with the troops, we left the road and started across the plains.

In the afternoon we crossed some dry branches, and, not knowing which dry branch was alluded to, were forced to carefully reconnoitre each, and, not finding any sign, we would move on. Finally, rather late on the 24th, we reached a large stream with plenty of water, the south branch of the Republican, with wide meadows of lowlands on each side. In these lowlands there ran a large, fresh trail, over which at least 2000 head of ponies had recently been ridden or driven down the stream. It was so fresh that I was apprehensive that the Indians were near at hand, and therefore pushed on rapidly to the side of the stream, where the wagons were corralled and preparations made for a possible conflict. Some time elapsed, and as nothing appeared I took a few men and rode to a hill near by, from which I could get a good view down the river—the direction in which the trail ran. On my arrival at this place I found several Indian scaffoldings on the top, of the kind customarily used for the burial of the dead as a protection from the wolves. As they looked rather recent in their construction, we pulled one down, and, having unwrapped the body from its robes, found that it was an Indian killed within a short time by a bullet wound. Several others were examined, with the same result. These Indians had evidently been killed lately in some fight in the vicinity, and the conclusion was that it must have been with the Forsyth scouts. On the opposite side of the river and up a small ravine we found a small tepee of clean, white robes, and on a frame inside lay the body of a warrior wrapped in buffalo robes. He was evidently some one of consequence, and later was identified as Roman Nose, the principal leader in the fight with Forsyth.

On our return to the camp and talking the matter over, it was concluded that the chances were that the Indians had come from the fight with the scouts, and we thought that probably all had been scalped, but that the best course would be to follow the back trail and not attempt to follow the Indians down the river. Early in the morning of September 25 I took my scouts and a detachment of the troops and a light ambulance, and left the wagons and rest to follow under Lieutenant Banzhof, and moved at a rapid rate on the back trail. As we expected, it soon left the river and turned northward. After marching about twenty miles we came across the heavy breaks of a large stream, with deep gullies and ravines cutting the ground up in the limestone formation. We picked our way to a point from which we had a good view. Far below a dry sand river ran, and we could make out what appeared to be an island in it well to the right. Near the island some figures could be seen moving about, and as we advanced they seemed to have discovered us and to be retreating to the island. We moved on through the rough and rugged breaks, sending the ambulance and some men by an easier route. We made out that the figures were white men, and, pressing forward, we were soon with the survivors of Forsyth's fight.

Forsyth was lying in a place scooped out in the sand, effectually protected from the hostile fire.

I knew him personally, having served with him on Sheridan's staff in the Wilderness and Shenandoah campaigns, and of course was delighted to be of service to him in this emergency. He was too weak, shattered and nervous to be able to talk much, but this was not necessary, and I knew that he was overjoyed that his men were relieved. I reached Forsyth and his party twenty-six hours before Bankhead arrived from Fort Wallace. He and Brisbin, with some troops of the Second cavalry came together, having met at the forks of the Republican. In the meantime I had pitched some tents a quarter of a mile farther up the stream, carried all the wounded to the new camp, and made them as comfortable as possible.

All of the horses belonging to the Forsyth party lay dead in a circle around the pits dug in the sand for protection from the Indian fire. As the rations had given out, the only food available was the horse meat, which was in a dreadful condition, and some that was to be used the day we arrived nearly made any one sick who happened to be near it. We distributed some bacon and hard bread which we had brought with us, and many of the scouts certainly had a wolfish look of extreme hunger.

Dr. Jenkins Fitzgerald, of the medical corps of the army, was with me and attended to the wounded, who had been without medical attention since the death of Doctor Mooers, who was killed early in the action by an Indian shot. Doctor Fitzgerald told me that blood poisoning had set in in Forsyth's case, and twenty-four hours' further delay in his treatment would have cost him his life. Our arrival twenty-six hours before the others of the relief parties must have resulted in saving Forsyth's life. The story of the desperate conflict with the Indians can be best told by the participants in the affair. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made we returned with the wounded to Fort Wallace, where Forsyth lay for three months between life and death. He would not allow his leg to be amputated, and it was finally saved—a wonderful cure, due to the skill and ability of Doctor Fitzgerald and his assistants.

Yours truly, L. H. CARPENTER,
Brigadier General, U. S. A., Retired.

WITH ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION TO UTAH, 1857.

Written by GEN. SAMUEL W. FERGUSON,¹ of Biloxi, Miss., for the Kansas State Historical Society

WHEN about to graduate at the military academy at West Point, in June, 1857, there was starting for Salt Lake, under command of General Harney, an expedition against the Mormons. The Second regiment of dragoons² was detailed for duty with it, and I made application for appointment to that regiment, proposing that if this was granted I would surrender the three months' leave of absence given cadets on graduating and join the regiment at once.

NOTE 1.—"BRIGADIER GENERAL SAMUEL WRAGG FERGUSON was born and reared at Charleston, and graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1857. As a lieutenant of dragoons, he participated in the Utah expedition under Albert Sidney Johnston, and in 1859-'60 was on duty at Fort Walla Walla, Washington. When informed of the result of the presidential election of 1860 he resigned his commission and returned to Charleston, and on March 1, 1861, entered the service of his native state with the rank of captain. Being appointed aide-de-camp to General Beauregard, he received the formal surrender of Major Anderson, raised the first Confederate flag and posted the first guards at Fort Sumter. He was then sent to deliver to the Congress at Montgomery the flag used at Fort Moultrie, the first standard of the Confederacy struck by a hostile shot. He remained on Beauregard's staff and took an active part in the battle of Shiloh, on the second day being assigned to command a brigade of the Second corps. At the battle of Farmington he was also on duty with General Beauregard. At the same time he held the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Twenty-eighth Mississippi regiment of cavalry, and subsequently, stationed at Vicksburg, he had command of cavalry and outlying pickets until detailed for special duty along the Yazoo delta, opposing with cavalry and artillery the advance of the Federal transports. During Grant's preliminary movements against Vicksburg he thwarted the attempts of Sherman and Porter to reach the city in the rear by way of Deer creek. In 1863 he was promoted to brigadier general. He was active in command of cavalry in harassing Sherman's movement to Chattanooga, and during the Georgia campaign of 1864 his brigade of Alabamians and Mississippians, with Armstrong's and Ross's brigades, formed the cavalry of the army of the Mississippi, under command of Gen. W. H. Jackson, operating on the left wing of Johnston's army. He defeated Wilder's 'Lightning Brigade' and displayed gallantry on every field. When Sherman began his march to Savannah he harassed the Federal flank until within a few miles of Savannah, when he left his horses on the South Carolina side of the river, after swimming it, and, entering Savannah with his men as infantry, covered the rear of Hardee's army at the evacuation. He subsequently operated in southern Georgia until ordered to Danville, Va., but on reaching Greensboro was ordered back, escorting President Davis from Charlotte to Abbeville and as far as Washington, Ga., where his command was disbanded. He then made his home in Mississippi and practiced law at Greenville. In 1876 he was made president of the Board of Mississippi Levee Commission for several counties, and in 1883 became a member of the United States River Commission. In 1894 he returned to his native city of Charleston and devoted himself to the profession of civil engineering. In 1898 he offered his services for the war with Spain."—Confederate Military History, vol. 5, p. 394.

General Ferguson now lives at Biloxi, Miss. He was born November 3, 1834. After the war he settled in Washington county, Mississippi, where his wife had landed interests. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in November, 1865, and first practiced law and afterwards planted cotton. He has held no political office, but has been an ardent Democrat. Was appointed by President Arthur a member of the Board of Mississippi River Commissioners, vice John B. Eads, resigned, and served until peremptorily dismissed without either cause or reason by President Harrison, to enable him to put in the place the man he had recommended when Captain Eads resigned.

NOTE 2.—The force ordered at that time to take part in this expedition consisted of the "Second dragoons, Fifth infantry, Tenth infantry and Phelps' battery of the Fourth artillery—to be provided with transportation and supplies—will be estimated at not less than 2500 men. . . . About 2000 head of beef cattle must be procured and driven to Utah. Six months' supply of bacon (for two days in the week) must be sent; desiccated vegetables in sufficient quantity to guard the health of the troops for the coming winter. The quartermaster's department will procure for the expedition 250 tents of Sibley's pattern, to provide for the case that the troops shall not be able to hut themselves the ensuing winter. Storage tents are needed for the like reason. Stoves enough to provide at least for the sick must accompany the tents."—Circular letter to the adjutant general and other officers from Winfield Scott, May 28, 1857, in House Ex. Doc. 71, p. 4, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 10.

I had been at home but a few days when I was notified that my request had been granted, and this notification was accompanied with an order to join the regiment immediately. I started at once for St. Louis, Mo., from which place all travel for the Far West started, anticipating a long and perhaps lonely ride in overtaking the regiment. As at that period there was no railroad west of St. Louis, my route was by steamer to Fort Leavenworth. My attention was attracted to Kansas City, because I really expected to see something of a town, at least. What was my surprise to find that a warehouse, one or two small country stores and a little cottage or two, in which the store and landing keepers lived, was honored with the dignified title of "city." I had not yet become accustomed to the exuberant language of the West.

There were in our party several officers of various branches of the service, en route to their several commands. We all landed at Fort Leavenworth and were welcomed at the landing by First Lieutenant Tyler, of the Second dragoons, and we started under his guidance to pay our respects to the commanding general. On our way there we passed by the quarters of Lieutenant Tyler, who invited us to stop and have a toddy with him (this was before the days of Carrie Nation), and we gladly accepted. While thus pleasantly occupied a shot was heard, and shortly an orderly reported that "one citizen had killed another near the guardhouse." Lieutenant Tyler, who was officer of the day, remarked: "Those two men came together to my office, and one asked protection from the other, who he said had threatened to kill him, at the same time stating that they were partners. Whereupon the partner coolly said: 'Yes, I do intend to kill him.'"

Tyler explained to them that it was a case for the civil authorities; that he could not interfere. They went off together. This was an hour before we heard the shot.

The next morning I relieved Lieutenant Tyler as officer of the day. On going together to the commanding officer to report, Tyler, after relating the incident of the murder, said something about having the man buried, when General Harney broke out with: "No! let him lie there. I have reported the case to the civil authorities in Leavenworth city, and in this as in various other matters, they have not taken the slightest notice of my communication."

When I visited the guardhouse in my rounds I found that some kind person had thrown enough dirt over the body to cover it. This was the only notice ever taken of the murder. Such was my welcome to Kansas! On arriving at Fort Leavenworth I learned that neither the general who was to command it, nor the dragoons that were to form an important part of the expedition, had started, but that both had been detained in Kansas, at the earnest solicitation of Governor Walker, on account of the terrible state of disorder and violence in which the country was. The dragoons were scattered; a company here, another there, assisting the civil authorities—a very disagreeable, thankless duty.

I found one company at Fort Leavenworth; its captain, the only officer with it, sick in bed. So I was attached to that company, and had to take command of it within an hour or two of my arrival. I kept no journal, and am entirely without any books to refresh my memory, so can best describe the situation by relating such personal reminiscences as I can recall distinctly. Sometimes we would visit the town of Leavenworth, and if we

chanced to remain until after dark would set out for the fort at a sweeping gallop to diminish the chance of being hit should any one take a crack at us—not that we feared anything from personal enemies, but simply because it was not wise to take any chances. One morning some of us were playing billiards in a room in the second story of a building, when we heard quite a commotion in the streets. Going to the window, we had a clear view of four men tied and conducted by a mob. We learned that they had on the night before enticed a stranger from the hotel at which he was stopping and murdered him for the money he was supposed to have, and which turned out to be only a small sum. It was given out publicly that the murderers would be hung that afternoon at four o'clock.

We went to the post for dinner, intending to return to see the hanging, but something prevented, and we missed it. However, the hanging came off all right as to three; the fourth was respited, and I never learned his fate. The authorities all knew of the intended execution, but never made the slightest effort to prevent it, nor was any notice of it ever taken.³ So frequent were assassinations that each man traveling on the prairie, as soon as he perceived another approaching him, slipped his six-shooter to have it most convenient to his hand. Of course, the flap of the holster, placed to protect the pistol from rain, had long before been cut off; it was preferable to suffer a little rust on the weapon rather than run the risk of losing a fraction of a second in drawing it.

The following was told me by Lieut. Ebenezer Gay, one of the officers of the Second dragoons, stationed at the time at Topeka, if my memory is correct:

A number of men arrested from time to time were brought to the camp by the civil authorities and turned over to the military for safe-keeping. The horses of these prisoners were generally brought with them and picketed out while the owners were put in the guard tents. No sooner was a prisoner thus disposed of than some man would be observed walking around the horses, carefully examining them. He would disappear, only to return accompanied by the sheriff bearing a writ directing that a certain horse, claimed as stolen, be seized, the description of the animal always tallying with one of those picketed out. The sheriff would, of course, carry out the order and take the horse before the officer who had issued the writ; then, upon the claimant satisfactorily proving that the animal was his property, the military would be directed to deliver it to him. When the prisoner who brought the horse was liberated his horse was gone. Lieutenant Gay had a fine race horse, of which he was very fond. One day the horse hap-

NOTE 3.—In July, 1857, at Leavenworth, James Stephens was murdered and robbed of \$108. "His murderers, John C. Quarles and W. M. Bayes, were taken from the jail and lynched on an old elm tree near the sawmill, despite the protestations of Judge Lecompte and other law-abiding citizens. He was threatened with personal violence himself, as also was the United States marshal, who got on a box before the mob of over a thousand people and attempted to pacify them. The city marshal and police were hustled out of the way. The crowd battered down the door of the jail with a stick of timber, dragged Quarles forth and hung him to a tree. The noose was not properly tightened, and for a moment the man managed to grasp the rope with his hands; but a heavy-set, brutal ruffian caught him by the feet, threw his whole weight upon him and strangled his victim to death. When the mob returned for Bayes there was more protesting by the authorities, and Mrs. Bayes fought them off like an infuriated beast, as she was. Bayes, however, followed in the steps of Quarles, except that he allowed his hands to be tied behind him, and was swung off into eternity in a less horrible manner. William Knighten, a weak-minded young man, and Bill Woods, a counterfeiter, and alleged accomplices in the murder, were taken to Delaware City, tried, and finally discharged. This lynching affair seemed to check the reckless spirit of crime which heretofore pervaded the city, and thereafter Leavenworth was more free from lawlessness than most of the border towns."—Cutler's History of the State of Kansas, p. 427.

pened to be picketed among those of the prisoners. One of these professional claimants took a fancy to him, and proceeding as I have described, came for the horse. Gay let him go through the whole performance up to taking the animal to lead him off, when he had the man seized, tied to the wheel of a caisson and soundly flogged on his bare back. Some friend of the culprit—probably his representative in Congress—made complaint to the War Department, and Gay got letter after letter, calling for explanation. He was still getting them when I left the regiment more than a year afterwards.

On one occasion, when a portion of the regiment was camped along the bank of a creek where the grass was abundant but dry, and a strong wind was blowing, some miscreants set out fire so that the wind would bring it directly upon the camp. It came with the speed incredible to one who has not seen such a fire on the prairie. The wagons and their contents were destroyed, also the tents and most of the belongings of the soldiers. Of course in time of war such occurrences would have been guarded against, but in time of peace, and in one's own country, it was a surprise; besides, the soldiers, even when suspecting a citizen, had no right to fire upon him; and, too, it was but the work of a moment to drop a lighted match and gallop off. These are specific instances that I now recall. I was not a witness to any of them, for the reason that I was detained with the company stationed at Fort Leavenworth, and remember but imperfectly much that I received direct from the officers in the field. These, however, will furnish enough to show why General Harney,⁴ who commanded the department, did not feel warranted in leaving to accompany the expedition, or in allowing his mounted troops to leave. Besides, Governor Walker was all the while clamoring to have these troops retained in Kansas.

Sometime about the latter part of September I was ordered to accom-

NOTE 4.—WILLIAM SELBY HARNEY was born near Haysboro, Davidson county, Tennessee, August 27, 1800. He received his appointment to the army from Louisiana, February 13, 1818, as second lieutenant in the Nineteenth infantry. On the 15th of August, 1836, he became lieutenant colonel of the newly organized Second dragoons, and under his direction the regiment did noteworthy service in Florida, winning its spurs in the deadly swamps of the Everglades. Harney was a picturesque soldier, an Apollo in form, standing something over six feet in height, and fairly a giant in strength. He became a conspicuous figure in the Mexican War, and that over, he and his regiment came back to patrol the frontier and again fight Indians. Shortly after his campaign against the Sioux he was ordered to Kansas, May, 1857, where he served during part of the "troubles." It was Harney who told Governor Walker that Kansas had been the graveyard of every governor and general sent there, and that he did not intend it to be his. His appearance at this time is described as patriarchal, probably on account of his long, silvery hair, but that he was a profane old patriarch seems to be a well-established fact. His vocabulary of expletives was large and extensive, and he never hesitated to draw liberally upon it on the slightest provocation. When he was sent down the eastern border of the state to quiet difficulties in Linn and Bourbon counties he was especially profuse in "damns" for sending him, a brigadier general, on a mission that should have been entrusted to a lieutenant. When he was ordered to the command of the Utah expedition, and Brigham Young had defied the United States to send an army into Salt Lake valley, Harney said: "I am ordered there, and I will winter in the valley or in hell." He was not to carry out this threat, however, for the President had other plans for him. In writing Governor Walker, Buchanan said: "General Harney has been selected to command the expedition to Utah, but we must continue to leave him with you, at least until you are out of the woods. Kansas is vastly more important at the present moment than Utah." So Col. Albert Sidney Johnston was placed in command of the expedition, and on August 28, 1857, was directed to repair to Fort Leavenworth without delay. General Harney remained on duty in Kansas until April, 1858, when he was again ordered to Utah. In September of that year he was relieved from duty with the expedition and put in command of the department of Oregon, where he remained until July, 1860. He was then ordered to St. Louis and the command of the Department of the West. General Harney was retired August 1, 1863, and on March 13, 1865, was brevetted major general for "long and faithful service." He had been brevetted colonel December 7, 1840, for "gallant and meritorious conduct" in engagements against hostile Indians in Florida, and brigadier general April 18, 1847, for "gallant and meritorious conduct" in the battle of Cerro Gordo. General Harney died May 9, 1889.

pany the paymaster from Leavenworth to Fort Kearny, thence to Fort Riley, in command of an escort to him. There were but a few scattering farms started along the road, and after leaving the Missouri river a few miles there were buffalo to be seen on the Big Blue, and thousands of them about Fort Kearny. While there waiting for the paymaster to get through his duties, I borrowed a horse from the quartermaster, and, in company with Lieutenant Marmaduke—afterwards general in the Confederacy and later governor of Missouri—and the paymaster's clerk, went to hunt buffalo. We were cautioned to be very careful and not allow ourselves to be surprised by the Indians, who were very troublesome and had killed a white man only a few days before, setting up his scalp on a pole at the roadside. I directed a squad of soldiers to follow our trail in a wagon to take back to the fort any buffalo we might kill. After riding a good many miles without seeing one, a lobo, or large gray wolf, suddenly sprang up a short distance before me; foolishly, I gave chase until the panting of my horse admonished me that this was not a good preparation for a buffalo chase.

Not long afterwards we sighted a herd of buffalo and approached them as cautiously as possible, but they discovered us and took to flight when we were still some distance off. A stern chase is proverbially a long chase, and by the time I reached the hindmost of the herd my horse was tired, and after a vain effort to catch up with the head of the column, where I had been told the finest animals were always found, I fain contented myself with those within reach and commenced shooting. I never was so excited in my life, and blazed away, first at one, then at another, and when the loads in one pistol were exhausted I drew another, until it also was emptied. Then I drew rein and remembered the caution to look out for Indians. Making haste to reload, I found that I had lost my brand-new navy Colt from its scabbard, and that I had even fired my Sharps carbine—which I had firmly intended to hold loaded in reserve. I also found that I had brought to bay two bulls, which my companions, who had just overtaken me, dispatched. The quartermaster had not given them as good mounts as mine. When we reloaded and carefully scanned the horizon to ascertain if any Indians, attracted by our shots, were in sight, we perceived the wagon I had ordered to follow our trail. It soon came up, and the soldiers butchered the animals, when we started for the fort, which we reached without mishap, traveling after night by the North Star.

After a day or two more at Kearny we started for Riley, following the trail of a surveying party which had been out that summer to find a more direct road than the one then in use. We were the first to make use of it, and in consequence saw a great abundance of game which had not been molested. The route followed the valley of the Republican river. The bottom was rich and covered with a tall growth of wild sunflower then in full bloom—a gorgeous sight. We saw hundreds of antelope and many elk, sometimes in large herds.

After leaving Riley for Leavenworth we were met by a courier, who delivered to me an order to return as rapidly as possible to Leavenworth, there turn over my command and join my regiment, already on the march for Salt Lake. As luck would have it, the axle of the ambulance in which we traveled broke. We had a new one put in at the Roman Catholic mission among the Pottawatomie Indians, but lost a day. I bought of a priest there a Canadian pony, which I rode most of the way to Salt Lake, turning him

loose at night to graze when other horses were carefully tended and blanketed. He kept fat when others were starved and frozen to death, and when the march was completed I sold him for more than I had given for him.

At Leavenworth I found my regiment had marched a week before;⁵ that General Harney had been relieved of the command of the expedition, and it had been given to Col. Albert Sidney Johnston. I set out alone to overtake the regiment, anticipating a long and lonesome ride. Imagine my surprise and delight when, having gone about twenty miles, a sudden turn in the road found me in camp. The citizen teamsters of the supply train, which numbered a hundred wagons, had struck for higher wages. On the next day the wage matter was arranged and the long march begun, following the grassy bottom of the Platte river. In a few days we met the wagons and mules that had accompanied an expedition under Colonel Sumner against the Sioux Indians, returning to Leavenworth. I had an order to draw a mule from this party, nominally for my servant to ride, but really for myself—a privilege granted all the officers. We encountered twelve consecutive days of rain;⁶ every depression in the surface was filled with water. The water was almost covered with ducks of many kinds, but principally teal, and on these we feasted. The trouble was to get fuel with which to cook them, and, as there was no timber, buffalo chips had to take its place—a poor substitute at best, but execrable when wet.

For a long distance buffalo were very abundant; in fact, constantly in sight, and always traveling to the east. On one occasion I saw two old bulls cross the river. The course they were pursuing would bring them quite near the head of our column; so I got permission from our colonel to leave the ranks and go after them. In addition to my navy revolver in my belt, I carried an army Colt, which the orderly sergeant handed me as I started. I soon intercepted my game. Riding close alongside I brought down one at the first shot. My second shot was not so successful, for it only broke the shoulder blade. The beast stumbled and fell, but was up again at once and charged me. I turned my pony's head and drove the spurs into him with all my might, which had the effect of making him put his head down and kick up his heels, whereby I got a sharp blow in the forehead from the revolver in my hand. The sensation was most trying. I imagined myself going up on the bull's horns, and expected to be trampled by him when I struck the ground. A glance, however, showed him going as fast as he could. I never knew how he passed me, nor did I stop to inquire, but overhauled him and shot into him the loads remaining in my pistol without bringing him down.

By this time we had crossed the road very near the head of the column, and there was great excitement among the spectators at the contest. After I had emptied my second pistol the bull came to bay. One of the officers who was shooting grouse and had his gun loaded with bird shot, rode up and shot the poor beast's eyes out; then others joined the unequal contest and

NOTE 5.—Colonel Cooke and his command of six companies of the Second dragoons left Fort Leavenworth September 17. The regiment had been hastily recalled from service in the field and allowed but three or four days in which to prepare for the long march. Colonel Cooke was charged with the duty of escorting Governor Cumming and the other civil officers to Salt Lake City.

NOTE 6.—According to Colonel Cooke's report the rain began October 2. The next day, October 3, he says: "There was so severe a northeast rainstorm that I lay in camp; I knew there would be no fuel at the next, on the Platte river." This weather continued until the 12th, when it cleared up with "thick ice."

emptied their pistols. The poor creature would try to charge, stagger and recover himself—still he would not fall. By this time I deeply sympathized with him and was sorry that I had shot him. At last he came to earth, after receiving more than forty pistol balls, still struggling until a trooper ran him through with his saber. A wagon from the commissary drove up, the carcass was butchered and distributed that night to the men—an agreeable change from the salt pork on which they had been living. The buffalo had been so abundant about Fort Kearny during the preceding winter that the commanding officer had the howitzers taken out and some shells dropped into the herd grazing near by, that the grass might be saved for the animals at the post. We reached Fort Laramie about the first of November, and had to remain there three or four days for the arrival of a supply train. While there orders were given to store all baggage and other things not absolutely necessary,⁷ to leave all the camp women, and to grind the sabers, which were not to be drawn and not to be trailed, but hooked up whenever the trooper was afoot, so that they might not be dulled by contact with the steel scabbards.

This looked like business, and our spirits rose. From Laramie the march was up the valley of the Platte, then up that of the Sweet Water. The cold increased gradually until a snowstorm struck us, with a driving wind directly in our faces. We dared not stop, for the guides warned us that the snow often fell to the depth of fifteen feet, sometimes deeper. On the fifth day the snow ceased falling and the sun showed itself before setting. We camped on the very summit of the Rocky Mountains, at Pacific Springs, the waters from which, only a few yards apart, flow in opposite directions—from one, by the way of the Sweet Water, the Platte, the Missouri and the Mississippi, into the Gulf of Mexico; from the other, by way of Green river and the Colorado, into the Gulf of California. The cold was intense, the thermometer, at the last reading, registering 13 degrees below zero. There was no fuel to be had except the shrub *Artemisia* or wild sage, and that buried under at least two feet of snow.

The next morning the thermometers were all found broken; from what cause I do not know. As we descended the mountain the next day the weather moderated and became comparatively pleasant until we reached Fort Bridger, where we found the rest of the expedition in camp and busily engaged in constructing winter quarters of adobe.⁸

NOTE 7.—The command reached Fort Laramie October 23. Along the route grass had been found very scarce. This, with the bad weather encountered, had exhausted the horses and mules; fifty-three were reported ineffective for further service. The command was reorganized, and those too sick to ride or deemed "ineffective afoot" were ordered left at the fort; the allowance of equipage as well as other baggage was greatly reduced, and the march resumed October 26.

NOTE 8.—The following extracts are from Colonel Cooke's report [H. Ex. Doc. 71, p. 92, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 10], in which he gives a brief account of the sufferings encountered in that terrible march over the mountains. On account of the scarcity of grass and an insufficient supply of corn, the horses and mules had become weak, and by November 3 the men were walking, with "the horses mostly led." Under November 6, Colonel Cooke says: "The north wind and drifting snow became severe; the air seemed turned to frozen fog; nothing could be seen; we were struggling in a freezing cloud." In camp the cold was so intense that "the famished mules, crying piteously, did not seek to eat, but desperately gathered in a mass." On November 8 the mules and horses began to die from freezing and starvation. The next day nineteen miles were marched, with the officers and men leading to break a road for the wagons through the drifts. By the 11th mention is made of the "fast-growing company of dismounted men," the horses having died. At this time "there remained but one day's corn after that night." When camp was made, because of the cold, the mules were tied to the wagons, where "they gnawed and destroyed four wagon tongues, a number of wagon covers, ate their ropes, and, getting loose, ate the sage fuel collected at the tents, and some of these they also attacked;

Between the summit of the mountain and Fort Bridger we encountered the carcasses of the animals of some of the belated supply trains, literally blocking the road. They lay just as they had fallen—oxen yoked together, often six or more pair, with the log chain still attached. The wolves and the ravens apparently had not attacked them—perhaps because they were frozen so hard, or, perhaps, in the number of carcasses their depredations were not observed. At all events there they remained until thawed out the next spring, when, I was told, the stench was intolerable. On the day following our arrival at Bridger we marched twenty miles or more to one of the small streams flowing from the mountains, taking with us, to herd and guard during the winter, all of the animals of the army there encamped, except the few absolutely necessary for work about the camp.⁹ This required us to move camp frequently and to exercise the utmost vigilance to prevent the animals being stolen or stampeded.

The Mormons were very insolent, and fired upon our guards several times. Once a sergeant of the guard was hit, but his life was saved by the ball flattening against his waist plates. The snow lay too deep for drill or dress parade. The men amused themselves by throwing the lasso, first having scraped the snow from a path along which they ran in turn, while the others, standing in line, tried to catch them as they passed. It was astonishing what skill they acquired in a short time. We had no books, having left all at Fort Laramie; so time hung heavy on our hands. I hunted sage hens and jack rabbits a good deal; and all the mess rejoiced when I returned with either, for we were on the shortest possible rations in consequence of the Mormons having captured and burned several supply trains before we came up, while there were no mounted troops to protect them.¹⁰

During the four months we were so employed not one dispatch, or news of any kind, got to the army from the States or any other place—not even a grapevine dispatch.

The destruction of these supply trains, as well as the great loss of horses and mules by starvation and freezing, caused General Johnston at once to start a party of picked men to New Mexico, under Major Marcy, to collect and drive horses, mules and beef cattle to him. It was a hazardous and difficult undertaking at that season, but was successfully performed.¹¹ Major Marcy returned late in the spring with a large number of horses,

nine died." By November 14 the weather began to moderate and the long march was nearly over, the command reaching the army headquarters near Fort Bridger on the 19th. Nearly half of the horses were lost. Of the march Colonel Cooke says: "It has been of starvation. The earth has no more lifeless, treeless, grassless desert; it contains scarcely a wolf to glut itself on the hundreds of dead and frozen animals which for thirty miles nearly block the road. With abandoned and shattered property, they mark . . . the steps of an advancing army with the horrors of a disastrous retreat." Of his men Colonel Cooke says: "No murmurs, not a complaint was heard"; and again: "The regiment has retained through its sufferings an excellent spirit."

NOTE 9.—"The herds of mules, battery horses and cattle have been sent with herdsmen to Henry's Fork to graze during the winter, and six companies of the Second dragoons, under command of Colonel Cooke, have been ordered to encamp near them and guard them and protect the herdsmen. He has with him about two hundred dragoon horses."—Letter from Col. A. S. Johnston to Maj. I. McDowell, Camp Scott, November 30, 1857, in Ex. Doc. 71, p. 78, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 10.

NOTE 10.—These supplies were burned during the night of October 4, 1857.

NOTE 11.—An account of Major Marcy's expedition may be found in his "Army Life on the Border," 1874, pp. 224-275, also his reports in H. Ex. Doc. 2, pp. 187, 220, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., vol. 2, part 2.

Volunteers were asked for this expedition, and the march was one of great hardship and suffering. They left the army November 27 and returning reached Fort Bridger June 10, 1858.

mules and beef cattle and several thousand sheep, the latter having doubled the number on the march. When notified of Marcy's approach, Lieut. Frank Armstrong of the Second dragoons was dispatched to bring up a small bunch of beeves to save the necessity of killing mules for rations. This duty Armstrong performed with his usual dash, driving the cattle thirty miles a day without loss, and preventing by two days the sacrifice of mules for rations. When spring opened one or two companies of infantry were sent to assist us in guarding the animals.

We gradually drew nearer to Bridger, which we reached during the month of May. Shortly after, with the rest of the army, we began the march for Salt Lake.¹² The route lay through two defiles or canyons, known as Emigration and Echo canyons. In these, if anywhere, the Mormons would give battle; consequently every precaution known in military tactics was taken. No enemy appeared, and the passage of the defiles was without incident.

These features of the country have since then been so often described that I will not undertake another description. Our regiment brought up the rear, and the march was one of the most disagreeable I have ever made, owing to the black dust of the dry creek bottom along which we traveled. We followed all the other troops, the supply trains and the cattle and sheep, and found the dust at least a foot deep, which on account of the height of the almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, the breeze could not dispel. All who could procure veils wore them, but these gave but little relief. On emerging from the defile into the open, the view unfolded was most grateful to our eyes, weary of the eternal gray sedge through which we had so long traveled. In the distance below us lay the city of Salt Lake, with green fields and orchards, and beyond it the wonderful lake itself. The regiment was formed into line, and the guidons, which had been carried all the way in the wagons, were brought out and delivered to the color bearers. About this time a squadron of Mormon cavalry appeared, magnificently mounted and with silver-ornamented saddles and bridles. They rode around us at a gallop and then away.

All the while I could catch indistinctly low but deep curses from the stern-looking, bearded figures, immovable in their saddles, so disguised by dust that the dearest friend could not recognize them. They were thinking of the many cold, sleepless nights they had spent on guard in the snow, all to no purpose, for they had dreamed all the while that they would exact reparation for these trials; and now, on the very eve of the fulfillment of their anticipations, had come from Washington a committee, of which the celebrated Indian scout and Texas ranger, Maj. Ben McCulloch, was chairman, to arrange terms of peace with the Mormons, who thus went unwhipped of justice. On the next day we marched through Salt Lake City¹³

NOTE 12.—The army left Camp Scott, near Fort Bridger, about June 13, 1858.

NOTE 13.—"On the 26th of June Johnston's army, descending Emigration canyon, entered Salt Lake valley, passed through the all but deserted city, and, crossing the Jordan, camped upon the river bank about two miles from the center of town."—Whitney's *History of Utah*, p. 637.

"The rays of the rising sun slant athwart the bayonets of the Fifth infantry as, forming the van of the Union army, it approaches the outskirts of Salt Lake City. At dusk is still heard in its streets the rumble of caissons and baggage wagons. But no other sound is heard save the murmur of the creek, nor is there sign of life in the city of the saints. Zion is deserted!"—Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 534.

"Colonel Cooke, under whom the Mormon battalion had faithfully served in the Mexican War ten years before, rode with bared head through the desolate streets of the deserted Zion."—*Magazine of History*, Sept., 1911, p. 68.

under the most stringent orders; every man was in his place as prescribed by the regulations. We crossed the Jordan river on a fine bridge and camped on its banks. No officer or man was allowed to return to the city without a written pass from headquarters, and the strictest discipline was maintained. The new governor had been installed without any hitch or hostile demonstration. Thus the main object of the expedition was accomplished.

INDIAN FIGHT IN FORD COUNTY² IN 1859.

Written by JOSEPH B. THOBURN,¹ of Oklahoma City, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

AT THE CLOSE of the Mexican War³ the mounted troops of the United States army were reduced to three regiments, designated respectively as the First and Second regiment of dragoons and the regiment of mounted



COL. MANNING M. KIMMEL.

Only surviving officer of Van Dorn's expedition. (Photo made in 1910.)

riflemen. A few years of campaigning in the endeavor to control the western frontier, which had then come to extend from the Rio Grande to the Canadian border, and to keep watch and ward over the transcontinental wagon trails—to say nothing of the similar needs of the Pacific coast or of the disturbances incident to the political strife among the settlements west of the Missouri river after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill—served to convince even a reluctant and parsimonious Congress that provision should be made for enlarging the mounted arm of the regular military establishment. Accordingly, in 1855, Congress passed an act providing for the immediate organization of two new regiments of mounted troops, to be known respectively as the First and Second regiments of cavalry.

In the selection of officers for these two regiments the War Department took its pick from the field and line of the whole army,² including staff corps, engineers, artillery and

NOTE 1.—JOSEPH B. THOBURN was born at Bellaire, Belmont county, Ohio, August 8, 1866. His parents immigrated to Kansas, settling upon a homestead near Peabody, Marion county, early in March, 1871. There most of his early life was spent on a farm. His father, Maj. Thomas Crawford Thoburn, was of Scotch-Irish parentage and was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1829. Major Thoburn spent over three years in the volunteer military service during the Civil War, being mustered out with a creditable record in September, 1865. A few days later he was married to Miss Mary Eleanor Crozer, who was a native of Stark county and who was of Huguenot French and English descent. She died at Peabody, April 20, 1893. Major Thoburn died at the home of his daughter,

NOTE 2.—“When the two regiments of cavalry were authorized to be formed, in 1855, it was with the understanding that all the field officers and one-half of the company officers should be taken from the army, while the other half of the company officers should be taken from civil life.”—*Army of the United States*, edited by General Rodenbaugh and Major Haskins, 1896, p. 211.

infantry, as well as some of the most accomplished officers from the mounted regiments which were already in the service, who were transferred or promoted to higher rank in the new organization. All of the field officers of the new regiments, all of the troop captains, and many of the subalterns as well, were seasoned veterans who had "won their spurs" in the regular or volunteer service during the war with Mexico. The names of many of them were destined to become famous in the great internecine war which was even then looming large in the future. If, as has been aptly said, some of them were to pass in review as having worn the gray instead of the blue, they were still none the less American in their heritage and valor, and the memory of their deeds and achievements remains an inspiration to later generations.

The two regiments thus formed have sometimes been called "the Jeff Davis regiments," for the reason that Jefferson Davis, who was then Secretary of War, personally selected nearly all of the officers from other regiments or arms of the service for transfer and promotion in the new organizations. Parenthetically, it may be stated that no one could have been more competent for the performance of such a duty, for Secretary Davis had been an officer of dragoons in his younger years, and later, as colonel of a regiment of Mississippi volunteers during the Mexican War, he had ample opportunity to become more or less familiar with the ability, character and standing of nearly every officer thus gazetted for a commission in the new cavalry regiments. That he was partial to the South in his selections has often been charged. Indeed, there has been no lack of suspicion that the constituency of the field, staff and line of the Second United States cavalry was made up in anticipation of the great struggle which was then drawing near.

The roster of the commissioned officers of the regiment was replete with names which have since become historic. Albert Sidney Johnston was its colonel, Robert E. Lee was its lieutenant colonel, and William J. Hardee and George H. Thomas were its majors. Among the captains appear the names of Earl Van Dorn, Edmund Kirby Smith, George Stoneman, John B. Hood, Fitzhugh Lee, and others scarcely less famous. Of the fifty-one officers in the regiment thirty-one were from the South, and twenty-four of these entered the Confederate service at the outbreak of the Civil War. Twelve of the twenty-four became general officers in the Confederate army. But with the nativity and sectional predilections of the officers of the old Second cavalry (for it was the same regiment which has been known and designated as the Fifth cavalry since its reorganization in 1861)³

Mrs. Blanche I. Currie, Hasbrouck Heights, N. J., September 19, 1911: They were pioneers of the type which bore an effective though unostentatious part in laying the foundations of a new community and shaping its institutions. The subject of this sketch learned the printer's trade after leaving the farm. Subsequently he took a course in the Kansas Agricultural College, graduating from that institution in 1893. In June, 1894, he was married, at Manhattan, to Miss Callie Conwell. He is a newspaper writer by profession, and has been a resident of Oklahoma City since 1899. From 1902 to 1905 he served as secretary of the Oklahoma Territorial Board of Agriculture. For a number of years past his efforts have largely been devoted to the work of research and writing along the lines of local history, his special field being the Great Plains country. He is one of the authors of the brief outline of the history of Oklahoma which is in use as a textbook in the public schools of that state. Mr. Thoburn is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the Sons of the American Revolution, and has long been one of the most active members of the board of directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

NOTE 3.—At the outbreak of the Civil War, so many officers had resigned to join the cause of the seceding states that it became necessary to entirely reorganize many of the regiments in the regular army. In so doing all of the regiments of mounted troops

the people of the Southwest probably have less concern now than they have in what the officers and men of that famous regiment did in the course of their campaigns in this region between 1855 and 1860.



CAPT. AND BREVET MAJ. EARL VAN DORN. CAPT. EDMUND KIRBY SMITH.
From photo taken in 1859. From photo taken in 1861.

Unlike most of the regiments then composing the regular army, the enlisted men of which were recruited almost exclusively in the larger cities of the Atlantic seaboard and included a disproportionate number of foreigners, the enlisted strength of the Second cavalry had been recruited quite largely in the interior, and showed a much larger proportion of native-born Americans in consequence. It is said to have been one of the best-mounted regiments ever known in the United States military service, most of the horses having been saddle-bred animals which were purchased in Kentucky at an average price of \$150 each—which was considered a high price for horses in those days. The regimental uniforms were quite striking in appearance, especially the dress uniforms, which were gay and natty, with their braided trimmings of cavalry yellow. The officers wore silk sashes, brass shoulder scales and plumed Kossuth hats. The men of the regiment were armed with carbines, Colt's revolvers and sabers.

During the first three years of its active service the Second cavalry was employed almost exclusively in New Mexico and western Texas, where for the most part its various companies were scattered in small detachments on garrison and scouting duty, with more or less frequent brushes with hostile Indians. In the summer of 1858, however, a battalion of the Second, consisting of troops A, F, H and K, under the command of Captain and Brevet Major Earl Van Dorn,⁴ was ordered by General Twiggs to take the

became designated as cavalry, and were renumbered according to seniority of organization. Thus, the First and Second dragoons, organized by acts of March 2, 1833, and May 23, 1836, respectively, became the First and Second cavalry, while the regiment of mounted riflemen, organized by act of May 19, 1846, became the Third cavalry, and the old First and Second cavalry, organized in 1855, became the Fourth and Fifth cavalry, respectively.

NOTE 4.—EARL VAN DORN was born at Port Gibson, Miss., May 8, 1820. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1842, and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Seventh infantry. He had reached the grade of first lieutenant by the time of the Mexican War, in the principal campaigns of which he rendered such conspicuous service as to win the brevet ranks of captain and major. He was commis-

field against the hostile Comanches north of the Red river. Attached to this command was one company of the First United States infantry and a force of friendly Indians, mostly Caddos and Tonkawas, from the Brazos reserve in Texas. A permanent camp was established on Otter creek, in the western part of the Wichita mountain range, late in September. Almost immediately the four troops of cavalry, with the friendly Indian auxiliaries, made a forced march, and on the morning of October 1, 1858, attacked a band of Comanches encamped near the Wichita village adjacent to the present site of the town of Rush Springs, Okla. The Comanches, taken completely by surprise, fought desperately, but were finally dispersed, with the loss of all their lodges and most of their horses and over fifty of their people killed. The loss sustained by the troops included one officer (the adjutant of the expedition, Lieut. Cornelius Van Camp, whose heart was pierced by a Comanche arrow) and three enlisted men killed, one private missing, and a number of wounded, including the commander of the expedition. Major Van Dorn's body was penetrated by an arrow, which entered on the right side, passed through the stomach and the lower extremity of the left lung, and protruded from the left side, whence it was withdrawn. His recovery from so serious a wound seemed little less than miraculous.⁵

The command immediately returned to its base of operations on Otter creek, which had been named Camp Radziminski in honor of a deceased officer of the regiment. Commissary and quartermaster supplies were assembled at that point sufficient for the subsistence of the command for six months. Major Van Dorn was granted an extended leave of absence, in the course of which he visited his home and family in Mississippi during the period of his convalescence. There he was feasted and feted and honored by admiring fellow citizens, while one of his sisters, who was a gifted musician, composed and dedicated to him a piece of martial music, entitled "The Wichita March," which straightway became a great favorite with the regimental band of the old Second cavalry.

The winter of 1858-'59 was not spent in idleness by the troops quartered at Camp Radziminski. Although the commander was absent, the work of the active preparation for the campaign of the next season went steadily on. A large number of new recruits were received, and these, as well as the troopers who had already seen several years of veteran service, were all subjected to frequent drills and thorough discipline. About the only relaxation from such a continuous round of duty was found in occasional

sioned captain of the Second cavalry at its organization, March 3, 1855. He was commissioned major of the same regiment June 28, 1860. He resigned his position January 31, 1861, after his native state seceded from the Union. He then served with the Mississippi state troops for a time, and on March 16 he was commissioned colonel of cavalry in the Confederate army. He was rapidly promoted, becoming a brigadier general June 5, 1861, and a major general on the 19th of September following. He was in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department for a brief period in the early part of 1862, but was relieved after the battle of Pea Ridge. Thereafter his service was east of the Mississippi. He was assassinated at Spring Hill, Tenn., May 8, 1863.

NOTE 5.—The gritty little major, who doubtless thanked his stars that he had not stopped for breakfast before the fight, even after having been continuously in the saddle for sixteen hours, afterward wrote as follows of his thrilling experience:

"When I pulled the arrow from me the blood flowed as if weary of service and impatient to cheat me of life, spilling like red wine from a drunkard's tankard. It was sublime to stand thus on the brink of the dark abyss, and the contemplation was awful. I had faced death often, but never so palpably before. I gasped in dreadful agony for several hours, but finally became easy, and now am well. My noble, faithful horse stood over me where I fell and looked the sympathy he could not utter, and if I had died there I would not have been friendless. If several soldiers had not come up just as I was shot, I would have been stuck as full of arrows as Gulliver was by the Lilliputians, and my best friends could not have picked me out from among a dozen dead porcupines."



LIEUT. WILLIAM B. ROYALL.
From photo taken about 1859-'60.

hunting parties (game of all kinds being very abundant in the immediate vicinity of the camp), and in mountain-climbing expeditions among the peaks and spurs of the Wichitas, which were near at hand. Not only were the officers and men of the command subjected to rigorous drills and discipline, but even the horses received a special course of training. Thus all of the animals attached to the command were taught other accomplishments in addition to the movements incident to the evolutions of the squad, troop and squadron. For instance, when they were turned out to graze, the whole herd was taught to gallop into camp at the slightest alarm. This was resorted to in the belief that it might prevent the possibility of a successful attempt to stampede the herd by hostile Indians. The wisdom of such a precaution must become apparent to one who reads this account of the subsequent campaign.

The winter proved to be one of unusual severity in the West, and the troopers at Camp Radziminski ex-

perienced much discomfort, if not actual suffering. They were practically living in the open, without other shelter than their tents, though these were made as snug and warm as possible by building walls of logs or turf about them. Two enlisted men lost their lives one night as the result of the accidental burning of one of these log-walled tents. The camp was situated on the west side of Otter creek, at the lower end of a narrow gorge or canyon through which that stream emerges from the Wichita mountains. It thus lay at the foot of a low mountain, which served to protect it from the full force of the wintry blasts from the north. There were no fortifications or defensive works, but guards were always on duty on the picket line which bounded the south side of the camp. Grain was provided for the animals, but there was no hay for them, so they were grazed on the sun-cured and nourishing buffalo grass which covered the beautiful valley extending southward from the camp. When, as it sometimes happened that winter, the ground would be covered with snow for several days at a time, so that the horses and mules could not graze, they were fed on the bark and twigs of cottonwood trees, which were cut down for that purpose.

Before the time for the opening of the proposed spring campaign, the command at Camp Radziminski was strengthened by the arrival of two more troops of the Second cavalry. Several of the officers who had been with the command upon the occasion of its fight with the Comanches at the Wichita village had obtained furloughs or leaves of absence or had been

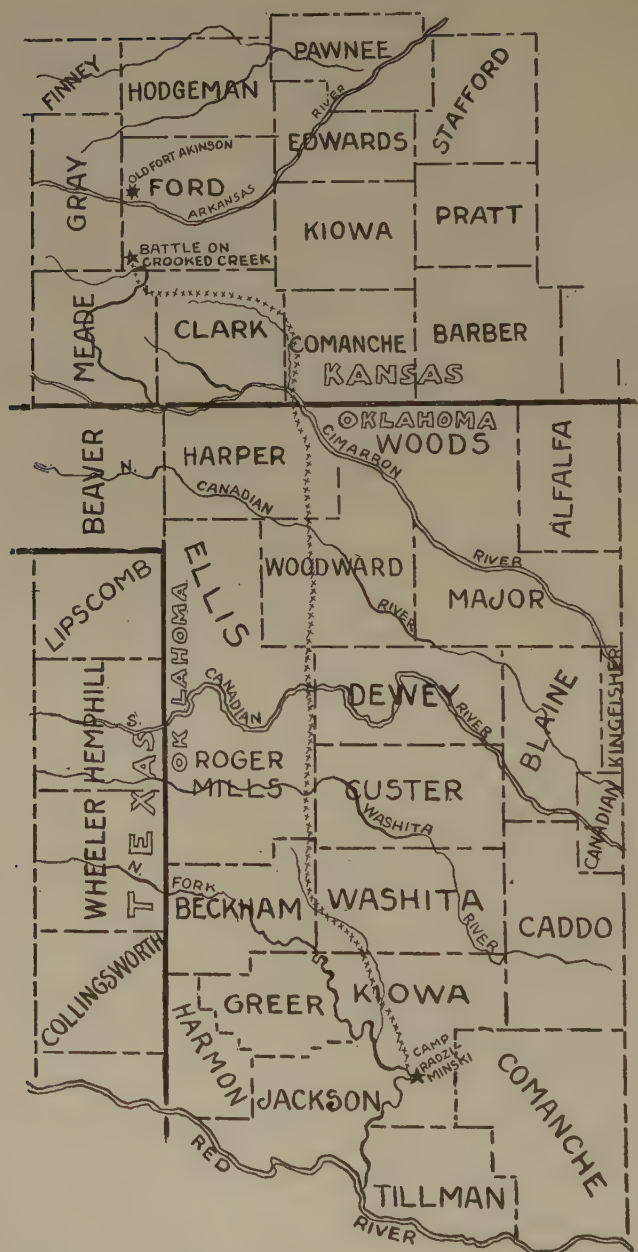
detailed for special duty elsewhere, their places being taken by others who were returning from similar leaves or assignments to special service. Among those who thus rejoined their respective companies were Capt. Edmund Kirby Smith,⁶ who, next to Major Van Dorn, became the ranking officer of the command, and who had just completed a long leave of absence, during which he had visited the British Isles and Continental Europe. Lieut. George B. Cosby,⁷ who had been in command of the escort of Capt. John Pope during the time the latter was engaged in boring artesian wells along the line of the thirty-second parallel; Lieut. Fitzhugh Lee, and others.

Spring opened slowly, late frosts were frequent, and it was not until the end of April that the new grass was deemed sufficiently far advanced to sustain the horses and mules of the command and thus enable it to take the field against the Comanches. Several weeks before the expedition was ready to start a requisition was made on Capt. Shapley P. Ross, United States Indian agent in charge of the Brazos reserve, for a body of friendly Indians—scouts and trailers. Fifty-eight Indians—Caddos, Keechis, Tonkawas, Delawares and absentee Shawnees—were sent in compliance with this requisition. These Indians were under the leadership of Jack Harry, a Delaware, and of Shawnee Jim. Shawnee Jim was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, spoke good English, and was a veteran of the Texas revolution.

On the last day of April, 1859, Major Van Dorn's command, consisting of six troops of cavalry, took up its line of March toward the valleys of the Washita, Canadian and Cimarron rivers. The route from Camp Radziminski led up the valley of Elk creek and across the divide to that of the Washita. The friendly Indians were used as scouts and feelers, a part of them being ten miles in advance of the column, while others were far out on the flanks,

NOTE 6.—EDMUND KIRBY SMITH was born at St. Augustine, Fla., May 16, 1824. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1845, and was commissioned as second lieutenant in the First United States infantry. He served with distinction during the war with Mexico, receiving the brevet ranks of first lieutenant and captain. For several years after the close of the Mexican War he was an instructor at West Point. Having been promoted to a first lieutenantcy in the Seventh infantry, he was selected as one of the captains of the Second cavalry at the organization of that regiment, March 3, 1855. He was promoted to the grade of major in January, 1861. On the 6th of the following April he resigned his commission and immediately accepted an appointment as lieutenant colonel of cavalry in the Confederate service. He was promoted to brigadier general June 17, 1861; to major general, October 11, 1861, and to lieutenant general, October 9, 1862. He rendered effective service at a critical juncture at the first battle of Bull Run. In 1862 he was placed in command of the Department of East Tennessee, Kentucky, North Georgia and Western North Carolina. He led the advance of Bragg's army and defeated the Federal forces under General Nelson, at Richmond, Ky., August 30, 1862. In February, 1863, he was placed in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department. Because of its isolation from the rest of the Confederacy, he was placed in a position where he wielded great power in civil, commercial and industrial lines as well as in a military way, yet he used such power wisely and unselfishly. The military operations within his department were not extensive, though he defeated the Banks Red river expedition in 1864. He surrendered to Gen. Edward R. S. Canby of the Federal army May 26, 1865. After the close of the war he engaged in business for a time, and then (1870) engaged in educational work. He had occupied the chair of mathematics in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., for eighteen years at the time of his death, which occurred March 28, 1893.

NOTE 7.—GEORGE BLAKE COSBY was born at Louisville, Ky., January 19, 1830. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1852, and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Mounted Rifle regiment. He was transferred to the Second cavalry at its organization, March 3, 1855, was promoted to first lieutenant May 1, 1856, and to captain May 9, 1860. He resigned from the service to enter the Confederate military establishment in 1861. His first position therein was that of captain and chief of staff to Gen. S. B. Buckner. After passing through the intermediate grades, he was commissioned a brigadier general January 20, 1863, and assigned to the command of a brigade under General Van Dorn. After the close of the war he settled in California, where he engaged in contracting. He served as adjutant general of that state during the administration of Governor Stoneman, who had been a comrade-at-arms in the "old army." He subsequently filled other public positions, both state and federal. He died at Oakland, Cal., in July, 1909.



Map showing line of march from Camp Radziminski to scene of battle.

the purpose of such precaution being to prevent the hostile Comanches and Kiowas from observing the movements of the expedition. At sunset each day the command would go into camp, apparently for the night, but as soon as it was dark the order would be given to remount and move forward several miles, and then encamp for the night. This was done for the purpose of still further deceiving any prowling spies of the hostile tribes.

On the fourth day out the friendly Indian scouts captured a Comanche Indian boy, who said he was one of a party of three who were on their way south to Texas to steal horses. He said his people were in camp on a small stream about two days' journey beyond the Cimarron. By dint of vigorous threats, and promising to shoot him if he lied or misled the troops, Major Van Dorn prevailed upon this boy to act as guide for the expedition and disclose the exact location of the village of his people. Having secured this information, the command pushed forward until the valley of the Canadian river was reached. This turbulent stream was found to be running bank full, and therefore not fordable. At that point, about thirty miles below the Antelope hills, the wagon train was parked and placed under guard, and all supplies actually needed for the further progress of the expedition were made up for transportation on pack animals. The freshet on the river having subsided in a few hours, a crossing was effected and the march was resumed toward the north. The Cimarron river was crossed near the point where that stream flows southward across the state line from Kansas. Once a small band of Comanche hunters were discovered and a running fight ensued, resulting in the killing of one Indian. After crossing the Cimarron the course of the expedition followed the valley of one of the tributaries of that stream, in all probability that which is now not inappropriately known as Cavalry creek, in the Kansas counties of Comanche and Clark. In the valley of this stream were found the camping grounds of several villages of the Comanche and Kiowa Indians, which had apparently been abandoned about two weeks before.

There evidently had been fully 2000 Indians in the camps, which had been scattered up and down the valley of the creek for several miles. These were believed to have been the villages of which the captive Comanche boy had told. Continuing the march in the same general direction, the fresh trail of a smaller band of Indians was struck. Apparently the trail seems to have led in a northwesterly direction across Clark county and the northeastern corner of Meade county, and into the extreme southwestern part of Ford county. The trail of the hostiles was followed cautiously, in the hope of being able to find the Indians in camp. The next day after the trail was found the command halted at noon in the shelter of a bluff to rest in the valley of a small creek, upon the banks of which a few trees were growing. The horses were unsaddled and turned out to graze, a strong herd guard being posted. It was the custom of the officer in command of such a detachment to post three or four videttes at suitable vantage points around the herd. The rest of the detachment would then dismount to graze their horses and let them rest, keeping them saddled and bridled and ready to be mounted upon an instant's notice, however. The sky was lowering and a rainstorm was threatening. About two o'clock in the afternoon three Comanche warriors were discovered on the bluff in the act of creeping up between the videttes, with the evident intention of stampeding most if not all of the horses of the command. The entire herd guard, under the

command of Lieut. William B. Royall,⁸ who was officer of the day, immediately gave chase, while the herd of frightened cavalry horses galloped into camp. Major Van Dorn ordered "boots and saddles" sounded at once.



LIEUT. JAMES E. HARRISON.
From photo taken about 1862.

The three Indians having secured their horses, which had probably been hidden in a neighboring ravine, fled at the top of their speed, closely pursued by Lieutenant Royall and his men. Suddenly, off at right angles to the line of retreat to which the Indians were shrewdly leading their pursuers, Lieutenant Royall saw a large herd of Indian horses and ponies. Instantly surmising that an Indian village was near at hand, he halted his men, dispatched a courier flying back to camp to apprise Major Van Dorn of his discovery and also of his intention to stampede the Indian herd and hold the hostiles at bay until the arrival of the entire command. With horses saddled and ready to mount, Major Van Dorn first caused a detail to be made for the purpose of guarding the pack animals and the camp. The order to advance at a gallop was then given. The dis-

tance from camp to the place where the Comanches was approximately three miles. True to his word, Lieutenant Royall had captured the horses of the hostiles and left them afoot, and, therefore, from a Comanche viewpoint, all but helpless. But, though thus taken at a decided disadvantage, they seemed to be none the less determined and defiant. They took up a position in the creek valley where there was a thicket of bushes and stunted trees, and where the low, steep banks of the channel of the meandering stream afforded them some measure of protection. Their concealment was so complete that it would have been difficult to believe that there were any Indians there had it not been

NOTE 8.—WILLIAM BEDFORD ROYALL was born in Virginia, April 15, 1825. His first entrance into military life was as a lieutenant of Missouri mounted volunteers during the Mexican War. While passing westward on the Santa Fe trail in command of a company of recruits, in the valley of Coon creek, near the present town of Kinsley, May 19, 1848, he had his initiation as an Indian fighter. [See vol. 10, *Kansas Historical Collections*, pp. 409-415.] At the organization of the Second United States cavalry, March 3, 1855, he was commissioned a first lieutenant. He was promoted to a captaincy March 21, 1861. Although he was a Virginian by birth, a nephew of Gen. Sterling Price, and could undoubtedly have met with more rapid advancement had he chosen to cast his fortunes on the side of the Confederacy, he never wavered in his loyalty to the Union cause. His regiment was attached to the Army of the Potomac throughout the Civil War, at the close of which he had reached the grade of major, with the brevet ranks of lieutenant colonel and colonel. After the close of the war his regiment was transferred to the western plains, where it saw active service against the Indians in the valleys of the Smoky Hill and the Republican in northwestern Kansas. December 3, 1875, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Third cavalry. The following year he was in command of the cavalry, ten troops of his own regiment and five troops of the Second, attached to General Crook's command on the Yellowstone expedition. He was promoted to the rank of colonel November 1, 1882, and was retired with the rank of brigadier general October 19, 1887. He died at Washington, D. C., December 13, 1895.

for the "twang" of the bowstrings and the spiteful "swish" of the arrows which came forth to challenge the white soldiers' advance.

In disposing his forces for the attack, Major Van Dorn placed a squadron of two troops each on the higher ground on either side of the valley. The other two troops were dismounted, every fourth man being told off to hold the horses, while the rest formed in line to sweep down through the valley and drive the enemy from its place of concealment. The fight was soon over. In his report to the department commander (General Twiggs) Major Van Dorn wrote as follows:

"The Comanches fought without asking or giving quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier but for the intrusive reflection that they were murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen."⁹

Forty-nine Comanches were killed and thirty-six were taken prisoners. Of these prisoners six were men and the rest women and children. It has been authoritatively stated that the troops had positive instructions to take no prisoners, but if so, the presence of the Indian women and children rendered a strict compliance with such instruction impossible.¹⁰

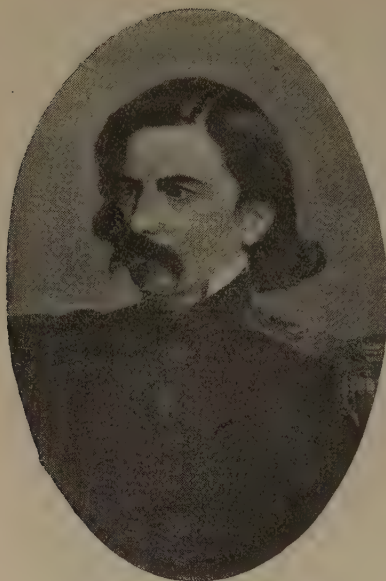
At the beginning of the fight Capt. Edmund Kirby Smith received a painful flesh wound in the thigh. Because of nearsightedness he was compelled to wear spectacles at all times. The rain which was falling at the time of this fight caused his spectacles to become so blurred that he failed to see an Indian who shot him from behind a log which lay near at hand. The ball missed the femoral artery by a mere fraction of an inch. Painful though his wound was, he continued with his troop until the recall was sounded. The other officers with the two dismounted troops were Lieuts. James E. Harrison,¹¹ Fitzhugh Lee¹² and Manning M. Kimmel. Lieutenant

NOTE 9.—Report of the Secretary of War, 1859-'60, Sen. Ex. Doc. 2, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 2, p. 370.

NOTE 10.—Of the friendly Indians engaged in the battle, one Wichita and two Keechis were killed, and two others died afterward of wounds received on that occasion. This is stated on authority of the surviving members of the band of friendly Indians. Major Van Dorn mentioned the fact that two of the friendly Indians were wounded, but does not state that any of them were killed.

NOTE 11.—JAMES E. HARRISON was born at Alexandria, Va., in 1829. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States revenue marine service in 1853. In 1855 he served as a volunteer in a campaign against hostile Indians in Washington territory, in the course of which he behaved with such conspicuous gallantry that he was tendered a commission in the newly organized Second cavalry. He joined the regiment in Texas in December, 1856. In the fight with the Comanches at the Wichita village, October 1, 1858, he killed two warriors in hand-to-hand combat. He was repeatedly mentioned in orders and reports for valor in action. He was offered strong inducements in the way of promotion and rapid advancement if he would resign his commission and join the forces in rebellion against the United States, all of which he steadfastly declined to consider. He saw active service in the Army of the Potomac during the early years of the war. Shortly after the battle of Beverly Ford he suffered a sunstroke, and thereafter he had to be content with less arduous service on account of failing health. He had given promise of a most brilliant career, had reached the rank of captain and had been breveted major and lieutenant colonel. He died at Washington, D. C., November 4, 1867.

NOTE 12.—FITZHUGH LEE was born at Clermont, Fairfax county, Virginia, November 19, 1835. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1856, and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Second cavalry. In 1860 he was assigned to duty as instructor in cavalry at West Point. He resigned his commission in 1861 and entered the Confederate service. His first position was that of adjutant general of Ewell's brigade. He was commissioned as lieutenant colonel of the First Virginia cavalry in September, 1861, and was advanced to the grade of Colonel soon afterward. He became a brigadier general July 25, 1862, and a major general September 23, 1863. He was severely wounded at the battle of Winchester, September 19, 1864. In March, 1865, he was in command of all of the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia. After the surrender of the Confederate armies he retired to his farm, in Stafford county, Virginia, where he



LIEUT. GEORGE B. COSBY.
From photo taken in 1860.



SECOND LIEUT. FITZHUGH LEE,
Second United States Cavalry.
From ambrotype made in 1858.

Lee, who was acting as adjutant of Major Van Dorn's command, and who had already distinguished himself by capturing a number of squaws and children, returned into the thicket, where he was shot by an Indian who was crouching in the channel of the creek behind a log. Simultaneously with the twang of the Indian's bowstring there was a flash of the young officer's revolver, and a ball struck his Comanche adversary squarely between the eyes, killing him instantly. Lieutenant Lee was hit in the breast by the arrow, which penetrated his right lung and protruded from his back beneath the shoulder. He staggered back to a tree for support, where a fellow officer (Lieutenant Cosby) pulled the shaft from his body and, with the aid of a sixteen-year-old lad who was trumpeter of Lee's (Capt. E. Kirby Smith's) troop, tenderly laid him down. Later the wounded lieutenant was carried out of the ravine. After the fight was over several of the officers gathered about where he was lying, with his head resting on the lap of the trumpeter. The blood was gushing from his mouth but not a drop came from his wound.

The surgeons believed that the wound would terminate fatally. Lieutenant Cosby was asked to go back to the tree and ascertain whether the arrow had passed clear through the body with the iron head or point in place, or if it had become disengaged. He found several bloody arrows,

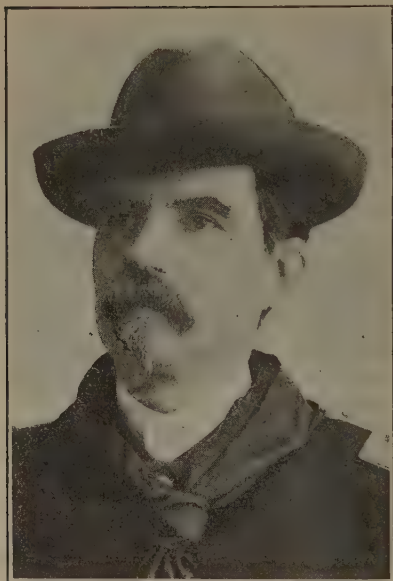
continued to live for twenty years. In 1885 he was elected governor of Virginia. From 1893 to 1898 he was United States consul general at Havana, during the trying times of the Cuban Revolution. In May, 1898, he was commissioned major general of volunteers, serving as such throughout the Spanish-American War. After the close of the war in Cuba he was military governor of Havana for a time. He was commissioned a brigadier general in the regular army in February, 1901, and was placed upon the retired list a month later. He died April 28, 1905.

some with and some without tips, and no means of identification, so the matter was left in doubt. By forcing salt water into the mouth of the wounded officer the flow of blood was checked, and he was enabled to dictate what was believed to be a dying message to his parents. About that time, the other officers having dispersed at the suggestion of the surgeon, Lieutenant Kimmel,¹³ who had been a West Point comrade of Fitzhugh Lee's, and who, having been on a distant part of the field, had just learned of the latter's serious wound, came up in a state of excitement, threw himself upon the ground beside his comrade and chum and expressed his sorrow and sympathy, at the same time calling attention to a bullet hole through his own hat. A faint smile lighted Fitzhugh Lee's face as he gasped out: "Kimmel, do you want me to believe that an Indian shot that hole through your hat? Now, old man, acknowledge the corn—didn't you go behind a tree and shoot that hole yourself?" The young trumpeter, who was supporting Lieutenant Lee's head in his lap, remarked to Lieutenant Kimmel: "You need have no fear—he will get well." That boy trumpeter, whose attachment to Lieutenant Lee was warmer than that which ordinarily prevails between the commissioned officer and the enlisted men, subsequently became an officer himself, and is now known as Brig. Gen. Edward M. Hayes, U. S. A., retired.¹⁴

In troop A there was one "stump-sucking" horse, an animal which was short of wind. It was ridden by a manly young soldier, private Willis Burroughs, who was a native of Tennessee and who had enlisted in the service from Texas. On the gallop from the midday camp to the scene of the fight this horse soon gave out. Under the circumstances this young trooper

NOTE 13.—MANNING M. KIMMEL was born in Perry county, Missouri, October 25, 1832. He was appointed a cadet at the United States Military Academy, entering in 1853 and graduating in 1857. He was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Second cavalry, July 1, 1857; was promoted to a first lieutenant in the same regiment April 1, 1861, and resigned in July following. He immediately entered the Confederate military service, with the rank of major, and was assigned to duty as adjutant general on the staff of Gen. Ben McCulloch, serving in that capacity until the latter was killed at the battle of Pea Ridge, Ark., March 6, 1862. He then served as chief of staff to Gen. Earl Van Dorn until the death of that officer, in May, 1863. He was then appointed adjutant general of Missouri by the acting (Confederate) governor of that state, Thomas C. Reynolds, with the rank of brigadier general. The election and installation of Thomas C. Fletcher, the Union candidate for governor, having ended the last showing of a Confederate state government in Missouri, General Kimmel returned to the active service as chief of staff to Gen. J. B. Magruder early in 1865, continuing in that capacity until the end of the war. He then went to the City of Mexico, where he secured employment as a civil engineer on the railway between that city and Vera Cruz. He returned to Missouri in 1866 and engaged in the practice of the engineering profession, chiefly in mine engineering in Kentucky. His home has been at Henderson, Ky., for more than forty years past. One of his sons, Husband E. Kimmel, is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, and is now a lieutenant in the navy. Another son, Manning M. Kimmel, jr., is now (October, 1911) a cadet in the third year of the course at West Point.

NOTE 14.—EDWARD MORTIMER HAYES was born in New York city, December 23, 1842. He enlisted in the Second cavalry as a musician August 28, 1855, being assigned to the troop of which Edmund Kirby Smith was captain and of which Fitzhugh Lee became a lieutenant the following year. After serving the full term of five years for which he had enlisted, he was discharged and returned to the East with hope of securing an appointment as a cadet at West Point, being still less than eighteen years old. In this he was disappointed, however. He entered the volunteer military service during the Civil War, was commissioned first lieutenant of the Tenth Ohio cavalry January 15, 1863, and was promoted to captain's rank March 24, 1864. He was commissioned a second lieutenant of the Fifth United States cavalry (his old regiment) February 23, 1866, and advanced to the grade of first lieutenant on the 20th of the following August. He saw severe service on the plains of western Kansas during the later sixties, and was breveted major for distinguished service at the battle of Beaver creek, October 16, 1868, where he was temporarily serving as quartermaster of Colonel Carpenter's command. He was promoted to captain August 15, 1874; to major of the Seventh cavalry April 7, 1893; to lieutenant colonel of the Fourth cavalry July 1, 1899; to colonel of the Thirteenth cavalry February 17, 1901; to brigadier general January 15, 1903, and was retired from the active service January 28, 1903. General Hayes is familiarly known among his old comrades-at-arms as "Jack" Hayes.



GEN. EDWIN M. HAYES, U. S. A.

From photo dating about 1888, when he was a captain in the Fifth U. S. cavalry.

would have been justified in abandoning his steed and returning to camp. Instead, however, he abandoned the horse and followed the galloping column on foot. When his troop was dismounted and formed in line to charge through the thicket where the Indians were concealed, he was there to take his place in line for duty. When the battle ended, a few minutes later, it was found he was the only soldier who had been killed outright, though a dozen others had been more or less severely wounded. His body was buried on a gentle slope adjacent to the battlefield, as was that of Sergt. W. P. Leverett, who died a day or two later from wounds received in the same action.

The two medical officers who had accompanied the expedition, Surgeon James Simons¹⁵ and Assistant Surgeon W. H. Babcock, attended the wounded Indians as well as the soldiers who had sustained injuries.

One of the wounded Indians was a squaw who had been hit in the thigh by a rifle ball. In attempting to remove the bullet it was found necessary to administer an anæsthetic. When she recovered from the affects of the drug and found that the wound had been cleansed and dressed, and that, too, without any pain to her, she hastened to tell the other captives, all of whom thereafter regarded the doctor as a sacred being—a sure-enough medicine man, as it were.

The command remained encamped at the scene of the battle for several days, until the condition of the wounded seemed to warrant the beginning of the return march to Camp Radziminski. Litters were made by taking two lodge-poles or saplings about fifteen or sixteen feet long and binding forked sticks between them in such a way as to form a framework. Over this was fastened a buffalo robe from one of the dismantled lodges. This in turn was covered with a layer of leaves and grass to a depth of six or eight inches. Over this were spread blankets, upon which a wounded man was laid. A pack mule in front and another behind supplied the motive power, the ends of the poles being suspended from the packsaddles by means of straps or thongs. Such litters were made for Capt. E. Kirby Smith and Lieut. Fitzhugh Lee. When the time came to start, however, Kirby Smith climbed into his saddle and let an enlisted man have his litter, because he thought the latter was wounded worse than he was. It is recorded that, at

NOTE 15.—Of the other officers who accompanied the expedition, Assistant Surgeon W. H. Babcock died of disease a few months later; Second Lieut. James B. Witherell was crowned in March, 1861; Surgeon James Simons died of wounds received while serving in the Union army, in 1863, and First Lieut. Robert N. Eagle continued in the service and was promoted during the Civil War, after which he resigned.

the end of his 200-mile ride back to Camp Radziminski, the captain's wound was entirely healed. Fitzhugh Lee would doubtless have been on horseback, too, if he could have had his way about it. As it was, he was a jolly invalid. Shortly after the return march was begun he sent for his friend, Lieutenant Cosby, and, addressing him with a smile, said:

"Cosby, I wish you would have these mules changed and put the old gray in front. Every step he takes his muzzle comes within a few inches of my face and he flaps his long ears in a way that I don't like. 'Familiarity breeds contempt,' you know, and probably the mule feels that way about it, too, but of course he can't say so."

It is scarcely necessary to add that the old gray mule was hitched in front of the litter thereafter, or that the gallant young officer lived, not only to recover from his wound, but also to achieve distinction in two wars and to win the lasting regard of his countrymen by his services in civil life as well.



Comanche Indian village, buffalo skin lodges.
From photo in Oklahoma in 1871.

The command was divided into two columns for the return journey. The larger one, consisting of four troops under Major Van Dorn, in light marching order, started in a southwesterly direction and returned to Camp Radziminski by a circuitous route, but without meeting any hostile Indians, for which it was in search. The other detachment, consisting of two troops under Capt. E. Kirby Smith, with the wounded, the Comanche prisoners and most of the pack animals, retraced the trail made in coming from the winter encampment, picking up the wagon train and its guard at the crossing of the Canadian. The return march occupied about two weeks and was made without noticeable incident. The two columns reached Camp Radziminski about the same time. From that point the Comanche prisoners were sent under escort to the department headquarters at San Antonio. Thus ended one of the most successful campaigns ever waged on the Great Plains. It is seldom mentioned in history, probably for the reason that it

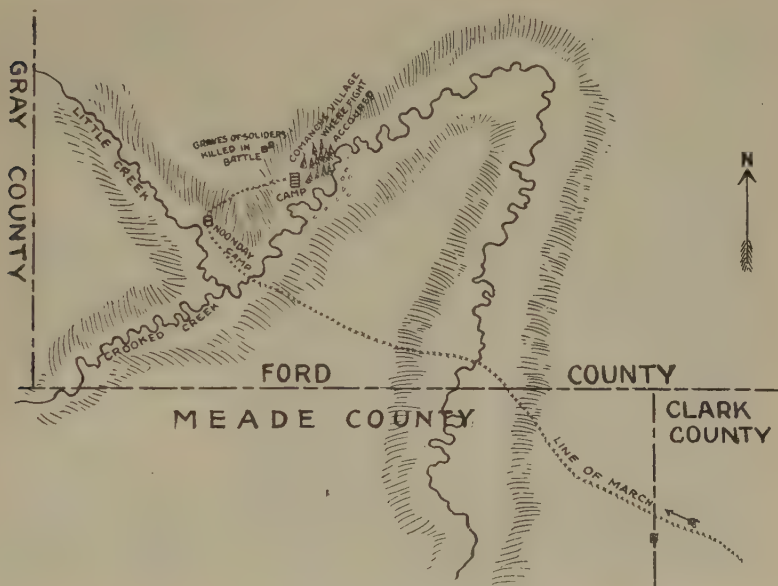
was so soon overshadowed by the mightier events of the Civil War. From a military viewpoint it ranks well with the exploits of Harney or Custer or Miles or McKenzie.

Because Van Dorn's destination at the beginning was the valley of the Washita, where he expected to find the Comanches, this campaign was commonly referred to as "the Washita expedition." When this battle was mentioned at all it was referred to as "the battle of the Nescatunga."¹⁶ The word Nescatunga is a corruption of the Osage name for a stream which in Oklahoma is called the Salt Fork of the Arkansas, but which is still called the Nescatunga above the Kansas line. However all that may be, Major Van Dorn dated his first dispatch "Headquarters Washita Expedition, camp on small creek about fifteen miles south of Old Fort Atkinson." Old Fort Atkinson was a mud-walled cantonment situated on the Santa Fe trail, in the valley of the Arkansas, about six miles west of the present town of Dodge City, Kan. If the battle really occurred at a point to the south and west of Dodge City, it is very evident that it was not on the Nescatunga, for that stream has its source thirty-five or forty miles to the east, whence its course runs in an opposite direction. In gathering the material for this account of the campaign, the writer corresponded with both General Cosby (since deceased) and Colonel Kimmel, both of whom participated in it and in the battle with which it culminated. Neither of them was able to locate the place where the battle occurred, even approximately. Neither was sure that the expedition had crossed the line into Kansas, and each thought the fight might have been in Oklahoma or the Texas Panhandle. Further inquiry revealed the fact that Major Van Dorn did not send out any scouting party while in camp on the battlefield; so it was evident that he did not fix his location in that unmapped wilderness, "about fifteen miles south of Old Fort Atkinson," as the result of any first-hand information in regard to the matter. It must therefore be inferred that the location thus stated was based upon information secured from some of his Comanche prisoners, most if not all of whom had been at Fort Atkinson, and were also familiar with distances and directions throughout that entire region.

Believing that Major Van Dorn was correct in his assumption as to the location, Colonel Kimmel was asked to sketch from memory a map showing some of the topographical details of the battlefield and its immediate vicinity. A comparison of this map with a government land-office map of southwestern Kansas leads to the conclusion that the battle did take place, as stated, about fifteen (or more likely eighteen) miles south of Old Fort Atkinson, in the southwestern part of what is now Ford county, Kansas, and in the valley of a stream which is known as Crooked creek. Its general course for several miles in the vicinity of the battlefield is northeasterly, toward the Arkansas river, but further down the direction of its course changes toward the south and southeast. It is a tributary of the Cimarron. Strictly speaking, therefore, that fight with the Comanches might very properly be called the battle of Crooked Creek. Diligent inquiry among people who have lived in that part of Kansas for years has failed to reveal

NOTE 16.—Major Van Dorn, in his report to General Twiggs, calls the stream whereon he found the first traces of the Comanche camps "the Nescatunga, a beautiful stream, direct tributary of the Arkansas, whose sweet waters and green, sloping banks, shaded by groves of the thickest foliage, were especially inviting to us, just emerging from a desert."—Report of the Secretary of War, 1859-'60, Sen. Ex. Doc. 2, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 2, p. 369.

the existence of any local knowledge of such an event. Colonel Kimmel is positive that he could identify the battlefield if he could see it again, even after the lapse of more than fifty years. It is to be hoped, therefore, that since the people of Kansas are manifesting a commendable interest in the erection of appropriate monuments or markers at points of historic interest or association, some steps may be taken to determine the exact location of the scene of that battle.



Map showing location of battlefield.

Of the nine line officers who were attached to the expedition, four—namely, Van Dorn, Kirby Smith, Cosby and Fitzhugh Lee—became general officers in the Confederate army. Lieut. Manning M. Kimmel, who was also in the Confederate service, is now the only surviving officer of the expedition. His home is at Henderson, Ky., and his portrait, herewith presented—a very recent one made expressly for this article—shows him to be enjoying a vigorous old age.

The Indians who were thus attacked were reported to be a part of Buffalo Hump's band of Cocheteka Comanches. It was with the same clan that Van Dorn's command had had its fight at the Wichita village the fall before. The big villages which had moved away from the valley of Cavalry creek a few days before the arrival of the troops were those of Ola MocoHopie and Mula Quitop.

The friendly Indians returned from the expedition in anything but a good humor. Major Van Dorn had forbidden them to take part in the fight. To this course Jack Harry entered a most vigorous protest, stating that they would not be permitted to live among their people when they returned to the reservation if they did not go into the fight. Major Van Dorn was unmoved by such an appeal, however, so Jack Harry directed his followers to

get ready to go into the fight in defiance of orders to the contrary, as also did Shawnee Jim. Each of the Indian allies fastened a band of white cloth about his head, a precaution which was quite generally observed by friendly Indians in time of battle, as it enabled the troops to readily distinguish between them and the hostiles. That they were in the thick of the fight at the battle of Crooked Creek is evident from the fact that several of them were wounded.¹⁷

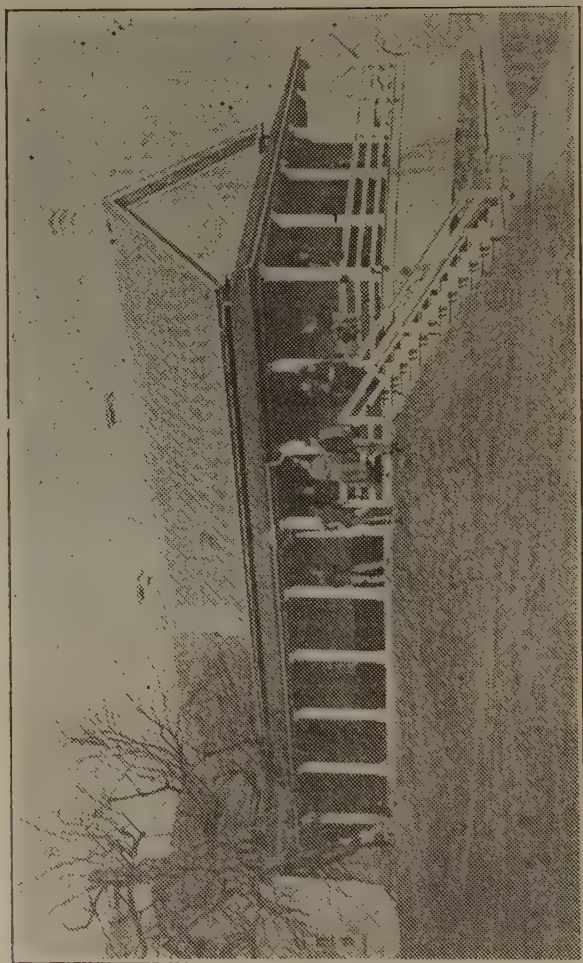


KAH-WID-DIS (WACO). NI-ASTOR (TOWAKONY).
Surviving members of band of 58 friendly Indians which accompanied Van Dorn's expedition.

After the return to Camp Radziminski Major Van Dorn was relieved of the command at that point, with orders to report for duty at San Antonio. This left Capt. Edmund Kirby Smith the ranking officer at the station, where he remained in command until its abandonment in the following autumn. Thereafter the site of the camp was occasionally visited by parties of buffalo hunters, detachments of troops campaigning against hostile Indians, government surveyors, etc., but it was never again occupied as a

NOTE 17.—In May, 1912, Mr. Thoburn wrote from Anadarko, where he had gone on a business trip, as follows: "It occurred to me, after I arrived, that I might ascertain if there were any of the 1857 friendly Indians who accompanied Van Dorn's command into Kansas still among the living. I found two, and I succeeded in getting each to pose for a photograph, and will have half-tones made and sent to you at once when I get back to Oklahoma City." In a subsequent letter, May 10, he writes: "I had a great time powwowing with these old fellows. Towakony Jim, who has been something of a head man among them ever since their return from their Kansas sojourn, engineered matters for me. He is a strong character, and would undoubtedly be a man of influence and standing if his skin were white. These Indians were all in the Wichita village at the mouth of the Little Arkansas during and immediately after the Civil War, and the fact that they found that I was a friend of J. R. Mead was a great help to me. I had to carry on most of my conversation with them through the medium of an interpreter—a young Keechi, who is quite well educated and intelligent."

military encampment. At the present time the visible evidences of the old encampment are few and insignificant. The surrounding country is settled, and from the summit of a neighboring mountain there can be seen hundreds of homes, where dwell more people in peace and security than were ever numbered in the whole Comanche tribe when it overlorded a region which was imperial in extent. But ours was to be a story of war in the wild, untamed West of other days; the story of peace and its victories tells itself better than mere words can do. It is good, indeed, to live in this later and more tranquil day, but the past and its memories hold much that is inspiring and ennobling. Its animosities, its mistakes, its wrongs, its selfishness, may—aye, should—pass into oblivion, but the example of its heroisms, its generosity, its courage and true manliness, are ours to cherish and ours to hand down unto our children's children.



Building at Fort Leavenworth used for First Territorial Capitol.

VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

THE FIRST CAPITAL OF KANSAS.

Written by HENRY SHINDLER,¹ of Fort Leavenworth, and published in the *Leavenworth Times*.

RESPONDING to a request of the Kansas legislature, the Secretary of War in 1910 issued to the Historical Society of the state a revocable license "to take possession of the old station building, which was the first capitol, at Pawnee," on the Fort Riley military reservation.

Since taking such possession the Society has caused to be placed upon the walls of the ruins, that those who pass on the "Overland Flyer" may read, this legend: "The First Capitol of Kansas."²

Upon what foundation is based this claim for old Pawnee which the sign implies has long been a mystery to those who have been studying Kansas history, as furnished in interesting doses by the Society. How, by any stretch of imagination, such a conclusion can be reached is beyond the ken

NOTE 1.—HENRY SHINDLER was born at Gleiwitz, Prussia, February 22, 1854, the son of Samuel and Bertha Shindler. He received some education in the schools of Germany, and later in the public schools of Illinois. At the age of thirteen he concluded to emigrate to America, although he had but money enough to get to Hamburg, from which point he made his way across the ocean without a penny, arriving in this country in April, 1867. The story of his travels in America during his first two years here shows that he was a most successful and accomplished tourist. He finally enlisted in the army and served three years, being stationed at New Orleans, Pineville and Baton Rouge, La., during 1873 and 1874, and at Fort Lyon, Colo., from June, 1874, to November, 1875. Upon his discharge he went to Fort Leavenworth, where he remained until 1893, thence going to Leavenworth and staying until 1908, when he returned to the fort. On March 22, 1879, he married Miss Nannie E. Thompson, daughter of the late J. M. Thompson, of Perry, Kan., who was a veteran of the Mexican War, having gone out with Doniphan's expedition. During Mr. Shindler's career as a printer and journalist he has been associated with many papers, and was for several years a correspondent of the *Kansas City Times*. While a resident of Leavenworth he was a member of the city council for two years, and President Cleveland appointed him United States gauger for the district of Kansas. He is now in charge of the printing department of the army service schools at Fort Leavenworth. For a number of years Mr. Shindler has employed his spare moments in a compilation of a history of Fort Leavenworth. The task has been a difficult one, but the work is now far on its way to completion. In the meantime he has published a number of pamphlets on various subjects concerning the institutions of this great military post—"A History of the Army Service Schools, 1881-1908"; "History of the United States Military Prison"; "Code of Grants and Permits under which the Various Private Corporations Operate on the Fort Leavenworth Military Reservation, together with a History of Some of its Military Institutions, etc."; also, "Fort Leavenworth: Its Churches and Schools." This last is a revision of a pamphlet published some years ago, and brought up to date, with considerable data of earlier times not then at the author's disposal.

NOTE 2.—The legislature of 1901 petitioned Congress to donate to the state of Kansas an acre of ground from the Fort Riley reserve, on which was located the building in which the first legislature met, July, 1855. This failed, but resulted in a revocable license from the Secretary of War, giving the State Historical Society of Kansas authority to take possession of the ruins of the old capitol. The interest at that time was caused by Col. Samuel F. Woolard, of Wichita, and other militia officers, who were holding annual encampments on the old town site of Pawnee immediately facing the building. In October, 1907, Colonel Woolard raised \$500 to restore the walls of the building. A bill passed Congress about this time, donating to the state the acre referred to, but in the meantime the question of policing the ceded territory caused the State Historical Society to lose interest in the movement. And so, after consultation with the then commanding officer, it was concluded that if the bill was not mandatory no action would be taken. Therefore the title still remains in the federal government. The state legislature never would fur-

of the writer. As a matter of fact, an assembling of all the evidence shows that Pawnee has no right to a standing in the column of "territorial capitals." It is here asserted that if any distinction attaches to having been the first territorial government, it belongs to Fort Leavenworth. The writer has no desire to shatter any Kansas idols, but if what follows so results those who have been setting up false gods to worship should be held responsible.

Now, as to facts. By the organic act (May 30, 1854) under which the territory of Kansas was organized, Congress made the express direction that "the seat of government shall be temporarily located at Fort Leavenworth, and the executive and legislative assembly are authorized to use the public buildings there which can be spared by the military authorities."

In the absence of any legislative or executive power within this new territory, Congress was the only authority which could fix "a temporary seat of government" therein, and Fort Leavenworth was so designated.

In August of the same year Congress appropriated \$25,000 for public buildings in Kansas, to be paid in the event that the Secretary of War should decide it to be inconsistent with the interests of the military service to permit the use of the public buildings at the post. Hon. Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, was opposed to making a military post a political Mecca. He told Congress that "all of the buildings at the post were needed for military purposes, but that the location of a seat of government, even temporarily, within the lines of a military reservation, where military law must prevail, would be inconvenient if not injurious to the public service."

Congress permitted its direction to stand. The president appointed Andrew J. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, governor of the territory. Reeder arrived at Fort Leavenworth on October 4, 1854. He established the executive offices of the territory in a building the military authorities provided. This building stood at the northeast corner of the garrison—a one-story building, L shape, built entirely of stone.³ It was torn down in 1893 to make place for the magnificent edifice now adorning the spot and known as "Pope Hall." For his residence the governor had assigned him some rooms in a stone building near the executive departments, known in the post as the "Rookery," the oldest building now standing on the reservation. The interior was recently remodeled at considerable expense.

The above, the writer thinks, fully establishes the claim that Fort Leavenworth was the "first capital of the territory." But this is not all the evidence on the subject.

nish a policeman to guard the place, and the military having no authority, it would become a great nuisance. However, the money having been raised, the walls of the building were reinforced by a bountiful supply of cement, a few stones restored, and some iron rods put in, making it sound for years to come. The first attempt at a Kansas legislature was held in the building July 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, 1855; hence its claim as a capitol. (See Sixteenth Biennial Report, Historical Society, pp. 10, 11, 61-63.)

NOTE 3.—In a letter from Gen. John A. Halderman, dated April 8, 1896, the following description of the governor's office at Fort Leavenworth is given: "Governor Reeder . . . established his office (the executive office) in the old stone building known and occupied as quartermaster's department at Fort Leavenworth, in a large room near the entrance steps, on the side near the traveled road and nearest the parade ground and headquarters. The furniture consisted of a few chairs, writing table, boxes of books covered with newspapers for seating visitors, a letter press, stove and other crude contrivances of comfort. At first he had his meals and lodged at the sutler's, Mr. Hiram Rich. . . . In October, in this little executive den, I presented to the governor commendatory letters. . . . Within a few days thereafter the governor formally tendered me the appointment of private secretary, at a salary of \$50 per month, which after some deliberation was accepted. The executive office remained but a very limited period at Fort Leavenworth. The supplies were really not unpacked until we reached the Shawnee Mission; so Fort Leavenworth was a capitol *pro forma* only, not in substance."

Finding the accommodation for the executive departments of the territory too limited, the governor decided to remove them from Fort Leavenworth to the Shawnee Mission Manual Labor School, and this he did on November 21, 1854, on which day the post ceased to be the capital of the territory, so far as the governor was concerned. Whether this removal was by authority is not known. At any rate, it was not done by any act of Congress, and under the law Fort Leavenworth continued to be the legally designated capital until the territorial legislature convened and designated some other locality.

At the next session Congress, heeding the recommendation of Secretary Davis, made an additional appropriation of \$25,000, coupled with the following provision: "That said money, or any part thereof, or any portion of the money heretofore appropriated for this purpose, shall not be expended until the legislature of said territory shall have fixed by law the permanent seat of government."

The governor, long in advance of his arrival in the territory, was preceded by an army of would-be officeholders and land speculators from his native state. These at once set to work to obtain a "view" of the land and select a site for a new town for a commercial center and the capital of the territory. The Kaw river having been found navigable to its source, the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers, that point, being considered the geographical center of the United States as well as of the territory, was deemed suitable, and a decision was reached locating a town there, to be called Pawnee. However, as the lands desired were within the Fort Riley military reservation, nothing could be done unless the Fort Riley military authorities consented to exclude the land wanted. That they consented to this is shown by the following extract from a communication to the town promoters, written by Maj. W. R. Montgomery, Second infantry, the commanding officer of Fort Riley, who said:

"I have the pleasure of assuring you that I fully accord with you as to the propriety and necessity for such a mart to supply the present and prospective commercial wants of the citizen community, now rapidly locating in this vicinity, and in view of the fact that the point designated below One Mile creek is unessential to the requirements of this command, and decidedly the most eligible for the purpose specified, I cheerfully consent to exclude it from the reserve about being surveyed and definitely fixed for the use of this post."

The field was now clear for action. On September 27, 1854, one week following the receipt of Major Montgomery's communication, the Pawnee Town Site Association was organized. It consisted of fourteen army officers and several territorial officials, including Governor Reeder. Among the army officers were Major Montgomery, Dr. W. A. Hammond, later surgeon general of the army; Captain Nathaniel Lyon, Second infantry, the hero of Wilson's Creek; and Maj. E. A. Ogden, quartermaster. The shares of stock, or rather the number of acres, members of the association were to receive follows: Governor Reeder, eighty acres; Doctor Hammond, forty; one Robert Wilson, the sutler, eighty, while Montgomery was to share with Hammond and Wilson jointly.⁴

The purpose of making the town of Pawnee the capital of the territory was kept a profound secret among the Pawnee boomers. They believed

NOTE 4.—Major Montgomery was president of the Pawnee Town Site Association and Doctor Hammond secretary. This Society has among its manuscripts certificates of shares in the association signed by them.

that their scheme could not be carried out if others were taken in, thus concluding that a secret policy would win. That these Pennsylvanians were not up in the game of securing political plunder will be shown farther on. In a note to Secretary Martin of the Historical Society in 1903, the late Gen. John A. Halderman, who came to Kansas with Reeder as his private secretary, said, concerning the Pawnee town site:

"Governor Reeder, shortly after his arrival at Fort Leavenworth in 1854, made a trip into the interior, and was reported to have spoken words of commendation at sundry places and times to the effect, 'this would be a magnificent site for the capitol building,' etc. I remember that old Squire Dyer,* at the 'crossing of the Blue,' had hopes for his place; so they did at Tecumseh, Lawrence, Leavenworth and other places. Council Grove was a beautiful site, and there was no reason why it should be without hope. My frequent questionings, Where will go the capitol? were answered in pleasant evasion. Later, in confidence the governor advised me to 'buy in Pawnee,' This I did, purchasing from him 100 shares. I know he intended to befriend me, though the purchase ended in a total loss. From that day I felt sure that Pawnee would be selected, though the public was not advised until a later date."

Following the completion of the census in February, 1855, the governor convoked the legislature to meet at Pawnee on July 2 following, and with this proclamation came the first official announcement that the governor had selected Pawnee town site for the capital, subject, of course, to the action of the new legislature. That the governor was "interested in Pawnee" was apparent; that he intended to force the legislature to do his bidding, quite evident.

Preparations for the holding of the legislative session at Pawnee were being rushed along, the principal need being a hall in which to meet, and hotel accommodations. For the first-named object the building now designated as the "first capitol of Kansas" was erected. On this subject Secretary Martin of the Kansas Historical Society, in his very excellent paper on "The Territorial and Military Combine at Fort Riley,"⁵ says:

"It was two stories, and the council met on one floor and the house on the other. The officers sat at the end of the building next to the fort, and the large hole, still there, left open through which to handle material, and not caused by a cannon ball, was closed during the session by canvas."

The legislature met on the day designated by the governor in his proclamation. Once organized, it promptly enacted into law a measure providing for the transfer of the "temporary seat of government" to Shawnee Mission, and, though vetoed by the governor, the bill passed over his head.⁶

* See article on Juniata in this volume.

NOTE 5.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 368.

NOTE 6.—H. D. McMEEKIN introduced the bill in the house on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 3. The title read: "An act to remove the seat of government, temporarily, to the Shawnee Manual Labor School, in the territory of Kansas." The rules were suspended and the bill put on first, second and third reading and passed, when the vote stood 16 for to 7 against, one member being excused from voting. The bill was immediately messaged to the council, where it was at once read the first, second and third time and put on passage, with a vote of 9 for to 3 against. On July 6 the bill was returned to the house by the governor with his objections. It was at once taken up and passed by a two-thirds majority. The same action being taken in the council, a resolution was adopted in both bodies adjourning the legislature to meet on July 16, 1855, at the Shawnee Manual Labor School. Hayden D. McMeekin was born January 3, 1822, in Nelson county, Kentucky. He was married in April, 1844, to Miss Mary Jane Lawrence. In October, 1850, he came west, arriving at Fort Leavenworth. He engaged in business at Uniontown, a point on the Kansas river fourteen miles above Topeka, where he traded with the Pottawatomies for nearly five years. On the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska

The legislature then adjourned to meet at the mission July 16; and thus ended the effort to make Pawnee the capital of the territory, and rent asunder "the territorial and military combine at Fort Riley."

After the legislature reconvened at the mission it enacted several laws which Reeder also vetoed, on the ground that the legislature was "not doing business at the seat of government." This body then memorialized the President to remove the governor, and in answer to the point raised by him in his veto the memorial says:

"One point is that Fort Leavenworth is the seat of government, made so by the organic act; that a law passed anywhere else than at the seat of government would be illegal. That he had the right to call the legislature to meet at a point not the seat of government (that is, Pawnee), and that laws enacted there (though not the seat of government) would be legal, thereby destroying the preceding proposition. That we could have passed an act at Pawnee (though not the seat of government, and therefore illegal) establishing a permanent seat of government, and by an illegal adjournment (because passed at a point not the seat of government) have met at such permanent seat of government, and there have made legal and binding statutes; or, by the same illegal process, have adjourned to Fort Leavenworth, the seat of government, and there have made legal and binding statutes. . . .

"If he believes that Fort Leavenworth is the seat of government, and that laws passed anywhere else than at that point would be illegal and void, then to call us to Pawnee to legislate is a willful, deliberate and base attempt to render all our acts, of whatever character, wholly illegal and void; because, by his own showing, Pawnee is not the seat of government, and acts passed anywhere else than at the seat of government are of necessity void, and for which he should be removed."

The supreme court of the territory sustained the position of the legislature. It held that after being called into existence through executive action, authorized under the organic act which gave life to the territory of Kansas, it became the supreme authority within the territory and not open to challenge on the score stated.

At any rate, Governor Reeder was removed from his office as a result of his speculations in Indian lands, etc. Major Montgomery, as soon as his conduct was disclosed, was tried at Fort Leavenworth, in July of the same year, convicted and dismissed from the service. Of this court General Mansfield was president and Robert E. Lee and Albert Sidney Johnston members.

In passing upon the case, Secretary Davis said:

"The department can not pass without notice the conduct of the other officers of the army who engaged in the Pawnee Association to establish a town upon the military reserve at Fort Riley. If they had no official responsibility in the case, they have much to reproach themselves for in influencing the commanding officer to take the step which has involved him in such difficulties."

bill he took a preëmption claim in Salt creek valley, near Fort Leavenworth. He made some money on the rise of property in and about Leavenworth, and, concluding to try politics, he was elected to the proslavery legislature. But this did not suit him, and he engaged in the hotel business, being one of a party who built the Planters at Leavenworth. He was landlord of this for several years, making it the best and most fashionable hotel west of St. Louis. He next engaged in the wholesale grocery trade, followed by some Indian and military contracts. In 1864 he returned to the hotel business, managing at different times a hotel at Wamego, when it was the end of the track, the Hale House at Junction City, the Marshall at Ellsworth, the Union Pacific at Topeka, and the celebrated Teft House at Topeka. He died at Kansas City, Kan., September 10, 1885; Mrs. McMeekin died at Kansas City, Kan., September 5, 1909. McMeekin was a famous landlord, very popular with free-soilers and all classes.

In view of this showing, the writer hopes the Kansas Historical Society will disclaim any further distinction for the Pawnee capitol ruins, ask to be relieved from their further care, and request the Secretary of War to recall the license issued, so as to permit the department to destroy the last vestige of this pile of stone, that no more memory may be had of a transaction so discreditable to all concerned.⁷

The Society, if it wishes to mark the spots where have stood historic buildings, just as it is aiding in marking the old Santa Fe trail, should come to Fort Leavenworth and there erect a tablet on the spot where stood Kansas' first capitol, and place one upon the building occupied as the governor's first mansion in the territory. Such work would be worth while, because it would be real history.

On August 5, 1855, the Shawnee Mission legislature, in joint session, located the permanent capital at Leecompton. Fixing the permanency of the capital enabled the territory to obtain the \$50,000 Congress had appropriated for a capitol building. This sum should have been sufficient had it been properly expended. As it was, the walls of the building had only advanced a few feet above the foundation when the appropriation was exhausted. To have completed the building upon the scale planned would have cost \$200,000 to \$300,000.

Governor Geary, who in the meantime had come upon the field, was not long in discovering that the money was being squandered for salaried inspectors and superintendents, and so used the executive ax with good purpose. In discharging some of the officials Geary wrote to one of them: "As your services as superintendent of the capitol building are no longer required, you are hereby notified that your appointment is revoked from this date."

In the meantime several influential members of the legislature secured large interests in a land company that had decided to start a new town in Franklin county, call it Minneola and make it the capital. The legislature fell in with the scheme, and in February, 1858 enacted a law making the change. It then applied to the United States for an additional appropria-

NOTE 7.—As an aftermath of Pawnee the following statement of Dr. Daniel L. Chandler, made December 7, 1882, may be of interest. He says:

"I came to Kansas, arriving in September, 1856; came through Iowa and Nebraska with the free-state immigration of that year. I was taken prisoner with the rest, soon after crossing the Kansas line, by the United States troops, by order of Governor Geary. I came with three others from Chicago, not joining the other immigration till we got to Tabor, Iowa, near the Missouri river. There we remained two weeks, till the main body of the immigration had arrived and were ready to proceed. At Tabor I met Gen. S. C. Pomeroy, with whom I was acquainted. He and I were members of the Massachusetts legislature together in 1852. I represented the town of Shirley that winter and Mr. Pomeroy represented Southampton. Nathaniel P. Banks was speaker of the house and Henry Wilson was president of the senate. Coming to Kansas I and my associates had a large tent, and at Tabor Mr. Pomeroy joined us, and slept in our tent after that in making the trip to Kansas.

"I stayed two weeks at Topeka on arriving, and made a flying trip to Lawrence. I then went up and founded the little town of Ogden, in Riley county, and have lived at Ogden ever since, unless you take out the four years in which I was in the War of the Rebellion. Rev. John W. Parsons, Benjamin Edmunds and Moses Walker were associated with me in founding the town of Ogden. Soon after arriving there we four bought a sawmill and set it up. It was a mill that had been taken up the head branches of the Kansas river to cut lumber for the bridging of military roads. The bridge builders had just completed their work and were coming back. Having no further use for the mill, we bought it as they passed our place, and paid \$2000 for it.

"We got considerable material for our buildings from the old Pawnee town ruins, our town being four miles below Pawnee. We got the logs of the large two-story hotel which Governor Reeder had built at Pawnee. I guess we hooked the logs. Robt. Klotz, Governor Reeder's business man, was with us that winter at Ogden. That jolly gentleman is now a Democratic member of Congress from Pennsylvania. He had notions of legislation when he was with us. He organized a mock legislature, which he ran principally himself. Lemuel Knapp and several others moved their houses down from Pawnee to Ogden."

tion. The President referred the request to the Attorney-general of the United States, and this was his opinion, in part:

" . . . Congress did not decide where the permanent seat of government should be, but located it temporarily at (Fort) Leavenworth. The territorial legislature, then, had power to remove it as they saw proper, either for a short time or for all time. But Congress, when the appropriation of 1855 was made, required, as a condition precedent to the payment of the money, that the seat of government should be permanently located, and left the territory, through its legislature, to do that for itself. Making a permanent location certainly did not mean designation of a place merely for the purpose of getting the money, and then making another change. . . . Such a removal, if carried out, would defeat the manifest intention of Congress, violate the spirit of the act, and be a fraud upon the United States."

This blocked the scheme to make Minneola the territorial capital. The town was well laid out on a map, all the roads in the United States pointing in that direction, and, according to a prospectus, was the coming center of population and commerce. But it died.⁸

Pawnee was an excellent location for the seat of government. Had Governor Reeder and his Pennsylvania friends confided their purpose to some of the legislature's influential members some time in advance of its session in July, 1855, and taken them in as shareholders, it is doubtful if any adjournment had been taken to Shawnee Mission, and it is not unlikely that Kansas's capital would have been at Pawnee and Junction City. That Minneola was out of the question, because of locality, was quite certain; that it was born in fraud official records prove.

Lecompton continued to be the capital until 1861, when the act of Congress ratifying the Wyandotte constitution of 1859 was approved by the President, which provided that Topeka should be the temporary capital.⁹

NOTE 8.—JOHN CONOVER, the gallant lieutenant colonel of the Eighth Kansas regiment, now of the hardware firm of Richards & Conover, Kansas City, Mo., tells a very interesting story of a search he made for a territorial capital. Conover was born in New Brunswick, N. J., November 27, 1835. He was the oldest child of John and Jane E. (Cornell) Conover, whose ancestors were among the earliest settlers of New Jersey. He was educated in the common schools of Camden. He came to Kansas on March 18, 1857, and settled at Leavenworth. July 22, 1861, he entered the army as a second lieutenant, and on August 28 was attached to company A, Eighth Kansas regiment. In December he was made a first lieutenant; March, 1862, a captain; in August a major; October a lieutenant colonel, and in December a colonel. March 13, 1865, the President breveted him a colonel for "gallant and meritorious services." He made a gallant record with the Eighth Kansas during the war, but it is a territorial incident we desire to quote. The colonel tells about his search for Minneola as follows:

"Even as late as '58 capitals were scattered promiscuously throughout the state. I started horseback from Leavenworth in '58 while clerking for Reisinger & Fenlon, who had a hardware store on Main street, between Shawnee and Delaware, to find the capital of Kansas. I had a note for \$97.50 for a set of chafing dishes and table appurtenances for the eating department of the new capitol, which was located on the first floor of the capitol building. The note was made and signed by Dr. J. B. Davis, Cyrus Fitz Currier, of Leavenworth; O. A. Bassett and Joel K. Goodin, of Lawrence; E. C. K. Garvey and a lawyer by the name of Blackwell, of Topeka, but none of them had means enough to pay, at least that is what they said. The capital I was looking for was Minneola, Kan. I stopped at Lawrence over night and the next day started south. I met a farmer and his wife in a wagon at the crossing of the Wakarusa, and inquired where Minneola was. They said they had never heard of it. I rode about three miles further, met another couple in a wagon, and they stated they did not know of any town of that name. Riding three or four miles further, I met a man coming up horseback, who said he had heard some talk about the capital but did not know where it was. About three miles further on I met a carpenter riding an old mare, bareback, with blind bridle. I inquired if he knew where the new capital of Kansas was. He said: 'Yes, sirc.' He had been working on the capitol building. 'You go one and one-half miles further and you can see it about a mile off to the right.' I found it. The legislature had met there one morning about a week before and adjourned that afternoon to meet at some future time at Leavenworth. I was on a collecting tour, so I rode to Topeka and then to Manhattan, and then back to Leavenworth."

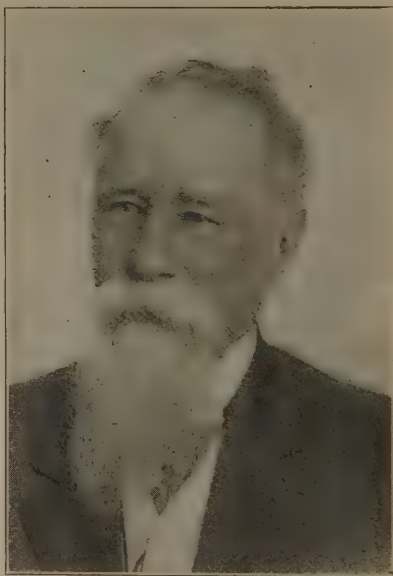
NOTE 9.—An article on "The Capitals of Kansas," by the late F. G. Adams, was published in volume 8 of the Historical Collections, page 331.

THE NAMING OF OSAWATOMIE, AND SOME EXPERIENCES WITH JOHN BROWN.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by ELY MOORE, JR.,¹ of Lawrence.

MANY readers in Kansas and Missouri are familiar with the fact that my residence in Kansas dates from early June, 1853. They have knowledge of this through articles published by Kansas City and Lawrence newspapers, and by the Kansas State Historical Society.

In March, 1853, my father was appointed special agent of the Five Confederated Tribes of Indians,² which appointment conveyed also the rank of colonel. The agency to which he was assigned was located at Miami mission, on the Marais des Cygnes or Osage river, by Indian trail some ten miles southeast of what is now known as the city of Osawatomie. Before leaving Washington we were informed by the Indian Department that there was a tribal war on tap between the Pottawatomies and Miamis, the latter charging the former with poaching, stealing cattle and kidnapping their maidens. And why not? The Pottawatomie maids were uncouth in dress, countenance and form, while the Miami maids carried a blush on their cheeks, bright eyes and winning ways.



ELY MOORE, JR.

The exodus from Missouri and other states seeking good land, or with an eye on the Pacific slope, blazed a trail over the Indian reservations, cutting the best timber and joining with their own herds many cattle belonging to the Indians. This robbery and defiance soon brought on engagements and bloodshed.

Upon reaching the mission we found the condition far more complicated than represented to us, and at once so stated to the government. But not waiting to hear from Washington, my father organized a company of Indians, instructing them to patrol the Missouri border and prohibit any one from crossing the line into the reservations.³ After this was accomplished,

NOTE 1.—For sketch of Ely Moore, jr., see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 446. For sketch of his father, Col. Ely Moore, see vol. 8, p. 4. See, also, "The Lecompton Party which Located Denver," vol. 7, p. 446; "A Buffalo Hunt in 1854," vol. 10, p. 402; and "The Story of Lecompton," vol. 11, p. 463, all written by Ely Moore, jr.

NOTE 2.—The Miamis, Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias and Piankeshaws. See, also, footnote 2, p. 463, vol. 11, Kansas Historical Collections.

NOTE 3.—These reservations were as follows: the Piankeshaw and Wea, 158,400 acres; the Miami, 325,000 acres; the Peoria and Kaskaskia, 94,080 acres. The west line of Mis-

word was received from Washington to have detailed from Fort Leavenworth two or three companies of dragoons to guard the border and drive out all trespassers. When the dragoons arrived at the Mission the company of Indians was shifted as a guard to the northern reservations, I having the honor of being in command.

During an afternoon in September, 1854, we discovered a dust cloud a few miles east of us, which in a short time proved to be caused by two wagons—each drawn by two yoke of oxen—a buggy, and a man on horseback, all coming directly towards us. When within hailing distance the order to halt was quickly obeyed, the driver of the leading team seemingly undisturbed by the command as he dismounted, saluted and walked, hat in hand, directly to the guard. I recognized at a glance by his tone and manner that he was a gentleman, so, dismounting, I extended the hand of friendship. As was my duty, I informed him that he was trespassing on Indian land, subjecting himself to arrest and much annoyance. "If I am on Indian land," he said, "I have been misled by a number of persons who assured me that all land north of the Osage river was public land." Taking a map from my pocket and showing him the Indian reservations, he quietly acceded to my statement. On the map this land was marked as belonging to Baptiste Peoria,⁴ of "Baptiste Spring," interpreter of the Five Tribes.

The stranger then introduced himself as Orval C. Brown, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and extended the introduction to his wife and children. Mrs. Brown was badly worn from her long journey, so I proposed that they accompany me to the mission, as far in the northwest a black, tumbling cloud was showing its teeth. Leaving two Indians to aid the driver of the second wagon in caring for the cattle, etc., we made a rapid ride for the mission, outpacing the storm. Mrs. Brown and her children remained our guests for several weeks, until Mr. Brown had provided a shelter for them.

We had a long conference with Mr. Brown that night, which resulted in my being sent for Baptiste next morning. He returned to the mission with me. The conference between Baptiste and Brown was soon settled by them mutually agreeing that a city, not a squatter's claim, should be inaugurated, which it appeared was Mr. Brown's original intention. It was further agreed that at an early date a name for the city should be selected. On the date agreed upon a goodly crowd was in attendance. Among those present I noted Capt. Louis Chouteau, of St. Louis, A. G. Boone, of Westport, William Scott, Judge J. W. Clymer and J. W. McHenry, of West Point, Mo., all of them licensed traders; also many Indians. The only real business to consider was the selection of a name for the city. Mr. Brown ad-

souri formed the eastern boundary line of the Piankeshaw and Wea and the Miami reservations, while the Peoria and Kaskaskia adjoined the Piankeshaw and Wea lands on the west. These reservations now form parts of Miami, Linn and Bourbon counties. The Miami lands extended into Bourbon county about three and one-half miles. In 1854 all of these Indian lands were diminished.

NOTE 4.—"BAPTISTE PEORIA was born about the year 1800, near Kaskaskia, Ill. He did not receive a school education, but by the natural force of his intellect acquired a number of Indian languages, the Shawnee, Delaware and Pottawatomie, besides those of the several Confederate Tribes, and also English and French. He acted for many years in the capacity of interpreter, and for some time as chief, but generally preferred to be on the 'outside,' as there he could be of much more use to his tribe, which during almost the whole of his long life continued to look up to him as their best adviser. When the tribes removed to the Indian Territory Baptiste went with them, and died there in the year 1874. He was a man of large and enlightened views, and was distinguished for the virtues which spring from a kindly heart and generous spirit. His widow, who was at the time of her marriage to him the widow of Christmas Dagnette, still resides in Paola, at the ripe age of eighty-two, loved and respected by all who know her."—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 876.

vocated either the name of Brooklyn or Brownville. To these names Baptiste was unalterably opposed, and in turn presented the names of Peoria and City of Kansas. To these Mr. Brown objected. A deadlock was on, and in this dilemma my father was called upon for his selection of a name. He advocated blending together the names of the two streams so close at hand, Osage and Pottawatomie—"Osawatomie." There being no objection, Osawatomie it was and Osawatomie it still remains. A few years after the naming of the city some persons holding an interest in the town strove to have the name changed, but failed.

In the late summer or early fall of 1855 an evil bird swooped down upon us, arrogantly invading our territory. True, the bird assumed the form of a man, but carried a heart of stone that could not be mellowed save by the flow of human blood. The noxious visitant, though by some crowned as saint and martyr, was but a dangerous paranoiac at large—John Brown.

To fully establish my assertion that John Brown's brain was unbalanced, but held in reserve "method in its madness," I will give minutely an event or two which occurred at or near our Miami home in the fall and winter of 1855. At that time I had never met Brown, nor had I ever heard of such a person.

We had a number of guests at dinner one day—Indian traders and army officers. When they were seated and I about to disjoint a sixteen-pound wild turkey, I saw standing in the doorway an old man with long, white beard and hair. His clothing was sadly worn and besmeared with mud and grease, his beard in strands and hair unkempt. As he stood there I said, "Stranger, will you join us? Just in the other room you will find wash-bowl, water, soap and towel; perhaps you would like to bathe your face and hands." He uttered not a word in reply to my invitation or suggestion, but, pulling up a chair by my side, he seated himself as though king of the feast. As the second joint and "drumstick" was sliced together, he at once grasped it and proceeded to eat, and without a plate. I furnished a plate, filling it well with potatoes, dressing, etc., passing him the gravy and biscuits at the same time. He so liberally helped himself to the gravy that it overflowed his plate, finding lodgment on the tablecloth. After partaking of a third cup of coffee and a piece of pie, he vanished, speaking not a word during the meal.

Shortly after dinner I noticed a yoke of strange cattle in our corral and a wagon with cover tightly tied down. Scattered on the ground was enough corn to feed a dozen oxen, which he had taken from our crib without permission or thanks.

That night, as was the custom, a council was held before the annual payment to the Indians. I attended. It was midnight when I reached home. Upon going to my room I was shocked to find the old stranger sprawled out on my bed. He had had the grace to remove his boots, but otherwise he was dressed as at dinner. I shook my head at the thought of such close fellowship for the night, so sought a pillow and buffalo robe for a bed upon the floor. It was a sleepless night for me, for the stranger ground his teeth, moaned and grunted with disturbing regularity. He was up by daylight, and I soon followed his example. Upon reaching the front porch I heard a strange noise at the corral. Hurrying to find its cause, I saw one of the old man's oxen prone on the ground and the old man lashing the poor creature with his huge ox whip, and with all his strength yelling with every

blow (the first words I ever heard him utter): "Get up or I'll kill you. I'll kill you if you don't get up." As the lash did not rouse the ox, he resorted to the heavy hickory handle, plying it with great force on the neck and head of the dying ox. I took the whip from his grasp and threw it behind me. He then resorted to kicking the poor beast with the heel of his heavy boot. Stepping close to his side and taking hold of his coat I remarked: "If you kick that ox again I'll kick you." He turned, facing me, his countenance presenting the most devilish look I ever saw on a human being. I remarked: "You gave your ox too much corn last night; fermentation has set in. Your ox will die." In ten minutes the ox was dead.

He ate breakfast with us, and during the meal father asked him his name. He replied with a snap, "John Brown." He disappeared that morning, but at dark he drove up a strange ox to take the place of his dead one. We bunked together that night with a pillow between us.

At breakfast next morning he volutarily announced that he was on his way to the state (Missouri) for vegetables, corn, etc. In a couple of days he returned, remaining all night, and was again my bunkie. At breakfast he asked for a permit to pass over the reservation, as the soldiers were watching him as he drove through. He did not appear again for several days, explaining his absence by saying he had been building a cabin down the Pottawatomie, several miles below Osawatomie, where he would winter.

Southeastern Kansas was visited by two very severe blizzards during November and December of 1855. We had just completed the western mission building, which had been given the army officers for winter quarters, who celebrated the event by giving a dance to the Indians. About five P. M. on the evening of the dance the wind shifted from the south to the northwest, and in half an hour we were visited by a storm of rain, snow, sleet, hail and wind, accompanied by sheets of frozen particles, which stung like the lash of a whipcord on man and beast exposed to it.

Capt. Delos B. Sackett, commanding one of the troops of dragoons then at the Mission, had assumed supervision over the dance room and had a good fire going in the fireplace. After an absence of a few minutes he returned to see that all was well. Upon opening the door he was met by the fumes of burnt coffee, and the floor of the room for a dozen feet or more was covered with coffee stains. A coffeepot containing a gallon had been placed on the front log to warm. This log had burnt in two, upsetting its contents upon the floor. The captain lifted the pot and threw it out of the door, not knowing to whom it belonged. At that moment in walked John Brown. In an instant he became enraged. Sackett asked him if that was his coffee. He replied by asking, "Was that your coffee?" "No," said the captain. "Then it was mine!" yelled Brown. "You spawn of the army," he continued, "graduating from West Point, are taught cunning ways and prevarications; nothing else!" "His rage," said the captain, "choked him to silence." Brown then left the room, driving toward our cattle pen for feed and protection for his oxen, and would then, as I supposed, go to our house for the night, as the storm was raging with more force than ever.

About midnight "Jimmie Squirrel," a Miami Indian, reached the mission building, after a hard struggle against the storm. He at once told me that old man Brown with his team and wagon was stalled in Rabbit creek (a

creek two miles south of the mission, having very steep banks), asserting that he would freeze to death in an hour. I turned to my friend Gou-i-ne (Quick Eye), as brave and true a man as ever lived, bidding him mount his pony and ride through the village shouting for volunteers to save life at Rabbit creek, and tell each one to bring an extra blanket and shovel. I stopped at home to tell father of the situation, then mounted my horse and started. Gou-i-ne joined me at our gate. Our ride was toilsome on account of snow drifts, in many places four or five feet high. Upon reaching the creek the outlook was appalling, for between the banks and the wagon the snow was level with the banks. To our relief, forty or fifty Indians soon joined us and instantly went to work. I divided the force, half of them to dig the oxen out and half to make a path to the wagon.

In ten minutes I was in the wagon, Gou-i-ne following me. The old man was flat on his back, with only a cheap blanket over him. My first examination made me fear that life had become extinct, that congelation of the blood had taken place; but after a vigorous and persistent rubbing, slapping and pinching, a gentle sigh was audible. By this time the Indians had backed the wagon out of the creek, had the oxen yoked, and we were on our way to the mission. We took him to our house. Father had provided a tub of cold water and a pail of snow. After placing the old man's back to the fire and his feet in the tub of water, and having applied snowballs to his hands, ears and nose, we supplemented the treatment with a full glass of whisky and put him in bed. An alcoholic wink or two rewarded us before he nodded off. The next morning he was very weak, refusing to eat, but after drinking a large bowl of coffee he slept most of the day. He remained with us three or four days. He took his departure from our house of refuge in the dead of night, without even "I thank you." Oh! such a grateful soul! Was his restoration to life wise, or otherwise?

The blizzard of December 23, 24, 1855, in severity and duration outdid its November brother. Gou-i-ne and I were caught in its almost deathly grasp. Several mountain wolves had followed the Indians in from their annual buffalo hunt, feeding upon what scraps remained at each camp. They were large, daring fellows and had killed several calves, colts and pigs. About midnight of December 23 my dogs were loudly baying for their freedom, and upon opening the kennel door for them they were off at a leap. I decided to follow. A bark from a wolf across the river told me that a long, hard chase was before me. The night was warm and bright, hence warm garments were unthought of. Upon reaching Gou-i-ne's, to ask him to accompany me, I found him up with his horse saddled, eager for the race. His dogs had already joined mine. Not until three o'clock that afternoon did we catch sight of the wolves. There were three of them. The dogs following close on the trail, and we making a dash, but well apart, confused the wolves, enabling the dogs to catch and kill one. The two remaining were off in a moment, the dogs close upon them. We stopped to skin the dead wolf. The pelt was beautiful, almost white. Strapping it behind my saddle, we started for our dogs, and only after an hour's hard run got them at heel.

Upon reaching a high point on the prairie as we faced toward home, we were met by a cold, sharp wind, which was accompanied by small flakes of snow. There we were, fully twenty miles from home, both poorly clad, hungry, weary, and our mounts and dogs badly spent, the snow, wind and

cold increasing at every step. We realized our only hope for life was to get to the timber on Pottawatomie creek. We reached the creek but the timber was thin, affording no shelter. We then attempted to reach Osawatomie, but darkness, blinding snow and wind, led us astray. Here Gou-i-ne dismounted and sought the polar weed for guide, which always points north and south—the west side rough, the east side smooth. His effort was a failure; there were none to be found, the snow having covered them. In mounting for a new start Gou-i-ne's fox-skin cap blew off. The cap had the brush of the fox safely fastened to it. I dismounted, giving Gou-i-ne my bridle reins to hold. In handing him his cap the wind blew the fox tail in the face of the horses. They sprung apart and dashed away, bringing Gou-i-ne to the ground. We attempted to follow their track, knowing they would go home, but the snow soon obliterated all traces. We wandered all night, frequently crawling under huge snowdrifts for protection from the terrible cold, but on disturbing the drift the snow would soon be swept away.

About five o'clock next morning we discovered a fire—a camp—deep in the woods. We almost ran toward it, not caring whether friend or foe would be met. There was a great fire in the center of the camp and seated on a log were a man and boy, both eating and drinking. The scent of coffee and frying meat drove us wild. Our sudden appearance and the whining of our hungry dogs startled the campers to their feet, the action causing the blanket around the man's head and shoulders to fall to the ground. "John Brown!" was our happy shout as we recognized him. Here surely was ease for our frozen limbs and food for our famished stomachs, for we had been without food for thirty hours, had ridden fully one hundred miles and walked twenty more through one of the most terrific blizzards ever known in Kansas. "Food! food!" we exclaimed as we were about to enter the camp. "Don't you enter this camp," shouted Brown, taking a step toward us. "There is no food or drink for you." We fully explained why we were out and our starving state. He again shouted, "No food here for you!" Gou-i-ne made one more appeal for food, reminding him that but a few weeks before we had saved his life at the risk of our own; that we had dug him from the snow; that we had taken him to shelter, to a good bed; that we had nursed him back to life—and now he refused us bread! "Not a crumb," answered Brown. Close by Gou-i-ne stood a rifle resting against the wagon hub, partly covered by the wagon sheet. Gou-i-ne grasped it, raised it to his shoulder and would have killed Brown had I not shoved him aside. This was the second time I had been the means of saving the life of John Brown. We were too weak and exhausted to contend longer or assault the brute, who bade us begone, to drop by the wayside and die.

We made our way to the river (the Marais des Cygnes) and hand in hand crossed the stream, though the water was waist deep.

We were still half a mile from our homes. We reached them; but how, I have no recollection. As the folks were shouting "Merry Christmas" and the maid was about to start a fire in the kitchen stove, she found me stretched on the floor unconscious and apparently dead. Prompt and heroic treatment saved my life. I was so severely frozen that I was confined to my bed for two weeks. My first conscious words were, "Feed my dogs." Their ears and the tips of their tails were badly frozen. This is another sample of John Brown's saint-like character. Yea, the martyr!

In January, 1856, all trouble between the Indians having been settled, father resigned as special agent of the Five Tribes and was appointed register of the Pawnee land district, with headquarters at Lecompton. This district embraced both Kansas and Colorado.⁵

I was kept busy for a couple of months securing men and material to build a house in Lecompton for our family, and also with a contract for building the land office. Both of these buildings are still intact. In the upper story of the land office the second session of the territorial legislature was held; and there, also, the Lecompton constitution first put on its toddling underwear. In this building occurred the much-commented-upon encounter between Gov. John W. Geary and William T. Sherrard, which has been so shamefully misrepresented and which led to the cowardly murder of Mr. Sherrard, the result prompting the governor to his midnight flight from Kansas, where he had so ardently hoped to establish brotherly love between the contending factions.

Our family left the mission on April 27, 1856, reaching Lecompton the 1st of May, 1856. When I first reached the mission, in 1853, I bought forty head of calves and yearling steers. In removing to Lecompton I left them on the range south of Osawatomie. My friend Gou-i-ne soon wrote me that my cattle were mixing with other herds, and advised me to come down as soon as possible and cut them out, since the "greenheads" (a green-headed fly which gathered in swarms in those early days) would soon be in evidence. On May 21 I left Lecompton for my cattle. It so happened that it was on the same day on which Sheriff Samuel J. Jones and posse raided Lawrence, destroying the Hotel Eldridge, the *Herald of Freedom* office, Gov. Charles Robinson's home, etc. When on the hill west of Lawrence I was taken prisoner and placed in the Cincinnati House with a guard over me. While eating my breakfast Samuel Fry and Col. James Blood entered the room, asking, "Anything wrong, Moore?" "Yes, I am a prisoner," I replied, and asked them to have my horse fed and sent around, stating that I was due at Miami mission that night. Very soon I was released and on my way.

When near McCamish's, at the head of Bull creek, I was again arrested by the guards of Gen. Frank Marshall of the proslavery forces. After some detention and stating my business, I was given a pass through his picket lines, remarking to his officers: "That part of the territory is neutral."

As I passed McCamish's I left the big trail bearing east and took the blind trail leading to Indian creek, saving several miles in so doing, and wishing also to feed my horse and call on my friend Johnnie Longtail, a Piankeshaw Indian. It was dark and raining when I left Indian creek, with a long twelve miles before me to Paola; but my mount was a good one, never losing a trail, and in an hour and a half I was eating my supper with Baptiste Peoria at Paola. Here I was informed that there would be great races at the mission next day between the Five Tribes and Pottawatomies, Osages and Delawares. I remained at Paola that night, and went to the mission next morning, May 23, in company with fully one hundred horses and as many Indians. My friend Gou-i-ne was a judge of the races, which continued for three days. On May 25 we were busy repairing the corral,

NOTE 5.—An account of the establishment of this land office may be found in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 3.

making an early start for the cattle on the morning of the 26th. Gou-i-ne and party took the west prairie; I with another party the prairie east—both north of the river. About ten A. M. I noticed some Indians signaling to me. On reaching them Gou-i-ne told me of the gruesome sight he had witnessed—the three dead and mutilated bodies of the Doyles. I only saw the body of the youngest boy, the bodies of the father and eldest son being covered with blankets. The lad had attempted to escape after his father and brother had been killed, but John Brown's two sons overtook him, and with their short swords killed and hacked him in a horrible manner. (See the sworn statement of James Townsley, in Robinson's *Kansas Conflict*, pages 265, 266, 267. Mr. Townsley was with Brown during these murders.)

I had a conversation with Mrs. Doyle that morning, during which she told me that old John Brown, his two sons and another man came to their cabin, opened the door and asked her husband and boys to step out, as they had something to tell them, old man Brown doing the talking. "In a minute," she said, "I heard a shot, then a scream." James Townsley tells the sequel.

James Redpath, in his "Life of Captain John Brown," persists, in his erroneous way, in covering Brown's tracks on this murderous mission to Pottawatomie creek, although 1500 miles distant from his hero's bloody acts.

R. J. Hinton, hailing from "Hold Hingland" (as he would always state on being introduced), sent his sensational letters to the press of the eastern states, denying facts and voicing falsehoods in relation to the Pottawatomie affair.

F. B. Sanborn rehearses the sickly plea of Brown's absence on the night of the Pottawatomie massacre. False, all false! Not only this, but these manipulators of facts, or some of them, to shield Brown—the captain of the murderous gang who struck the first blow—assail the good name of William Doyle to distract attention from Brown and his slaughters.

William Doyle and his sons were good and desirable citizens. I knew them well. In 1854-'55 the elder Doyle and his oldest son were contractors for building the mission houses at the Miami mission. I never knew more quiet and industrious men. I was with them almost daily for a year, and never heard either of them utter a word of politics.

In June, 1855, a man rode up to the mission building and inquired for old man Doyle. I called Doyle, whereupon the stranger handed him a sealed letter. Doyle read it and passed it to me. The letter purported to be from the chairman and secretary of some meeting, stating that Wm. Doyle had been elected a member of the legislature and that he must be present when the legislature convened at Pawnee. Doyle indorsed on the back of the letter: "I will not act as a member of the legislature. William Doyle." In a few days another delegation called on Doyle, stating that his presence at Pawnee was necessary, as many members were absent, having left the territory for the purpose of bringing back their families. "Gentlemen," replied Doyle, "I came to the territory to secure a home for my family, not for political purposes. I wish nothing to do with politics. I was not a candidate; did not know I had been elected." These men then assured him if he would report at Pawnee and aid in organizing the legislature they would see that his name on the roll call should be marked "Absent on leave."

In a day or two Doyle left for Pawnee, but in ten days or so was back

and at work. He expressed himself as disgusted with the proceedings at Pawnee. I can not say if he attended the session at Shawnee, but I think not.

Let it be remembered that at the time of which I write there had been no overt act in the counties of Franklin or Lykins or in southern Kansas. The charge that the Doyles offered a vile insult to some women, and warned them and their families to leave within a given number of hours or suffer the consequences, originated in the putrid brains of wholly irresponsible hirelings. Of Sherman and Wilkinson I know but little.

Late in the fall of 1855 I paid a visit to Orval C. Brown and family at Osawatomie. When nearing their home, I noticed Mr. Brown rolling a barrel toward Pottawatomie creek, his son and a man accompanying him. They carried an ax, a spade and some sharpened stakes. He had noticed a few days before a jet of water somewhat larger than a lead pencil, and fully three feet above the level of the creek, spurting from the bank. He at once resolved to sink a barrel in the lower bank and utilize this water. By placing stakes around the barrel to protect it from the ice flow, etc., he made a very neat job of it. This was the Orval C. Brown spring, and the only spring at or near Osawatomie during O. C. Brown's life in Kansas, or John Brown's stay in the territory. I hunted along the banks of that stream many times for wild swan and turkey during the years of 1853, 1854, 1855, and until May, 1856, so I know whereof I speak. John Brown was not a spring digger. His thirst could be more pleasantly assuaged by the flow of human blood than by the flow of sparkling water.

Our ex-governor, E. W. Hoch, was guilty of a fraud, probably an unknowing one, but still a fraud, when he ignored the long-standing custom of christening one of the great defenders of our country, the iron-plated "Kansas," with champagne, and used in its stead, as he announced, a bottle of water from the John Brown spring at Osawatomie, Kan.⁶

Let me correct the belief that John Brown was "Osawatomie Brown." Orval C. Brown was "Osawatomie Brown," so named by Ed Black, chief of the Peoria Indians, on the day Osawatomie was located. At that time John Brown had not yet reached the territory.

The adoration which many entertain for John Brown and his acts here and elsewhere is incomprehensible. Even the State Historical Society insults the heirs of many good and brave Kansans by placing on the walls of the honorable secretary's office the portrait of John Brown, surrounded by the portraits of those gallant men who placed Kansas on her sturdy feet, even giving up their gifted lives in so doing.

To those who may chance to read the above let me say that every statement I have made relating to John Brown and his acts is true; not one is absorbed from partisan papers or rehashed from oratorical drivellers.

NOTE 6.—In 1905 there was much argument pro and con as to whether John Brown ever owned any land in Kansas, and therefore whether the spring from which water was used to christen the battleship "Kansas" could be truthfully said to be from John Brown's spring. The secretary of this Society spent some time in looking the matter up, going over land and other records, and he made the positive statement that John Brown never owned land in Kansas; this statement he can only reiterate now. His conclusion is borne out by statements of men who were close to Brown during his residence in Kansas and in a position to know what they were talking about. This story of the Orval C. Brown spring is something new. The alleged John Brown spring, over which the controversy in 1905 was waged, was located in Linn county, on the old Snyder place, and it was from that spring that the water was taken with which the battleship "Kansas" was christened.

MOTHER SMITH, OF ELLIS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JAMES H. BEACH,¹ professor American history and geography, at the Western State Normal School, Hays, Kansas.

THE HISTORY of pioneer days has never been fully told. It has recounted the deeds and exploits of the men who blazed the way. The stories of hunters and trappers, soldiers and scouts, traders and missionaries never lose their fascination. The places of these men in the history of the country is as secure as those of the reformer or the statesman. The service they performed can not be rated too highly. They gave up comfort and ease for the probability of death and the certainty of privation and suffering. They conquered the savage and subdued the wilderness. Such men made possible the story of American achievement.

The story of the women who accompanied these men has never half been told. For the man the frontier is a place of suffering and want. For the woman it means all that the man endures, and, in addition, utter loneliness, torturing anxiety, and the dread of nameless calamity. Their lives are full of physical pain. They minister to the wants of their men with rudest means. They bear their children amidst unfeminine surroundings, and they spend their old age in barren obscurity. For the man there is always the relief of action and the fierce joy of conflict. For the woman there are long days of solitude while the men are away; there are agonies of suspense while husbands, sons or brothers are on dangerous service, and there is an utter barrenness and poverty that deprives a woman of all that makes life worth living. She simply effaces herself and finds her satisfaction in the lives of her men.

In spite of all this, no man ever went into the wilderness where it was too dangerous for a woman to accompany him. These women took their places in frontier communities. They raised up strong sons and daughters who became an honor to later times, and in modest self-effacement they gave all the credit to their men. This is the short story of one heroic pioneer woman.

Mother Smith was born in Logan county, Kentucky, May 11, 1824. She came of a Revolutionary family, and was marked, even in her youth, as a woman of striking personality. She grew to womanhood with no advantages for education, and was married, when only eighteen years of age, to W. M. Smith. In about 1846 they joined a colony that went to Cherokee county, Texas. This was the year after the annexation, and their home was in the wilds of a new country. In 1858 the husband died and left Mrs. Smith with seven small children. Four others had died in infancy. Their life in Texas was the common lot of pioneers. It meant hard work, lack of opportunity, much suffering, and no promise for the future.

At the outbreak of the Civil War Mrs. Smith decided it would be unwise for her to remain in Texas. She thought it likely that the country would be devastated by armies, and was unwilling to subject her small children to dangers that would be inevitable. An aunt in Litchfield, Ill., offered to find

NOTE 1.—For sketch of James Harvey Beach see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 11, p. 571.

work for her there; so in 1861, with her flock of children, she journeyed north. In later years she gave vivid descriptions of the trip through a country seething with the excitement of war. She went up the river to St. Louis on a boat on which she was the only woman. She always said that on the whole journey no one offered her the slightest insult, and that she was the recipient of kind acts without number.

During the next nine years she supported her growing brood by hard work, managing to hold them together and maintaining unbroken their family life. In this way was developed that feeling for each other which was always so strong a trait of the family. By this time the older children were grown up and were eager to go where wages were better. Great stories came to them of the wages paid in the New West, and they decided to emigrate. Here again was shown that invincible spirit of the American pioneer in search of opportunity. It mattered not that the life of the plains was one to test the endurance of a strong man. The fresh history of the Indian wars counted for nothing. The widow and her flock decided to be a part of the beginnings of things in the Great West.

In 1870 a division point of the old Kansas Pacific road was Ellsworth, and Col. P. A. Maginnis, of Illinois, was master mechanic of the shop there. He was a relative by marriage of Mrs. Smith and promised to find employment for her. The family arrived in Ellsworth only to find that the division had been moved to the new town of Ellis. There was nothing to do but to go on. Mrs. Smith was not one of the number of those who, having put their hands to the plow, turn back. On August 10, 1870, she landed from the cars on the bare prairie that was to be her home for forty years. There was no place to shelter her—not even a dugout. The railroad men were sleeping on the bare ground. A few who had wives lived in rude huts. A storm was coming up. She was offered the shelter of a box car by John H. Edwards,² proprietor of the Railroad Hotel, and this was her home until a better place could be provided.

Mrs. Smith had expected to be given charge of the Railroad Hotel, but her patron failed in his efforts in this direction and she was thrown on her own resources. She and her children took whatever honorable work offered, and soon all had places. Her two sons, William and John, went into the shops, and two of the girls were soon employed in the Railroad Hotel. The expectation of high wages was justified, and no member of her family was ever long out of a job. Here, as in Illinois, they kept unbroken their family life.

The railroad company soon put up a large wooden rooming house for the men in their employ. This was known as the "bunk house," and Mrs. Smith was placed in charge of it. Here it was that she earned her title of "Mother" Smith, and by this she was known to the end of her life. She became in truth a mother to all the homeless men of the frontier settlement. When they were sick she nursed them; when they were in trouble

NOTE 2.—JOHN H. EDWARDS came to Kansas as general ticket agent for the Union Pacific railroad, eastern division, before 1867. May 27, 1867, Governor Crawford appointed Mr. Edwards a justice of the peace for Ellsworth county, and on June 22, 1867, one of the first county commissioners of Ellsworth county. The commissioners held their first meeting July 9, 1867. In that year he was proprietor of the Anderson House in Ellsworth. He was elected a member of the house of representatives from Ellis county in 1870 and 1872. In 1873 and 1874 he was a member of the state senate. In 1874 he served as register of the land office. (See correspondence of Mr. Edwards about the last Indian raid, in the secretary's report for 1911.) Mr. Edwards died at Kansas City, Kan., about January, 1889, and was buried in Oak Grove cemetery.

she gave them advice. She was one of the strong, capable women, like Mother Bickerdyke, who go amid any surroundings, who never hesitate in the face of any duty, and who hold the solid respect of all. With rough-and-ready generosity the men responded to her kindness, and to this day the survivors reverence her memory.

Railroad men belong to the homeless class. They come and go with their work and are shifted at the command of their superiors. They are merely privates in the great industrial army. Forty years is a long time in the history of a Kansas town, yet a number of the original railroad boys are still in Ellis. S. J. Holman was one of the first engineers. He is now in the grocery business. A. B. Keagy was a machinist in the first shops, and is still at his place by his lathe. C. J. Bascom was foreman of the water service. He is living in retirement. Michael Ryan, another engineer, is also in retirement. Thomas Chapman, who came out from London a ruddy young Englishman, worked as an engineer until recently, when he retired upon a pension honorably earned by his long service. He is now the "lord mayor" of Ellis. The other boys of the early group are dead or are scattered to the four corners of the earth. It is safe to say, though, that no matter where they are, every man of them treasures in his heart the memory of the old days at Ellis, and no finer memory remains than that of the ministrations of Mother Smith.

Some time later the railroad boys aided Mother Smith to own a cottage. They contributed to a fund to help buy the lumber and worked in their hours off duty to build it. When it was finished Mother Smith moved into it and began to serve meals to the men. From this time on she had an established business. The lots on which the cottage was built were the gift of Colonel Maginnis, who had taken as a homestead the quarter section on which the greater part of the town site was situated. He sold the quarter to the railroad company, but reserved Mother Smith's lots, and they were her home until the time of her death.

The country then was in its state of native wildness. No efforts had been made to farm any of it. The prairie stretched away in an unbroken expanse of buffalo sod. The buffalo themselves came down to the opposite bank of the creek to drink. Practically the only meat eaten in the town for several years was furnished by them. It was served to the crowds of eastern excursionists who were fed at the Railroad Hotel. The only milk served was the canned article, which was new to the greater number of the easterners. It is recalled with much amusement by the old timers that many of them asked Mother Smith's daughter Josie, who was a dining-room girl, about this milk, and that she invariably told them it was buffalo's milk. The answer was usually received without suspicion.

Mother Smith's years were always serious years and filled with much sorrow, but in 1872 occurred the great tragedy of her life. Her daughter Mary had married Richard Jordan, and was living at Trego, now Wa Keeney. About the first of August in that year Mr. Jordan, with his brother George and a Swede boy named Fred Nelson, started for a buffalo hunt, and Mrs. Jordan accompanied them. They had a wagon well equipped for a camping trip and a good team of mules. It was the intention of the party to go from Trego leisurely southward and to take their buffalo hides to Dodge. They warned Mother Smith not to be alarmed if she heard nothing for some time.

About two weeks after the departure of the party Jordan's dog returned. Even this did not cause immediate alarm, because the dog had returned in a similar manner from a hunt once before. Still, the friends of the men were beginning to plan a relief party, when a hunter came in with the startling news that he had found Jordan's two wagons on the prairie deserted. He had identified them by an empty grain sack having the name R. Jordan, Park's Fort, on it. He was alone and had been afraid to make any search in the immediate vicinity.

A relief party was immediately made up, under the leadership of Mr. T. K. Hamilton, another son-in-law of Mother Smith. He was a man of courage and determination. He afterwards was sheriff of Ellis county and a most successful officer. Mr. Hamilton secured a detachment of twenty-five soldiers from Fort Hays and went as rapidly as possible to the scene of the supposed murder. At this time the Indians of the plains were still in hostile mood, although the campaigns of 1868 and 1869 had taught them the futility of resistance on a large scale.

The scene of the murder was reached on the bank of the south fork of Walnut creek, about fifty miles south of Trego. It was found that the party had camped in a sheltered place in a bend of the creek and had evidently been cooking a meal. It was supposed that they had been surprised in the daytime, because Jordan was experienced in the ways of the plains and was too careful a man to camp at night in a place where he could be ambushed.

Richard Jordan and Nelson had been killed by rifle shots and had not fired a shot in their defense. It was evident that the surprise had been complete. George Jordan was found some distance away, where he had taken refuge behind a buffalo carcass. Possibly he was not with the party when they had been attacked. A number of empty shells around him told the story of his defense. His body was full of arrows. No trace of Mrs. Jordan was seen in the vicinity. Her fate could only be conjectured from that of other unfortunate women who had been carried away in the various raids of the plains.

Expert army scouts took the trail of the Indians and followed it north to the Nebraska line, where it finally disappeared. It was believed that the deed was done by a small party of northern Cheyennes who were returning from a feast with their kinsmen in the Indian Territory. At the time of the hunting trip Mrs. Jordan was wearing a new balmoral underskirt, which had been given her by her mother and which could be easily identified. She had torn strips from this and had dropped them at intervals. These were picked up by the trailers as far north as the Nebraska line. It was believed that the Indians finally separated into two or more small parties, and perhaps one of them returned to the Indian Territory. All efforts were unavailing, and no further trace of the missing woman was ever found.³

When Jordan went out he had a gun of a pattern new to the country. It carried a shell so different from those in common use that it served as a means of trailing the Indians. Later the gun was found in the possession of an Indian. Correspondence with the manufacturers established the fact that the gun was undoubtedly Jordan's. The Indian declared that Mrs. Jordan had been taken about ten miles from the scene of the surprise and

NOTE 3.—The *Topeka Weekly Commonwealth* of October 17, 1872, contains an account, written by John H. Edwards, of the murder of the Jordans by the Indians.

had been killed. He asserted that the killing was in revenge for the killing of a member of their party by a detachment of soldiers only a few days before.

Mother Smith gave up all expectation of recovering her daughter, but clung to the hope that evidence of her death might be discovered. Later she went with an army escort on a tour of all the principal reservations in search of some assurance that would bring peace to her mind. She followed up every story that reached her ears of women taken by Indians, and, with the infinite longing of a mother for a lost child, hoped to the last to obtain some proof of her daughter's death. In every direction she failed, and to the last day of her life she was tortured by the most cruel anxiety as to her child's fate.

As the family became more prosperous Mother Smith was gradually relieved of the long strain of caring for them. In 1886 her daughter Jennie married Mr. Sumner Martin, an engineer on the Union Pacific road, and they made their home with Mother Smith. A comfortable house in time came to take the place of the little cottage that had so long been their home. From that time her life was one of ease and quiet. An ordinary woman would have settled into her place in an easy chair and would have devoted her time to knitting, reading her Bible, and caring for her grandchildren.

Mother Smith was not an ordinary woman, and it was then that a new and surprising side of her character developed. She became a reader of unusual breadth and with surprising power of assimilating and remembering what she read. Her means for buying books were limited, but her powers of persuasion were good, and she usually found some way of gratifying her desire to have books. She either persuaded friends to buy the new books or had them bought for the library. She read everything—fiction, poetry, history, biography—and all added to her permanent store of information. All the different magazines in Ellis passed through her hands, and she knew the principles for which each stood and the policy by which it was governed.

She had a wide correspondence that included many persons of note. In her collection were autograph letters from five presidents. The history of one of these letters is worth telling. After the loss of her daughter Mother Smith placed a claim against the government for damages. She owned the teams and outfit which Jordan had on the hunting expedition and he was carrying a government message to Fort Dodge. The case dragged along for years, but the claim was never allowed. When President Roosevelt came through Ellis on one of his western tours Mother Smith succeeded in having a few words with him and in placing a written statement of her claim in his hands. He spoke kindly to her, and as soon as the train started wrote her a long autograph letter, telling her the proper mode of procedure and expressing his interest in the case. This letter was mailed from Sharon Springs.

Her passion for collecting amounted almost to a mania. No traveler came to Ellis without meeting Mother Smith. Whether he was a missionary, a tourist, a lecturer or a celebrity of any sort, he was interviewed and asked to send her something from the parts of the world he visited. Many of them complied, and her collections grew. Finally they contained souvenirs from nearly every foreign land. Her collections of postcards and stamps were large.

Her various diversions by no means took away her interest in the poor and the afflicted. In times of crop failure and financial panic she knew every family that needed help, and she saw to it that they had relief. She took from them that had for the help of them that had not. She was not of the sort to go about in a begging manner for the aid of her poor. She asked as one having the right to demand, and her demands were honored. Whether the poor were her immediate neighbors or whether they lived far out on the prairie, it mattered not. In all the country tributary to Ellis the needy were in her parish. So long as she was able to be out there was never a death that did not bring from her a call upon the bereaved family. Her life had been such a series of tragedies that she was able to feel the woes of others and to bring the sympathy that they needed.

In her youth Mother Smith united with the Baptist church, and she considered herself a member of the church as long as she lived, although there was no organization of her faith in Ellis. She said frequently that her entire creed was summed up in the words of the Apostle James: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world." It can not be denied that her whole life was spent in exemplifying her creed.

During the latter part of her life she became feeble and recognized that her end was near, but her only anxiety was that her mind might be clear. Her wish was gratified, and she retained her interest in worldly affairs to the end. Her death came at the close of a short, acute illness, and was a surprise to nearly everybody. It was in keeping with her career. She continued the battle to the end and gave up the struggle without a murmur.

Mother Smith was not of the passive, saintly order. Life to her meant a conflict, and she never shirked her part in it. She was likely to call things by their harsh names and to give people their proper places according to their deeds. Perhaps she was not always right, but she was honest in her convictions, and her convictions grew out of the experiences of a long and varied career with many sorts of people. Sometimes she gave offense. But when the harsh and the grotesque of the great character has been forgotten, then the deeds of kindness, the acts of nobility and the greatness of soul stand out in relief. It will be so with Mother Smith.

When her body was laid at rest on July 28, 1910, her work was ended, but her influence was only beginning. It will live in the lives of men whom she aided with kindly ministrations and good advice; in the lives of pioneer women who felt the strong and sympathetic touch of a sister woman; in the lives of little children to whom she was a universal grandmother, and in the life of a community in which she was a force for forty years.

When it is remembered that this woman was reared in Kentucky before the days of common schools, was married at eighteen, went to Texas in frontier days, became the mother of eleven children in sixteen years, worked like a slave at the hardest kind of labor until she was sixty years old, her intellectual development appears marvelous. Good women are not scarce, but women who have the force to be leaders in all good works in a community are always needed. In force of character, in practical goodness, in intellectual power despite adverse conditions, Mother Smith well deserves to be called a remarkable woman.

PIONEER LIFE IN KANSAS.

Written by MISS FANNIE E. COLE, of North Topeka, for the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association, 1900.

I HAVE BEEN ASKED to write some reminiscences of pioneer life in Kansas; of those early, exciting days which marked the struggle here between the opposing interests of the North and the South—the one section believing that all men were created free and equal; the other section believing that a certain part of their fellow men were created to be their bondmen forever, and resolutely bending all their energies to extend and perpetuate this institution of servitude.

There were several territories organized at nearly the same time, but Kansas possessed the most fertile soil and the finest climate, and because of her many natural advantages both political parties cast covetous eyes upon her fair domain, and each determined that the other should not win the wished-for prize.

It is well remembered how emigrants poured in from the Northern states, and emigrant-aid societies were formed in eastern cities. Doubtless there are persons still living in Kansas who formed a part of that famous company whom Henry Ward Beecher addressed and to each of whom he presented a Bible. But these things are matters of history and need not be rehearsed.

In 1855 the writer of this paper came with her parents and other relatives from Illinois to the newly organized territory of Kansas. There were two other families in the party, and at Quincy, Ill., we were joined by two young men, also traveling in a wagon, the cover of which bore in large letters the word "Kansas." One of these young men was a Mr. Kimball, the other was a gentleman who has since become famous in political life in this state and in the editorial field, Charles V. Eskridge, of Emporia.

I need not describe our journey in wagons from civilization to the wilds of Kansas. Our experiences in traveling and camping out were those of thousands of others, and have been too often described to be interesting. I was a child, but the journey and the early years of our life in Kansas were so new and strange, so different from anything I could have imagined, that they made an ineradicable impression upon my memory.

When we reached Lawrence some of our party wished to remain there, while others preferred to go on to Topeka, and finally the whole party proceeded to the future capital; but after a few days Mr. Eskridge and his friend returned to Lawrence and we saw them no more.

My father, the late J. M. Cole, crossed the Kansas, or Kaw river, and settled upon a farm three miles north of Topeka, near a village called Indianola.¹ This town had been laid out by some southern gentlemen, and on paper it was an imposing city; in reality it consisted of one double log residence, occupied by a Pottawatomie half-breed named Louis Vieux and his family, and one store in another log house, kept by Louis Harris, a young Missourian from Weston.

NOTE 1.—See sketch of the dead town of Indianola in this volume.

Somewhere during our journey to Kansas a pamphlet written by one J. Butler Chapman had fallen into my father's hands. This pamphlet described at great length and in glowing language the manifold advantages and the phenomenal growth of a city called Whitfield. In this city, besides the many elegant residences, were banks, schoolhouses and other public buildings, and plans for a great college or university were then under way.

My father decided that he would settle as near this town as possible, and for this reason had declined to remain at Lawrence. Whitfield was described as being situated on the banks of the "Conda river," and was three or four miles north of Topeka. Upon reaching the site of this wonderful city, my father's disgust can be more easily imagined than described when he found that it was a city of stakes only; not a single house or even a tent to break the monotony of bare hills and wide, rolling prairie. This place is now known as Rochester.² It was not then, and never has been, a town, but is a pleasant country neighborhood of fine farms, some of them small, and pretty homes. The "Conda river" is well known under the more prosaic appellation of Soldier creek.³

I have described in another place the tiny village of Indianola, near which we ultimately settled. About a mile west of the town site lived George L. Young, a cousin of Mr. Harris, the storekeeper, and also from Weston. He was a territorial postmaster and the post office was in his residence. It was called Loring post office, after a Major Loring of the United

NOTE 2.—Rochester was first named Delaware City. The site was selected in August, 1854. The name was soon changed to Whitfield City, then to Kansopolis, and finally to Rochester. As Kansopolis it became quite a little hamlet. An express ran twice a week to Topeka, and until the location of the capital Kansopolis had aspirations in that direction.—Cutler's History of Kansas, p. 534.

NOTE 3.—In the library of the Historical Society is a copy of the book mentioned by Miss Cole, the "History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide, by J. Butler Chapman, Esq.," published in 1855. Mr. Chapman, unconsciously humorous, says in his preface: "This volume is intended as a guide to the emigrant. . . . It is particularly intended to guard the emigrants against any false allurements. Some writers, and the most we have observed on Kansas, write with such graphic and novel style that the reader going there would not suppose it to be the same country described. No man is considered a hero unless he can describe Kansas as a paradise. We profess to give its history as we saw it and understand it."

In view of the facts as told by Miss Cole, Chapman's description of Whitfield City is too good to be lost. He says:

"Whitfield City is located upon the bank of the Conda river, in one of the most central and commanding situations in the territory. It has an elevated situation and commanding prospect, immediately on the Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley roads, and on the old Independence and California emigrant road, and at the junction of the Pottawatomie and St. Joseph roads. No place in the territory can have more public access to roads, . . . it being equal distance from almost every settled point in the territory. We venture to say that no other place has the claims for the seat of government that Whitfield has. One mile from the town is one of the finest free stone quarries in the country. Rocks one hundred feet long could be split off from the beautiful mass. . . . The roads designated . . . are the finest imaginable, rendering carriage traveling the most delightful in the world.

"Whitfield City, a name of ancient remembrance among all Christian denominations, is laid out on a splendid and magnificent scale. Its peculiar locality . . . induced the original proprietor, John B. Chapman, to select this site for the establishment of a public school and other benevolent and literary societies, to promote the happiness and better the condition of its inhabitants. No place in the territory could he find, in all his investigations, so admirably calculated for public institutions of learning as this location.

"He first named the place Delaware City, and associated Mr. Jas. A. Gray and F. Swice as partners in the location, and they immediately set about erecting a schoolhouse, and Mr. C— returned to the States to procure teachers, designing at the earliest possible period to establish a Protestant institution of learning. . . . On petitioning for a post office it was found that there was already a Delaware post office, when it was changed to Whitfield. . . . It is laid out at right angles, with a number of large public squares for schools, churches, etc. . . . On the east and west of the town plat and public square are clumps of shade trees overshadowing two large and limpid springs of water. . . . To the northwest you behold the smooth, serpentine windings of the Conda river [Soldier creek], studded with a black-looking forest, shooting off to the north

States army. Not long ago, in looking over some old letters, I found one or two addressed to "Loring P. O., Soldier Creek."⁴

Just two miles west of us was the east line of the Pottawatomie reserve. Along the river just south of us, and where North Topeka now stands, was the Kaw half-breed reserve, and every summer hundreds of the wild Kaws came from their reservation near Council Grove and encamped near the homes of their half-breed relatives, usually remaining five or six months of the year. They often came to our house in companies of five or six, to the great terror of us children, for we never could be convinced by our elders that those Indians were not casting covetous eyes upon our scalps, and we were firmly persuaded that they would promptly avail themselves of the first opportunity to deprive us of our natural head covering.

Ten or twelve miles east of us was the Delaware tribe of Indians. We were much interested in this nation, from the fact that some of the older members of our family were fervent admirers of J. Fenimore Cooper's Indian stories, in which he describes the Delawares in glowing language as among the noblest of the human race. Alas for our preconceived opinions. They were certainly the homeliest and most degraded-looking Indians we had seen. The Delaware trail leading from their reservation to the buffalo hunting grounds west of Fort Riley ran through our farm, near the house, and every spring and autumn for several years after we became residents of Kansas many hundreds of these Indians would go along this trail to the hunting grounds to secure their summer and winter supply of meat and robes. Upon one occasion, when they were returning from one of their semiannual hunts, we saw an Indian boy about twelve or fourteen years old carrying a long pole with a scalp fastened to the end of it. Some of the Indians who stopped at our well for water told us that they had had a fight with the Pawnees at the hunting ground, and that the boy had killed one of them and had borne off his scalp as a trophy, and they were very proud of his achievement.

How did we live in those early days when sawmills were few and far between and lumber yards were not? We built our houses of logs and roofed them with clapboards. If the roof was properly constructed—that is, made with a steep slant—it would shed rain very well, but would not keep out the snow. Fine, dry snow, when driven by a Kansas wind, was blown under the edges of these clapboards, no matter how carefully they were laid, and it was no uncommon thing to wake up on a winter morning and find our beds covered with a white sheet of snow. Our cabin was floored with puncheons—a sort of heavy plank split out of logs with axes and wedges and smoothed on one side with a broadax. We went to Weston, Mo., for furni-

through the Pottawatomie lands, like the great hydra for which it was named, retreating from view in the high rolling prairie.

"Whitfield City is laid out with a view of encouraging scientific, literary and religious institutions. Liberal donations are made for schoolhouses and churches, and the fine springs insure comfort and convenience. . . . A railroad up the Kansas river will soon supersede every other thoroughfare. . . .

"A manual-labor college is about being established at Whitfield City, under the patronage of donations from the town. The peculiar features of the college is its manual-labor department. . . . The plan of the school being as yet unsettled, this notice is merely to call the attention of the philanthropist and patrons of education in the East to extend to it some of their material aid when called upon, as such an enterprise must do much good in Kansas. . . . A printing press is also preparing for Whitfield City."

NOTE 4.—Loring post office was established March 15, 1855, with R. C. Miller postmaster; name changed to Indianola December 21, 1855; abolished December 29, 1868.

ture and household supplies, and the trip there and return consumed four days.

When we first settled at Indianola there were but three white families in the neighborhood. One of these was a southern family, Mrs. Young and her two sons, George L., who was well known to citizens of Topeka in later years, and John, who died many years ago. Another family was of Irish extraction and was named Murphy, while the third family was French and their name was Blondel. There were several bachelor establishments around—young men who kept house in small log cabins without floors, and sometimes without windows. The furniture in these “shacks” was of the rudest possible description, being mostly home-made.

A few miles north of us were two or three other white families, with whom we soon became acquainted, and it was always a matter of rejoicing to hear that a new white family had settled in the neighborhood.

But let me do justice to our half-breed neighbors. They were inoffensive, hospitable, and always ready to render acts of neighborly kindness to all, and they proved to be firm and trustworthy friends.

Not all of the white people who came to Kansas in that early day were desirable neighbors. It is well known that many early settlers in all territories are mere adventurers and persons who, because of their peculiar temperament, or perhaps for more weighty personal reasons, keep themselves in advance of civilization and the wholesome restraints of the law. Some of this class of people came to Indianola, and though they never became permanent citizens, they remained long enough to give it a bad name. Many astonishing things have been written and told of this village (for it was never anything more than a small village), a few of them true, but the greater part either much exaggerated or wholly untrue.

The first school taught at Indianola was during the winter of 1856-'57. The teacher was Mrs. J. L. Cowee, formerly Miss Emma Drinkwater. She was a young lady of more than ordinary intelligence, and she sometimes wrote for eastern magazines. I remember seeing one of her poems in *Godey's Ladies' Book*. The Drinkwater family was well known to the early settlers of Topeka. Most of them died young, and I think Mrs. Cowee is also dead.

Among the many people who came from the northern states to help make Kansas a free state was Mr. Judd, the father of Orange Judd, editor of the *American Agriculturist*. He was well advanced in years, but was an enthusiastic abolitionist and a very religious old gentleman. He came to our house many times. During one of the incursions of the border ruffians into Lawrence, Mr. Judd, who was down there, was made a prisoner by them. They took him to their camp. It must have been late in the autumn of 1855 or 1856. The weather was cold, and that night it grew colder and a Kansas blizzard set in. Mr. Judd prayed that the Lord would send colder and colder weather until the Missourians were frozen out.⁵ His

NOTE 5.—The *Cleveland Daily Herald*, January 21, 1856, published the following story of the answer to Mr. Judd's prayers: "E. C. K. Garvey, with others, was taken prisoner of war by the border ruffians while on his way to Lawrence, disarmed and ordered to the camp of the enemy. In his paper, after the war was over, he mentions the following incident connected with the imprisonment: 'Sabbath morning, 9th inst. [January, 1856], was very cold and windy. Suffering ourselves from the severity of the weather, we approached our venerable friend, Ozias Judd, Esq., late of Lockport, N. Y., that we might sympathize with him as a fellow sufferer. We were struck with the fortitude of the old gentleman and the degree of patience manifested by him. Upon our approach the first

prayers were answered. Early Kansans will remember the awful storm which swept over Kansas during one of the border-ruffian invasions, literally freezing them out. They set the old gentleman free, and he returned to Topeka. He died not long afterwards, and was buried in Rochester cemetery, and after some months his son, Orange Judd, came and removed his remains to New York.

I must not forget to give some account of the "Indianola Squatter Association." In those days, before the government land sales had been held, there was much "jumping of claims," as it was called. Some man, seeing a desirable piece of land, or claim, would take possession regardless of the fact that stakes, or perhaps a small cabin, proclaimed the fact that some one else had already "taken it up." Then, when the first claimant appeared upon the scene, trouble ensued. The unsettled state of government in Kansas at that period rendered it almost impossible to make and enforce laws for the benefit and protection of the early settlers. So the law-abiding citizens of Indianola and the surrounding country assembled and formed what was known as the "Squatter Association." The object of this association was to insure the settlers in the possession of their lands, to settle the disputed question of ownership between different claimants, and to dispose of any matters which might arise affecting the peace and prosperity of the neighborhood in as equitable a manner as possible. My father was president of this association. I do not know how long it existed, but it certainly contributed very much to the welfare and good order of our neighborhood in those lawless times.

The part of Shawnee county lying north of the Kansas river was once included in Calhoun county. When the territory was organized into counties the greater part of the early residents on the north side of the river were southerners, and some had brought slaves with them. Mrs. Young owned two negroes; her nephew, Louis Harris, had one; Judge James Kuykendall, who lived at the little town of Calhoun, seven miles down the river, owned several—I do not know the precise number. I think there were one or two other families who possessed, perhaps, one negro servant. Indianola and Calhoun were both southern. I find upon looking over one of Mr. S. J. Reader's journals of that period, which he has kindly placed at my disposal, that Indianola was for a short time the county seat of Calhoun county; then the little town of Calhoun became, in its turn, county seat.

Finally, as the northern element became dominant, the name of the county was changed to Jackson and the county seat removed to Holton. This change in the county name occurred in 1859. The next year the line between the counties, instead of following the river as formerly, was fixed at the second standard parallel, and in 1868 it was pushed six miles north to township 10, thus taking its final form.⁶

The great military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley and other forts farther west ran through Indianola. Every summer hundreds of government and other trains, bearing supplies for the forts in the

words we heard from him were: "Thank the Lord for this cold night! O Lord, send it a little colder." We inquired why the shivering friend was desirous of greater suffering. His reply was: "One more cold night would send the Missourians home to care for their slaves." The reply was followed by an earnest petition to the Throne of Grace for the conversion of the ruffians. As for ourselves, we honestly prayed that those who detained us might have a warmer place in the other, if not in this, world."

NOTE 6.—In Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 11, pp. 61 and 561, note 1, will be found interesting accounts of the gerrymandering in county lines in Kansas territory and state.

Indian country or goods for settlements in the Far West, passed along this road. Many soldiers traveled it, either going to or returning from the plains, as Colorado, New Mexico, etc., were called in those early days. Upon one occasion Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, with 600 soldiers, encamped within a few hundred yards of our house on his way to Utah to hold the Mormons in check. In those days we were not afraid of soldiers. They were kept under strict discipline and were not allowed to leave camp without permission of their commanding officers, and they dared not commit any depredation upon the property of the people who chanced to live near their camps. All this was changed a few years later, when the volunteer soldiers, forgetting that they were not in the enemy's country, despoiled chicken houses and smokehouses, even dwelling houses not always being secure from them.

I have said nothing of the troubles which beset Kansas in those days—of the invasions of the border ruffians and the persecutions of the free-soil settlers. We lived out of the track of these events, and our neighborhood was for the most part very quiet. But there were occasional alarms, and all the free-state men of the neighborhood would sally out with their guns, and, after marching around or waiting in anxious expectation a few hours, would learn that it had been a false alarm and would return home.

A few young southerners, who were really harmless fellows, fancied it would be a fine thing to have a company of their own, and do something to intimidate the free-state people who were flocking into the territory. So one morning they sallied out and stopped a traveler who was quietly pursuing his way to Topeka and questioned him in regard to his politics and his destination. In those troublous times such a proceeding was calculated to fill any stranger with alarm. They let him go without injury to person or property, and he hastened to Topeka where he told a wild story of border-ruffian outrage and his escape from a terrible danger. Then the Topeka company of militia, under command of Colonel Whipple, the Aaron Dwight Stevens of Harper's Ferry fame, bravely marched over, and, not finding any border ruffians, proceeded to sack Indianola, carrying away all the goods in the store of Harris and Young, which I think was the only dry goods store in town.⁷

This state of things gradually passed away, and as the free-state party became strong enough to control affairs, law and order resumed their sway and the evils and hardships of those early days passed away forever.

NOTE 7.—This free-state organization at Topeka was known as company B, Second regiment, Kansas volunteers. Aaron D. Stevens, then known as Charles Whipple, was colonel of the regiment, and William F. Creitz was captain of the company. For some account of this organization see Cutler's *History of Kansas*, p. 542.

A CHAPTER FROM THE ARCHIVES.

A paper read before the Kansas Bankers' Association at its annual meeting, Topeka, May 23, 1912, by GEO. W. MARTIN, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

THERE is no limit to the interest in Kansas history. Every feature of it bristles with attention. I am glad you asked me to indulge in hindsight. This enables one, with the aid of the magnificent historical collection founded by the fathers, to talk about something we know. Foresight has often proved quite faulty, but there were a few prophets in the beginning, political enthusiasts, who saw Kansas as she is to-day. A person had to be blinded to practical things and inspired by a sentiment to have in 1854 a vision of Kansas as she appears in 1912.

How can one start a talk about banking in Kansas? What was there here in the beginning to require the use of a bank? Who were the first settlers in Kansas? Were they capitalists and depositors? The settlement and organization of the territory and state of Kansas was a great enterprise, and, to use a modern phrase, somebody had to "finance it." The start of Kansas was wholly different from that of any other section of the country. It was the result of a bitter moral and political controversy. Of course, there were many people who came to Kansas with the ultimate intention of establishing a home on a piece of government land, but there was a great sprinkle among them who came to fight for a principle, including many reckless ones who coveted excitement. The smartest and best of them had but little conception of the suffering, the sacrifice, the trials and the development which would follow. I am now convinced that if they had all been depositors where they came from, Kansas would to-day be a wilderness, and the buffalo and the Indian would not have been exterminated. Nerve and fortitude was the capital required, and our forefathers had plenty of it.

In those days the pioneers had to contend, amidst ten years of war, with very little agricultural production. The war gave government employment to many, and aside from this there were no industries of any sort. Prior to the war the people indulged in politics, conventions and elections every sixty or ninety days. From November, 1854, to November, 1860, there were twenty-five elections in the territory, or four each year. Who kept them going has been a problem in my mind for years. True there were but few hotels with extravagant prices, but there was boundless hospitality at the dugout, the board shanty and under the canopy of heaven, with a menu everywhere, that has never been surpassed since, of corn bread, sorghum and sowbelly. The principal capital required was a pony and a saddle. But there never was anything without expense—and how did the people live?

The man who came to Kansas in those days needed a few hundred dollars for a shanty, a plow and a yoke of cattle, and if he had enough for a year's provisions it was considerable. It was in the days of old shinpiaster money, and everybody was suspicious whether he had a cent or not. A gentleman down east has lately furnished the Historical Society with a manuscript of fifty-five pages, giving the proceedings and disbursements of an aid committee in a certain township in 1860-'61. It is a wonderful statement of the

closeness with which people had to live. Every issue of aid was limited to a half bushel of potatoes, twenty-five pounds of flour, one-half peck of beans, etc., and notwithstanding much scandal and slander about that aid business, these papers show an honest and square deal. Of course, many settlers were able to pull through without it.

The donor of this manuscript was secretary of the aid committee, and is now a brigadier general on the retired list of the United States army. There are only four or five names on the list which would be recognized to-day. There is one man charged with receiving "one-half bushel of meal and twenty-five pounds of flour." This man afterwards established a small industry in that township, aided by a son. It was a success, and he moved east, and when he died he left one of the greatest industries in the country, involving millions, in the care of a son-in-law, general manager, and the son, general attorney. The past history of Kansas is made up of just such wonderful details. How we will to-day stack up in comparison the future must judge.

But how did the bank get a foothold in Kansas? There were no agricultural or local deposits. It was through the great transportation business on the river at Atchison and Leavenworth, supplemented, during the war, by government work at the various forts. The bankers then were enterprising, all-round men, conducting all sorts of schemes and work. They must have been impelled by the idea that there first had to be some production before there could be a safe, steady and dignified banking institution.

An instance of the scarcity of money during the territorial days of Kansas may be inferred from the following incident which is said to have occurred to John Brown: One day Brown was notified that a letter awaited him at the post office, and he immediately made a trip for the same, only to find that the missive would be surrendered upon the payment of a small charge for transportation, which was payable in coin. Brown did not have the amount with him, but promised soon to return with it. His search, however, developed the fact that his friends and neighbors were in the same fix. There was no money in the neighborhood. A month or six weeks later he secured sufficient change and got the letter. Brown received occasional remittances from the East, but, generally speaking, he was always in a state of impecuniosity. Gerritt Smith at one time sent him \$200, and Frank B. Sanborn was quite active in securing money for him.

A member of the Prairie City Town Company told me that in June, 1857, they induced S. S. Prouty¹ to move his printing plant to Prairie City (now

NOTE 1.—SALMON S. PROUTY was born in Van Buren county, New York, July 31, 1835. At the age of sixteen he entered the office of the *Phoenix Gazette*, in Otsego county, and learned the printing business. In 1856 he was in Aurora, Ill., in the newspaper business, but in June of that year he joined an immigration and semimilitary organization at Chicago to settle in Kansas. At Lexington, Mo., his party was disarmed, and at Leavenworth their provisions and Beecher Bibles, camp equipage and agricultural implements were also taken from them. For two days they were held as prisoners at Weston, and then taken down the river and landed on the Illinois side. In September he joined another Kansas colony and reached Kansas overland, only to be intercepted again and captured near the Nebraska line by Col. Philip St. George Cooke. His party was released about four miles from Topeka by Governor Geary. Prouty settled on a claim near Baldwin, and in the winter worked in the *Herald of Freedom* office. P. B. Plumb and Thomas A. Osborn at different times acted as foreman of this office. In June, 1857, Prouty issued the first copy of the *Freeman's Champion*, at Prairie City, afterwards Baldwin. He was the first free-state man to hold the office of county clerk of Douglas county. In 1859 he established the *Neosho Valley Register*. He was first lieutenant and regimental

Baldwin.) After a little while Prouty applied for expense money. They did not have a dollar among them, and they stood him off with the statement that his plant was not large enough for the town.

About all our people had friends or family connections back east. Enthusied by the excitement over Kansas, they were easily worked in behalf of the suffering heroes on these plains. As late as the grasshopper raid of 1874 it was a common joke to ask a man on a railroad train, "Where are you going?" and the response would be, "Back to see wife's folks." This meant he had to have another stake to get through the winter.

We talk about financing an enterprise, financing the Panama canal, a railroad or many other sorts of projects, but there was great business done then by some one in financing the territory of Kansas. It was a great undertaking and very expensive for a region that many deemed a desert. But has the financing of any other scheme on earth paid better in cash returns or in the comfort and happiness of mankind?

In one statement of the New England Emigrant Aid Company we find \$455,000 expended in Kansas, \$100,000 of which Pomeroy used in the drouth of 1860. Much of the balance was for town sites, sawmills and hotels. The Kansas national committee, prior to January, 1857, when it dissolved, sent to Kansas about \$200,000. A report says that "one-half of this value probably reached its destination; the remainder, during the disordered times of the summer and fall (1856), was interrupted and destroyed and appropriated by the numerous bands of proslavery regulators who infested the landings on the upper Missouri, plundering free-state emigrants in the name of law and order." A Boston relief committee by June 1, 1856, sent out \$20,000, and in the summer and fall of 1856 George L. Stearns gathered and sent \$80,000. Gerritt Smith's contribution to the Kansas fund was \$1000 per month, which he continued until October, 1857. The widow of Lord Byron sent sixty-five pounds sterling for the relief of Kansas sufferers. The Massachusetts legislature appropriated \$100,000, but the governor stopped it by a veto. Vermont appropriated \$20,000, notwithstanding Governor Geary wrote the governor of Vermont that it was not necessary. There are innumerable statements of the raising of money for Kansas, but how much duplication there may be it is not my purpose to straighten out; nor is it necessary to be accurate. It is enough to show that we were liberally financed. Daniel W. Wilder estimated the amount of antislavery money sent here to be about \$250,000.

There were three issues of scrip in territorial days, and, being without a redeemer, it is curious to know what became of it.² We have occasional

quartermaster of the First regiment of Indian Home Guards. He was state printer from 1869 to 1873. He founded the *Topeka Commonwealth*, and was connected with the *Junction City Union* for about four years. May 3, 1858, he was married, at Lawrence, to Miss Hannah Maud Whitehead, a native of New Jersey. They had seven daughters and one son. Mr. Prouty died January 31, 1889. Mrs. Prouty died August 23, 1901.

NOTE 2.—"The first paper money ever issued by the government was in 1861. It then was in the form of demand notes, the first issue being for \$35,000,000, and bore interest at the rate of six per cent. They were payable two years after date. They were called in many years ago and the interest stopped, but they have not all shown up at the cashier's office for payment. The next issue was of \$60,000,000, in the same year, but without the interest feature. More than \$50,000 of this issue is floating around somewhere. The government has been anxious to have the notes presented and retired, but the money keeps shy of the treasury. During the Civil War silver change practically disappeared from the country, and some remedy had to be found, something that would pass as money; so the government issued, first and last, nearly \$370,000,000 of this fractional currency, in denominations of 5, 10, 25 and 50 cents. Flimsiest paper possible was used. The result is that more than \$6,750,000 of this fractional currency had disappeared

inquiries to this day as to the value of this paper. There was first the "Kansas state scrip," issued to pay the expenses of the Topeka movement. It was signed by James H. Lane, president, and J. K. Goodin, secretary. We have a piece of this scrip for \$20, issued to Timothy McIntyre, a doorkeeper of the Topeka constitutional convention. He was one of the first settlers of Topeka. He was born in New Hampshire in 1819, and died in the State Hospital, of old age, November 10, 1910. The *Chicago Tribune* said there was \$50,000 of this paper issued.

Another issue was called the "Kansas protection fund." We have a piece of this for \$130, dated February 29, 1856, signed by C. Robinson, J. H. Lane, J. K. Goodin and George W. Deitzler. The full amount is stated at \$23,858, and it was to liquidate losses during the invasion of December, 1855. Governor Robinson secured donations in Massachusetts to redeem \$10,000 of this protection scrip.

Another issue is known as "free-state warrants." We have two samples of this issue, one for \$62 and one for \$18, dated March 15, 1856, signed by George A. Cutler, auditor of state, and issued under act of March 15, 1856, defining certain duties of the auditor of state.

The Historical Society also has among its curios quite a number and variety of bank notes issued in Kansas from 1854 to 1862, representing institutions at Leavenworth, Lecompton, Sumner, Lawrence, Atchison and Wyandotte. However, we can find no mention of organized banks at Lecompton and Sumner.

Another interesting feature of financing in those days was the sale of town shares and lots. There was no bookkeeping in this line from which we might obtain something definite. In those days it was all velvet, and not like the latter-day booms that usually pulled more men down than they made. Government land or no land at all was used; there was no occasion for surveys or other expenses. There was no moral or political enthusiasm or conscience in this; the victims were suckers pure and simple. But the financial loss and heartaches, the blasted hopes and ambitions which followed town failures later make an appalling story. Six or eight years ago I gathered material concerning lost towns in Kansas, covering in all only thirty-two counties. I have lately gathered about two thousand geographical names, once familiar on maps and in our documents and publications; now these names are unknown.

The funds to carry on the free-soil controversy and to maintain the same people through drouth, war and pestilence were not for charity, aid or begging, but a legitimate expense in maintaining a great and very creditable movement of people. Those who invested their money in the territorial scrip referred to were not swindled; they were paying for a free-soil state in Kansas, and the scrip was taken in the North freely and enthusiastically. One statement says that \$200,000 was sent from the South to western Mis-

without the government having to take subsidiary silver from its strong box to hand out in return. On this little deal in paper money the government is to the good by nearly \$7,000,000. Of the bonds issued prior to 1861 more than \$150,000 have never been presented for payment. All interest on these bonds ceased more than half a century ago. A billion and a half of gold and silver certificates and \$350,000,000 of legal tenders are counted as being in circulation. But in all probability several millions have or will be destroyed in some way, so the government will never be called upon to redeem them. Misers and foolish persons, afraid of banks, will persist in hiding money in old stockings, tin cans or other receptacles, where moisture or rats can easily break through and steal. And there are those who for a time find stoves and stovepipes a handy hiding place, until somebody else comes along and starts a fire, and then the paper money goes up in smoke, all to the benefit of the government.

souri, ostensibly to buy land, but really to affect the Kansas controversy. There was much talk in the South, but little in a financial way was done. A southern orator said Kansas as a slave state would be worth to the South a tax of ten per cent on \$250,000,000 of slave property. Maj. Jeff Buford's expedition was the only organized attempt at colonization. Buford sold forty slaves at an average of \$700 apiece, or \$28,000, all of which he lost in his Kansas movement. His men were mostly sand-hillers, none of whom owned a negro, and hence they were of no use to the cause of the South in Kansas. The Yankee spent his money at St. Louis or Kansas City for wagons and agricultural implements and immediately went to work; but Buford's men were a great disappointment to him, and he returned to Alabama broke. The grasshopper raid of 1874 caused great loss and disappointment, and while there was some meritorious begging, there was much humbug. There was practically nothing here in 1860, so there can be no comparison.

In considering the expense attending the settlement of the territory of Kansas we ought not to forget the main item of cost. This was brought to mind only a few days ago by a member of your association, who told me of a recent trip he made through the South. In visiting a certain battlefield he had an ex-Confederate for a guide. In the course of conversation the guide inquired, "Where are you from?" and when told, "Kansas," the ex-Confederate responded, "That blankety-blank state cost us a pile of blood."

When we consider the strength and importance of the banking interests of Kansas to-day, as in other lines of activity, the wonder is how a start was ever made. The first advertisement of a bank in Kansas appeared in the *Leavenworth Herald* of July 12, 1853. It was called the "Banking and Exchange Office of C. P. Bailey, jr., & Co., Delaware street, Leavenworth." It reads thus: "Buy and sell time and sight bills on the principal cities in the United States at the most favorable rate. Collections made and proceeds promptly remitted at current rates of exchange. Interest allowed on time deposits. Exchange for sale on the Royal Bank of London." Then followed a list of ten references. In his "History of Leavenworth County," H. Miles Moore says: "Mr. Bailey opened up in a little one-story frame building . . . on the north side of Delaware street between Main and Second. Mr. Bailey was a timid man and his money more so. As things progressed rapidly in the summer and the boys began to get a little gay with their guns, he thought the town was getting too rapid for him, and he soon pulled up stakes and returned to Ohio, bank and all." Cutler's History mentions this as the first bank, but says its life was neither long nor vigorous.

The first bank failure was that of the City Bank of Leavenworth. It was opened in the winter of 1856-'57. Henry J. Adams, the first free-state mayor of Leavenworth, was president; A. C. Swift, cashier; and F. G. Adams, a brother of the president, and for twenty-four years secretary of the State Historical Society, was also interested. It was a bank of issue, and was located on Delaware street between Second and Third. It failed during the crisis of 1857, with heavy loss to its owners. A number of the red-back two-dollar bills of this bank are still in existence.

In Sutherland's directory of the city of Leavenworth for 1859-'60 there are eight banks advertised. In the list are the following who made great fame subsequently in various ways: D. R. Anthony, Clark, Gruber & Com-

pany, J. C. Hemingray & Company, Scott, Kerr & Company, and Smoot, Russell & Company. From other sources it is learned that from 1857 to 1859 four other attempts at banking were made, two of which left their mark—J. M. Larimer and J. W. Morris.

Smoot, Russell & Company opened a bank in the fall of 1855 at the southeast corner of Main and Shawnee, in a stone building, the north wall of which collapsed when the street was graded. It was rebuilt of brick and still stands. This was one of the largest and most important private banks in the West. When the Majors, Russell & Waddell government freighting concern was removed the bank was succeeded by that of J. C. Hemingray & Company in the same place. L. R. Smoot, W. H. Russell and W. B. Waddell were directors of the Atchison branch of the Kansas Valley Bank of Leavenworth, which was authorized by act of legislature of 1857, but never materialized, although the Atchison branch was organized.

In this connection it is proper to speak of the immense business opened up in Leavenworth in the fall of 1855 by the Government Overland Transportation Company of Majors, Russell & Company. It built stores, blacksmith shops, wagon and repair shops, employed annually over four hundred wagons, 7500 head of cattle and about 1000 men. In 1858, upon receiving a contract for the government freighting for Gen. A. S. Johnston's army to Utah, it increased operations to the employment of 4000 men, 3500 wagons and teams, with over 40,000 oxen and 1000 mules, to haul the supplies. This company also had a contract with the government for beef cattle, and, it is said, had many contracts, to the amount of more than \$1,000,000 a year. For the years 1855 and 1856 their profits footed up to about \$300,000. W. H. Russell was the financial genius of this firm, as well as of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company, of which he was president and manager. The founder of the freighting concern, Alexander Majors, the transportation genius, had begun his career freighting to Santa Fe in 1848, with an outfit of six teams. There is a memorial window in his honor in the dome of the capitol at Denver, where he died in 1899.

On January 29, 1857, the territorial legislature passed an act providing that every company or association of persons formed for banking purposes within this territory, and without an act of legislature authorizing the same, should be deemed unlawful. The first bank authorized by legislative act was that of the Kansas Valley Bank of Leavenworth, capital stock \$800,000, with five branches, at Atchison, Lecompton, Doniphan, Fort Scott and Shawnee, Johnson county. The capital stock of the branches was to be \$300,000 each. The act made the branches independent of the Leavenworth bank. For the Leavenworth bank, the following men were named to take subscriptions to the capital stock: Wm. F. Russell, A. J. Isaacs, Wm. H. Rogers, Wm. F. Dyer, F. J. Marshall and James M. Lyle. The Leavenworth bank never was formed, and the Atchison branch was the first to start out under act of the legislature.

Isett, Brewster & Company, of Des Moines, 1857, conducted the first legitimate banking business at Leavenworth, in a building erected for that purpose alone, and still standing in 1906. John Kerr was the company and manager. In three years Isett & Brewster sold out their interest to Lyman Scott, sr., and the bank became Scott, Kerr & Company. Mr. Kerr sold out to the Scotts (1865-'66) and moved to Texas, where he continued in banking business. Scott & Company continued until 1874, when the bank

was absorbed by the First National Bank. The Scotts held the controlling interest in these banks for many years. They were Lyman, sr., Lyman, jr., and Lucian, who was either president or cashier for over twenty-five years.

The First National Bank of Leavenworth, organized in 1863 or 1864, was also the first national bank in the state. Its history is peculiar in the personnel of its officers and directorate, and their connection with affairs of state. Thomas Carney, governor in 1863-'64, was the first president and one of the organizers and directors. At a most critical time in the state's history he advanced his private means and saved the credit of the state. He gave \$1000 for relief of the Quantrill-raid victims, and made the first subscription of \$5000 to the State University. Politics in the end got him. Robert Crozier, cashier in 1871, was district attorney 1861, chief justice 1864, United States Senator 1873-'74, and judge of the first judicial district, 1877-'93. It was May 24, 1871, while he was cashier of the bank, that he, on behalf of the bankers of Leavenworth, requested Governor Harvey to issue a proclamation declaring May 30 a day for public fast and thanksgiving, thus calling out the first proclamation for the observance of Decoration Day in this state.³ This letter is filed in the archives department of the State Historical Society, with a copy of the proclamation. Edmund N. Morrill, who succeeded Lucian Scott as president of the First National, was congressman 1882-'91, governor 1895-'97, a member of the free-state legislature of 1858, major in the Civil War, state senator two terms, organizer of the first bank in Hiawatha, in 1871 (Barnett, Morrill & Company), and was also a director of the Interstate National Bank, Kansas City, Mo. Alexander Caldwell succeeded Governor Morrill as president in 1897. He had been a banker in Pennsylvania; came to Leavenworth in 1861, where he organized the firm of A. Caldwell & Company, United States transportation contractors. This firm did an immense business freighting government supplies to the frontier forts, requiring the use of 5000 wagons, 50,000 animals and the employment of from 5000 to 10,000 men. Mr. Caldwell was president or vice president of two railroads, a builder of railroads and bridges, head of the Kansas Manufacturing Company and of the Idaho & Oregon Improvement Company for location of towns, canals and irrigating ditches.

The First National Bank absorbed the bank of Insley, Shire & Company. This was a private bank, organized in 1872 by M. H. Insley, Daniel Shire and E. F. Kellogg. In 1875 Mr. Kellogg retired and W. H. Carson became cashier. After the death of Mr. Insley the bank merged into the First National. The First National absorbed the German Bank also.

It is interesting to note that one of the early business men of Leavenworth, John F. Richards, an officer and stockholder in the German Bank, was quoted a few weeks ago in the Kansas City papers as the owner of \$525,000 in stock in a Kansas City bank, and that his stock is to-day worth six times its face value, and twenty-four times its original cost twenty-five years ago. Mr. Richards established in Leavenworth the largest wholesale

NOTE 3.—The Encyclopedia Americana says that the custom of Decoration or Memorial Day originated with the southern states, and was copied scatteringly and on different days in some of the northern states. On May 5, 1868, Gen. John A. Logan, then commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, issued an order appointing May 30 of that year for the Grand Army services in decorating the graves of their comrades. Since then the custom has come into common use, and that day, May 30, has been universally adopted by the states and made a legal holiday.

hardware house west of St. Louis in 1856, and at a later date the great wholesale house of Richards, Conover & Company in Kansas City.

The bank of Clark, Gruber & Company maintained a branch in Denver, and at one time M. E. Clark, who was in charge from 1860 to 1863, established a private mint for coining gold, which was the nucleus of the present mint in that city.

There is much interesting detail that must be passed over. Burke's "History of Leavenworth" made the following summing up to the year 1880: "As a money center and a base of supplies for the West and Southwest, the financial importance of Leavenworth during the war and for years after excelled that of most cities five times its population." Between the close of the Civil War and the panic of 1873 there were eight banks, representing a total capital of about \$800,000. In 1880 only three banks had survived that panic, the drouth and failure of crops and the grasshopper scourge. They were the First National, the German Bank and Insley, Shire & Company (now all absorbed in the First National), and the total capital was \$350,000.

The banking interests at Atchison had a commencement under equally interesting circumstances as had those of Leavenworth, because of the character of those engaged and the great enterprises associated with banking. The Atchison branch of the Kansas Valley Bank was the first one in the state to form under the legislative act, being authorized February 19, 1857, with a capital stock of \$300,000, securities \$100,000. In the act John H. Stringfellow, Joseph Plean and Samuel Dickson were named to open subscription books. An organization was effected early in the spring of 1858, and the capital stock fixed at \$52,000. The board of directors included S. C. Pomeroy, president, W. H. Russell, L. R. Smoot, W. B. Waddell, F. G. Adams, S. Dickson and W. E. Gaylord. In denial of the statement made by the rival towns of Sumner and Doniphan that the bank was about to suspend, the directors published a statement of its condition soon after starting, showing that the assets were \$36,638, liabilities \$20,118. The archives department of the Historical Society possesses three documents, dated July 14 and August 3, 1857, concerning the appointment of L. S. Boling, of Leecompton, to examine and report on the affairs of the Atchison branch of the Kansas Valley Bank—the first proceeding of the kind in Kansas.

S. C. Pomeroy resigned as president before the year 1858 was ended. He was United States senator from 1861 to 1873, and worked for and secured the passage of every land grant made to a Kansas railroad during his first term. In 1860-'61 he was agent of the Kansas Relief Committee for the receiving and distributing of funds and supplies furnished by eastern states. G. H. Fairchild was the treasurer of the committee, and the cash receipts from October 1, 1860, to March 15, 1861, were \$83,869.52. Mr. Pomeroy was succeeded as president of the Atchison branch of the Kansas Valley Bank by William H. Russell of the contracting firms of A. Majors & Company and Smoot, Russell & Company. In 1861 this bank, then called the Kansas Valley Bank, had its name changed by the legislature to the Bank of the State of Kansas. William H. Russell resided at Leavenworth, and was in 1856 the treasurer of the executive committee to raise funds to make Kansas a slave state. The Bank of the State of Kansas continued until 1866, when the stockholders wound up its affairs. Mr. Russell lost heavily

in his Overland Pony Express Company and the California Pike's Peak Stage Company, Ben Holladay, of Missouri and New York, securing control of the latter. It was said that he received \$500,000 a year for carrying United States mail between Atchison and Salt Lake, and sold the stage line to Wells-Fargo for \$1,800,000. Atchison had an enormous business in those days, derived from the trade of the West, being the starting point of the stage line, the Butterfield Overland Dispatch, and the parallel road to the "Kansas" gold mines near Pike's Peak.

I have always believed that Samuel C. Pomeroy was a greatly wronged man. George W. Glick, a Democrat, was a very warm friend to Pomeroy, and he always expressed great indignation when he heard "Old Pom," as we all called him, abused about the aid business. He witnessed Pomeroy several times divide out aid as it came, and made mention of the abuse heaped on him by the beggars when he could not meet their demands for a wagonload each, when he had but a wagonload in all to divide. Pomeroy's fall was the result of a conspiracy, and not because of general bribery. Dave Butterfield was a sawmill hand at Junction City. He left his wife there to hustle for herself, which she did by sewing. She made some shirts for me. After a year or so Butterfield turned up on Wall street, where he raised \$6,000,000 to stock the Butterfield Overland Dispatch, to the amazement of all his old associates. The coaches, mules and equipment were the most extravagant. He was killed at Fort Smith by a street-car employee with whom he quarreled.

The Exchange National Bank of Atchison, the oldest banking institution in Atchison, was established in 1859 as Hetherington's Exchange Bank. Its founder was William Hetherington. Save for one year during the war, its doors have been open daily. Repeated attempts to plunder it at that time induced Mr. Hetherington to close out his business and wait for better days. In 1869 it was removed to the fine building on the corner of Fourth and Commercial, erected by Mr. Hetherington for the express use of his banking business. In 1876 Mr. Hetherington admitted his son, Webster W. Hetherington, who had been for a long time a clerk in the bank, to a partnership; and in 1881 another son, Clifford S. Hetherington, became associated in the business. "The Exchange Bank of William Hetherington & Co." was changed to the "Exchange National Bank of Atchison," August 1, 1882. The formal change was made July 21, when the incorporators deposited with the Comptroller of the Currency \$100,000 in government bonds, and completed the steps required by law, but the bank did not commence business until August 1. The directors were William Hetherington, Webster W. Hetherington, B. P. Waggener, Frank Bier and J. S. Galbraith. Ex-Governor W. J. Bailey is now a vice president of this bank.

Luther Challis appears as a banker in directories of 1859-'61, corner of Second and Commercial streets. In 1855 he had a big trade with Mormon emigrants and various Indian tribes. He was a member of the territorial council, 1858, of the Free State Council, 1859-'60, and later state senator. He framed the bill that authorized the construction of the Central Branch of the Missouri Pacific, being a president of that road, and also a director and stockholder in the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. In 1862 he began to operate in Wall street, and in 1864 had removed to New York, where it is said he had \$960,000 on deposit. He returned to Atchison in 1878 to save the remnants of his fortune. He fought more than the bulls and bears in

New York, where he successfully defeated a blackmailing scheme of the notorious Woodhull and Claflin, Train and others. He died a poor man.

Of the banks of Topeka, Guilford Dudley in 1857 advertised a brokerage business, and again in 1859 he made a showing as a broker. In May, 1864, F. W. Giles obtained a government license to do a banking business. In 1872 the Topeka National was organized. August 23, 1866, the Kansas Valley National Bank was organized, this bank failing in 1873. It was known as Dan Adams' bank. The Leavenworth *Commercial* once said: "The state funds are in Dan Adams' keeping, and are now invested in cattle." It was the same kind of a cattle story that forced the impeachment and resignation of State Treasurer Hayes. January 1, 1869, John R. Mulvane began his wonderful career as a banker in Topeka, as cashier of the Topeka Bank and Savings Institution. To follow these details down to date for the entire state would make a book; the only purpose of this paper must be to save the beginnings.

In the spring of 1859 there was a bank organized at Lawrence under the territorial laws, after the free-state party had control, and was called the Lawrence Bank. Its circulation was redeemed in coin. S. W. Eldridge, James Blood, Governor Robinson and Robert Morrow were directors. After we became a state the bank was reorganized under the state laws, and Kansas state bonds were deposited with the auditor for the security of the circulation. Governor Robinson, Robert S. Stevens and Robert Morrow were the owners and directors. After a time Mr. Stevens bought the interests of Governor Robinson and Robert Morrow, and thus became the sole owner. Morrow remained nominally the president, and S. C. Smith was the cashier. Mr. Stevens became extensively engaged in government contracts, building Indian houses and other matters and concluded to close the bank. He took up money and deposited it with the auditor to redeem the circulation, and withdrew the bonds. Mr. Smith remained in the bank doing an exchange business, and this was the condition when Quantrill burned Lawrence and robbed the safe. In it there was a small package of the bills that had been redeemed by Mr. Smith and not taken to Topeka, and these were carried by Quantrill's men to Missouri. We have a two-dollar bill of this bank presented by Mr. G. Grovenor, which passed through the Quantrill raid, being in Mr. Grovenor's safe. Morrow had several thousand dollars in coin of his own money in the safe that was also taken during the raid. It was when silver and gold dollars were worth two dollars and a half in greenbacks. There were three other banks in Lawrence opened about this time, viz., Babcock & Lykins, Simpson Brothers, and E. D. Thompson. These were not banks of issue.

Back in the sixties an attempt was made to start a bank at Lecompton. E. W. Wynkoop, later very prominent in the founding of the city of Denver and as an Indian agent, was interested in the attempt, but the sight of much gold and its security, I suppose, greatly discouraged them. Ely Moore, in his delightful story of Lecompton, tells how western people at that time disliked paper money, and he gives a dialogue he heard between a Missouri river steamboat captain and a woodyard man. The boat pulled up to the bank and the captain called out, "Is your wood dry?" "Yep," was the answer. "What is your wood worth?" shouted the captain. "What kind of money do yer tote, Cap.?" asked the wood merchant. "The best on earth—the new Platte Valley Bank," replied the captain. "If that be so,

Cap.," was the rejoinder, "I'll trade cord for cord." How would we do business to-day with the old-fashioned detector always in hand?⁴

Under the act of 1857, creating the Kansas Valley Bank, with branches, Fort Scott organized a branch in May of that year. Gov. Robert J. Walker refused to approve. The parties interested sued the governor, but there is no record of what became of the suit. The law provided that stockholders had to put up one-half their subscription in gold or silver and give the bank a bond for the other half. Two Lecompton men were quite prominent in the Fort Scott move—James G. Bailey and David Bailey, brothers.

Kansas in those days had her Wall street, and it is a singular circumstance that the antipathy which later prevailed did not obtain then. The first United States land office was opened for business at Lecompton in May, 1856. It was located on Elmore street. The remainder of the same block, both sides of the street, was lined by a pretty fair assortment of wood shanties, used by land lawyers and land sharks. The only currency then recognized by the United States in the payment for land was gold and land warrants. Settlers had to have gold with which to pay the government, but they could make some saving by purchasing a land warrant. There are no very damaging stories of the rapacity of those doing business on the Wall street of Lecompton, but as lofty as five per cent a month was common talk for the fellow who had neither land warrant nor gold and who desired a quarter section of the public land. The land office was moved to Topeka in September, 1861. The greater portion of the time it was at Lecompton there was a heavy business. Besides the ordinary entries, there was much contesting, making business for attorneys and bringing many witnesses. There was a bright lot of young men at Lecompton in those days other than the financial skimmers. The first settlers in Kansas were not chumps by any means. Some came here with the conceit that they were sharper than others, and they sometimes found in the end that there were those who were still sharper. I remember an instance of a gentleman from Ohio who came to Lecompton with a few thousand dollars and who intimated that he was going to cut something of a swath. One morning, about 1858, I was standing in front of the old National Hotel as the stage was loading for the east. The gentleman from Ohio had concluded to return, with every feather plucked. As he stood with one foot on the step of the coach, holding to the post and swinging the other foot, he remarked: "When I get back to Ohio I will tell them there is nothing but a sheet of brown paper between this place and hell!"

The first bank in Junction City was opened by Hale & Kirkendall about May 1, 1866. The name was soon changed to Hale & Rice. It came to an end in a very peculiar way. In March, 1868, a contractor named Rawalle, at work on the construction of the Kansas Pacific, came in on the train after banking hours with \$15,000 on his person. He desired to leave it

NOTE 4.—This use of scrip was fraught with worry and aggravation, and it is no wonder that the banker and the business man of ante-bellum days spent most of his time studying his detector. An article published but a short time since in the *New York Sun*, and republished in the *Kansas City Journal* of May 6, 1912, tells something of the money of that time. Spanish coins were largely in circulation then, and the "fips" and "levies" were the common small change of the day. A "fip" represented one-sixteenth of a dollar, and a "levy" one-eighth. The discount on state bank notes was constantly varying, this fluctuation, with the bank failures and the circulation of counterfeit notes—for many men printed their own money, and circulated it, too, in that day—caused a certain instability in money circles, and made the business life of the small banker and merchant a precarious one.

with the bank. The time lock on the inside of the safe had been closed for the night, and it was concluded to put the money inside the outer door. In the morning the outer door of the safe was open and the \$15,000 gone. The banker's residence, it was alleged, was entered in the night and the key taken from the banker's pantaloons. It spread suspicion and ruin, and was a mystery which worried the community for years, and is still unsettled.⁵

The firm of Streeter & Strickler, at Junction City, were very heavy contractors with the government for freighting and such supplies as hay and corn. Hundreds of men living on the plains were in the employ of this firm. It was on the eve of the winter of 1863 or the winter of 1864 that Streeter & Strickler had accumulated about \$200,000 of government vouchers. Strickler went to Leavenworth to get the money—government greenbacks now. A combine had been formed to squeeze him out of a very respectable shave. After several days' resistance he returned to Junction City without the money. This spread consternation along the border, as all had some interest in the matter and badly needed their pay. About seventy-five gathered one day in front of the Streeter & Strickler store. Strickler appeared on the steps to make them a talk. He told them the story of the combine at Leavenworth, and begged them to give him time to beat it, assuring them that in addition to the squeeze at Leavenworth a squeeze at home would ruin them all. He invited them all in to examine the paper he held against the government. After being satisfied that the firm had the stuff, the crowd proposed that if they could have some winter clothing they would wait. The next morning Strickler was on the stage for Leavenworth. He shipped \$10,000 worth of clothing to Junction City and handed it over the counter as fast as it could be carried away.

In a few weeks the trouble at Leavenworth was over and everybody got his pay. The firm of Streeter & Strickler was a great one, covering about all the plains. They were not very prudent, but quite useful, exhibiting the general utility demanded of all successful business men at that time. They are supposed to be the first to use the word "everything." The Democrats made three failures in establishing a newspaper in the town. This firm asked the Democrats to stand aside and let the Republicans try it. The Democrats did so, and were always afterwards fair and loyal to the enterprise, and I was carried on the pay roll as a clerk in the store while setting type and making a newspaper. Another Republican merchant in the town likewise furnished a second printer. This lasted two years, when the paper was placed on its own feet. A joker from the East settled near Solomon, and struck with their advertisement "everything," in a very formal manner ordered a \$1000 bull. The firm very seriously reported that they were out of that line of bulls but expected to have one any day. They telegraphed to Illinois for such a bull, and in a few days it was delivered at Solomon. The man who attempted the joke was equal to the occasion, took the bull and paid for it. The firm occasionally differed on local matters, and in one city election both took money from the same till to spend against each other. The man who settled their business told me that their books

NOTE 5.—The figures given by Mr. C. W. Tobie, of the Burns Detective Agency, as to bank burglaries are very interesting. He says that "Kansas banks were the hardest hit by this class of criminals in 1910, when they secured \$27,420 by burglary and holdups in twelve banks. In 1911 there were but five attacks on Kansas banks, less than half the number of the year before. They secured \$9164, only about a third of what was lost the year before." So far in 1912 (June) there have been no bank robberies in Kansas.

showed over \$3000 a year charged to charity. Streeter & Strickler in the early days of the war issued a great quantity of scrip, which the soldiers would use for lighting their pipes, which I suppose entitles them to this mention in a banking paper. They served their time well.

The present Kansas banking law was passed by the legislature of 1891. The first bank commissioner was Charles F. Johnson, of Oskaloosa, 1891-'93; then followed John W. Briedenthal, of Chetopa, 1893-1900; Morton Albaugh, of Kingman, 1901-'04; William S. Albright, Leavenworth, 1904-'05; John Q. Royce, Phillipsburg, 1905-'08; William S. Albright, 1908-'09; Joseph N. Dolley, Maplehill, 1909 to the present time. The first call for a statement from the banks under the supervision of the banking department was made October 13, 1891. At that time there were 414 state and private banks reporting. According to the first statement, there were in the banks deposits to the amount of \$15,743,433.82. The last call, April 2, 1912, shows that there are 896 state banks in Kansas, holding deposits amounting to \$102,128,200.44. February 20, 1912, there were 210 national banks in Kansas, holding deposits on that date of \$83,632,548.48. January 31, 1912, there were 238 postal savings banks in Kansas, with nearly 5000 depositors and holding \$310,000. This makes a total of cash on hand of \$186,070,748.92.⁶ On April 18, 1912, twenty-five banks in Kansas City, Mo., held deposits amounting to \$125,833,980.41. Inasmuch as Kansas City was fifty years ago a portion of the same unbroken prairie as Kansas, and a large per cent of her deposits are undoubtedly Kansas money, this makes a grand total of \$311,904,729.33. Wonder what the early day friends whose banking seemed to be interminably mixed with freighting and contracts, mules and oxen, would think of this showing.

But in this latter-day flow of money, made possible by the right conclusion of the contest carried on in Kansas, we seem to be out wholly and absolutely. I have always had a great interest in the denominational schools of Kansas, and at one time was quite familiar with the difficulties of the managers in keeping them going. A few years ago I called attention to the fact that for a period of four years I watched the benefactions, usually

NOTE 6.—In addition to this total of banks and bank deposits in Kansas there should be added 57 building and loan associations, 55 local and 2 general. These saving and home-building societies are in a class by themselves, all under supervision of the banking department, reporting semiannually. January 1, 1912, the aggregate savings accumulated in these Kansas associations was \$12,619,333 by 39,541 members, which brings the grand total of money deposits in Kansas up to nearly 200 million dollars. The local building and loan association is not very well known in Kansas, although there are a few 30, 35 and 40 years old. Their particular field is in manufacturing communities, where they preach thrift, saving and home owning among urban wage-earners and small-salaried people. In the states east of the Mississippi river and north of the Ohio river they are numerous, almost as plentiful as banks. January 1, 1912, there were 6000 local associations in the United States, with 2,500,000 members and assets aggregating about 1000 million dollars. They are important factors in building up towns—making home-owning citizens. Philadelphia is a luminous example of building and loan (or savings and loan) association work; sixty per cent of the families in that city own the houses they live in. The associations in each state are affiliated in State Leagues and the several State Leagues affiliate in a United States League; all hold annual conventions. Their motto is: "The American Home is the Safeguard of American Institutions." By the building and loan society method England has been gradually breaking up landlordism in Ireland by the purchase or condemnation of great landed estates and then selling those lands in small pieces to the Irish peasants (former tenants) on twenty years' time with quarterly, semiannual or annual payments; and the French parliament is framing a general law to make government loans to the French tenant peasantry for the purchase of small farms on small payments and long time. There is a movement on foot now to bring together the American associations and similar societies in Europe into an International Triennial Congress, to better study the housing problems of the world's great cities. The French, English and German governments have sent commissions to this country to study the American associations and their methods.

published at the end of the year. Beginning with the year 1899, there was given to schools, colleges, churches and charities in the United States a sum each year ranging from \$79,749,956 to \$123,888,732, and not a dollar came to Kansas. I protested vigorously against this condition, but was very shortly squelched by the newspapers with the statement that Kansas was able to take care of her own. This is not begging, but a thoroughly established system by which rich men contribute of their surplus to the public good. Kansas has made a great showing, not only in prevailing over war and pestilence, but in liberally providing for her own. But there is room for much more than we can do. I advanced the idea that we are not in this latter-day distribution because we are such a lot of braggarts and blow-hards that we give a real millionaire the blues, and for this I was charged with treason. These great gifts in this country, throughout the years, continue to go where there are already millions and to be quite neglectful of Kansas. Our constant and extravagant boasting has closed this door against us.

The money question in Kansas was in remote years reckless and somewhat discreditable. Most everybody will recall the sign "Money to Loan" decorating the shop of some fellow who was not trusted at home with a beefsteak, and who let the money out because of the extent of commission, and not from any honest business judgment. Many homesteaders and pre-emptors, as soon as they completed their title, would place a mortgage on the land for all some conscienceless agent would give and then skip, and thus Kansas' credit was greatly injured.

But the question "What is the matter with Kansas?" is still with us, and with no satisfying solution. This is an important gathering, representing a great interest, and may understand this condition. We are not growing in population. Thousands and thousands of people have passed us for worse locations. The year 1909 gave us a gain of 50,692 over 1908. But 1910 shows a loss of 16,844 from 1909, and 1911 a loss of 4332 from 1910. Counting the birth rate on the side of gain this shows a very serious loss. It is unfortunate that Commissioner Dolley's anti-blue-sky scheme could not be extended to protect our own people who have invested and those who are leaving against the swamps of Florida and the mesquite, cactus, sage brush, alkali and orange ranches of the Southwest. History is said to repeat itself, and the sucker of to-day is easier than the sucker of territorial days who bought town shares. But Mr. Dolley is not omnipresent, nor is he the personal guardian of each individual, and so gossip about a month ago had much to say about \$28,000 leaving Topeka and going into a hole as certain as the descent of the Titanic.⁷ Untold thousands have gone out of Kansas in this way. How can we stop this waste?

It was Theodore Parker who said Kansas would have two million popula-

NOTE 7.—Suckers may not deserve much sympathy, or they may, according to how charitable a view one takes of human folly. The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce is now attempting to drive out swindlers who make \$250,000 a year from their sucker list. It is applying in Ohio the lessons taught recently in Kansas. A card index, called the "sucker list," gives the names of the local easy marks, and is in the possession of every stock-swindle headquarters. There are said to be 30,000 names from Cleveland on the list. What the Chamber of Commerce is doing is to invite everybody who is approached by a salesman with any stock scheme to write to the secretary and the attorney of the chamber for information. They are doing the work now, but they hope the state will do it later. Here are some of the entries on the cards in the possession of the promoting experts: "J. Jones, 1127 Blank st., grocer—easy mark." "J. Smith, 27 Dash st., doctor—talk to him about his son—easy." Other communities are likely to follow the example of Kansas and Cleveland.—*Collier's Weekly*, June 8, 1912.

tion in 1900. The greatest need of the hour is to get Kansas out of the fool column. I spent seven weeks in July and August, 1911, on the Pacific coast, from Seattle to San Francisco. What do you suppose was the style of news found in the Associated Press reports from Kansas? Two and three times a week there would be mention of the mayoress of Hunnewell,⁸ with whom the city council would not meet, and the woman in Iola who could not work on the rock pile because there were no bloomers in town to fit her. The only legitimate news I found in seven weeks was a three-line item announcing the death of Congressman Mitchell. I remember the statement of Bank Commissioner Dolley, that during the National Bankers' Convention in New Orleans the principal topic in the variety shows was the "Kansas tar party." State Auditor Davis was in various parts of the East for a week at that time, and all the news he saw from Kansas was the tar party. Last fall there was a half-baked tramp called the "Kansas poet" down in New York, said to be representing the literati of Kansas, acting as affinity to another man's wife. This fellow averaged half a column two or three times a week in the Associated Press, even telling us how they went out in the brush to live, over in Jersey, to commune with nature; and when the woman shook him for another affinity the world was given a formal announcement by telegraph. Now, please watch this, and I think you will come to my conclusion. A ragpicker was driving along Minnesota avenue in Kansas City, Kan., and some one on the sidewalk made a remark which offended him. He replied: "I am not as big a fool as I look; I have \$200 in the bank." So Kansas is not as big a fool as she looks; she has \$186,070,748.92 in the bank and \$2,777,073,762 of taxable property.

Some people are so enthusiastic that they can see only their own side of a controversy. It has been my practice all my life, before engaging in any scheme or fight, to figure on what the other fellow could do. We have always indulged in some very remarkable agricultural advertising, all of which has been correct, and the best we could do. But what is the other fellow doing? I had an eye opener recently from the very modest state of Nebraska, whose officials recognize the superiority of Kansas over Nebraska only in the art of advertising. According to comparisons made by the friends in Nebraska, we may have found the answer to the conundrum "What is the matter with Kansas?" in the condition of the advertiser who put up a great talk and failed to show the goods, and was caught, as is shown in our standstill or loss of population. The State Board of Agriculture of Nebraska issues the following:

"Kansas raised more wheat than did Nebraska last year (1911), but Nebraska raised more bushels per acre. Kansas raised more barley than Nebraska, but Nebraska over twice as much per acre. The above are the only

NOTE 8.—Suit was brought in the supreme court to oust the councilmen of the city of Hunnewell, because they could not get along with the mayoress, Mrs. Ella Wilson. Their names are F. J. Lander, B. Keir, J. F. Richardson and J. O. Ellis. The court refused to oust, and in their opinion said: "The alleged discourtesy to the mayor consisted somewhat in the councilmen conducting themselves with more levity than dignity in the office. The novelty of a town with a woman as mayor, the prolific and unwise advertising given the situation, and the farcical performance engaged in by the parties, have resulted in burdening the governor, the attorney-general and this court with a petty neighborhood controversy which, by the exercise of ordinary judgment and discretion and a modicum of good faith, could have been avoided." The court calls the attention of the mayor and councilmen to certain statutes relating to their duties, but shows that these statutes are not mandatory and call for discretion, discussion and judgment combined. The court retains jurisdiction of the case and may take it up at any time when it feels that the council is not acting in good faith for the welfare of the city in the performance of official duties.

products of consequence in which Kansas raised a larger quantity than did Nebraska, and it shows that, with the same acreage, Nebraska is far ahead of the Sunflower state from every standpoint. Nebraska raised about seven bushels of corn per acre more than Kansas. Nebraska raised more oats per acre than did Kansas. Nebraska raised more rye per acre than did Kansas. Nebraska raised nearly twice as many bushels of potatoes to the acre as did Kansas. Nebraska raised eleven more bushels of flax to the acre than did Kansas. Nebraska raised five more tons of sugar beets to the acre than did Kansas.

"Kansas produced an average per capita value of her agricultural products of \$167.32 last year. Nebraska produced a per capita value in agricultural products of \$277.75. Kansas produced from her agricultural acres wealth to the amount of \$11.23 per cultivated acre. Nebraska went her better by producing \$25.47 per cultivated acre. Kansas produced from her total agricultural and live-stock industry \$316 per capita. Nebraska produced from her total agricultural and live-stock business \$451."

The Nebraska friends claim that with less than two-thirds the population of Kansas and about one-half the cultivated acreage of Kansas, Nebraska in 1911 obtained \$64,668,790 more from crops and live-stock than did Kansas. Now if these figures are true, what is the matter with our acres? Our people work as hard as any other people. If the Nebraska figures are correct, then there is something radically wrong, and we ought all to know it, and help right things. Figures against us are of equal service and interest in reaching a conclusion.⁹

I was asked a few months ago for my opinion as to the best method of advertising the state. My response was that this was the best and the worst advertised spot on earth, and that if Kansas was to keep her mouth shut for five or ten years there is no telling how advantageous it might be in increased population. There is a wrong impression abroad about Kansas. Anyhow, there is something the matter. There is a possibility that we are afflicted with the mouth disease; so many of our statesmen have a desire to appear on the first page, top of column next to reading matter. Our editors should use more discretion and draw the line on what a fellow is going to do, and place the limit on what he has done. This would reduce the grandstanding and windjamming very materially and relieve thousands of readers.

We are told that this is an era of advertising. It is also an era of gush and dope. A few of our preachers are suffering from a constipation of gospel topics—which would n't be so bad if they did not land top of column with scare head. The arts, devices, machinations and manipulations of the

NOTE 9.—"One of the most tangible results springing from the recent convention of the Kansas Bankers' Association held in Topeka is the coöperation of the bankers of the state with the farmers in trying to secure better and larger crops. The bankers have a permanent committee, which will plan with the farmers in the matter of seed testing and proper germination of the best grades of seeds and plants to be used on the Kansas farms, especially in the more backward parts of the state. The committee is composed of the following men: First district, A. F. Wulfekuhler, Leavenworth; second, Peter Shiras, Ottawa; third, George T. Guernsey, jr., Independence; fourth, H. D. Tucker, Eureka; fifth, Fred M. Quincy, Salina; sixth, Otis L. Benton, Oberlin; seventh, E. R. Moses, Great Bend; and eighth, J. M. McNair, Halstead.

"According to W. W. Bowman, secretary of the Kansas Bankers' Association, it is not the intention of the bankers to make an attempt to tell the farmers how to run the farm, or to attempt to derive profit from this plan of coöperation and helpfulness. The aim is to make two bushels of good corn grow in Kansas where one bushel of poor corn grew before. This increased business for the farmer will naturally add to the income for the banks, but the main idea is to help the farmers in their efforts toward better crops for the general good of the whole state. The American Bankers' Association has also a permanent committee working for this end, and the twelve northwest states of Minnesota, North Dakota, North Dakota, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Washington, Wisconsin, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska and Oregon have organized an executive committee to further the movement in these states. Secretary Bowman is the member from Kansas."—*Topeka Capital*, June 9, 1912.

politician have been eliminated by our primary system, and so we have the tiresome and wormy chestnuts, the unsterilized air, with which the statesmen educate the referendum. Now, do not misunderstand me. I am not opposed to reasonable advertising or effort, but there is so much gross exaggeration that might be dispensed with. We talk too much, therefore must of necessity occasionally get our wires crossed. What we want is a scheme whereby we can manage our own freaks and the smart Alecks on the newspapers. We must have some other diet than our own taffy.

Furthermore, do not get the idea that I have a grouch. I have not. I have the most interesting job on earth, and everybody very graciously helps me take care of it; but we maintain quite a clipping bureau, and the mental strain exercised in drawing a line between biography, history, and the political self-advertising hot air intended to enlighten or fool the referendum, oftentimes wears heavily on my nervous temperament.

Pardon this digression, because with the banker the stuff is absolutely essential in balancing the books, and not wind. No people in all history have seen or enjoyed more than have those who remained with Kansas through the past fifty years—beholding this magnificent commonwealth emerge from nothing, prevailing over all sorts of difficulties and discouragements—and we ought to cut out some of our braggadocio and spend much time in the most humble thanks to the Giver of all Good.

REMINISCENCES CONCERNING FORT LEAVENWORTH IN 1855-'56.

Written for the State Historical Society by E. T. CARR,¹ of Leavenworth.

IN MAY, 1855. I left my home in Syracuse, N. Y., to seek a new location somewhere in the Great West. Minnesota, Kansas and Nebraska at that time seemed to hold the most interest for me. After stopping for a short time in Chicago, Galena and Dubuque, I finally visited St. Paul, St. Anthony and Minneapolis, the latter place having just been platted. In all the places visited the business I sought was in no way encouraging. Kansas seemed the most popular just then, and I resolved to go there. Bidding my friends in St. Anthony good-by, I started, but on reaching St. Paul I found that cholera had broken out again down the river. As I had run the gauntlet on the trip up from Dubuque, I resolved to stop for a time in St. Paul, and securing employment sufficient to pay expenses, I remained there until September.

NOTE 1.—ERASMUS THEODORE CARR was born at Greenville, Saratoga county, New York, October 28, 1825. He is the son of Almond Carr, whose mother was a King, an aunt of the distinguished New York statesman, Rufus King. Almond Carr married Arathusia Maria Morse, a lady of Scotch and English parentage. E. T. Carr became a bricklayer and a mason, with a decided taste for architecture and mechanics. In 1862 he removed to Syracuse, where he carried on the business of a builder for three years. After this he located at St. Paul, Minn., where he remained only one season, when he was offered the superintendency of certain work at Fort Leavenworth. In the fall of 1855 he came to Fort Leavenworth, and at once commenced the erection of buildings. He opened an office as architect in Leavenworth, but in 1859 resumed work for the government. In 1863 he was selected as architect for the Kansas State Penitentiary. He drew plans for the State Normal at Emporia and was instrumental in the improvements at the Agricultural College at Manhattan. He built many courthouses, churches, schoolhouses and jails in Kansas. He superintended the construction of the State Hospital for the Insane, at Topeka. December 8, 1859, he married Miss Margaret Redfern Cubbins. He served his home town of Leavenworth many years in the city council and as a member of the school board. He is a thirty-second-degree Mason and has been very prominent and useful in the Masonic order. He is still actively engaged in business at Miles City, Mont.

Late in August I received a letter from a friend in Syracuse, stating that Col. E. V. Sumner, from Fort Leavenworth, Kan., was there on a visit to his people; that he wanted fifty carpenters to go to Fort Leavenworth and assist in a reconstruction of the post, and asking me if I would accept a situation as one of the two foreman to go with the party. Replying in the affirmative, arrangements were soon made by wire, and I was to meet them in St. Louis. On my way down the river to St. Louis by the Illinois Central railroad, I ran onto the party at La Salle, and a jolly crowd they were. They had supplied themselves with toy guns, swords, drums, etc., and my first sight of them was on the street marching. They carried a banner which said "Going to fight for free Kansas." This of course left the impression that that was their mission, and we afterwards saw the incident so referred to in the papers. Their car was attached to our train and taken to St. Louis.

After spending two days there we left for Fort Leavenworth by boat, and were seven days on the way, landing September 14, 1855. On the way up the river we had on board a large number of emigrants for Kansas, as well as our own party, and by way of making the trip interesting there were a few cases of cholera among the deck hands. It was quietly reported that two were buried at night on shore. Every precaution was taken to prevent a panic before reaching Kansas City, where the larger portion of the passengers would leave.

To most of us everything at Fort Leavenworth was new, although I had had a taste of western ways, and also had seen a little of army life at Fort Snelling. The old stone warehouse and the landing at the Fort were at that period the scene of much business. A boat arrival was always the occasion of bustle, hurry and confusion, and immediately after our landing a busy scene ensued. Our gang, which had been increased by about twenty others from St. Louis, each had a tool chest, besides other baggage, and the loading of all this upon the waiting wagons made quite a little pandemonium. But the great question, many times asked, was, "Where is the fort?" So far we had seen nothing but the warehouse and the landing. Our traps being loaded, we started and followed the teams to the top of the hill. There we found quite a group of buildings, some few detached, but the greater number built about a square. The buildings were of stone, brick, logs and frame, with any number of half-tumble-down shacks, generally in the rear of the more imposing structures. Still the question was asked, "Where is the fort?" Except for the regiment of cavalry just leaving for the plains, the place had more the appearance of a country village than a fort. We had expected to see strong fortifications, walled enclosures, etc. After some further examination we discovered two rather dilapidated blockhouses, one apparently connected with a brick building by a sort of parapeted stone wall; also two or three one-story stone buildings having a few portholes in the sides. These seemed to constitute the extent of the fortifications.

We were to have been landed at the Fort in the early morning, but the boat had gotten fast on a sand bar a short distance down the river, and in consequence was several hours late. Being the last of the passengers, no arrangements had been made for breakfast for us on board, thus we were landed breakfastless, and naturally were speedily on the hunt for something to relieve hunger.

Not a thing could we find until the quartermaster caused a barrel of hardtack to be rolled out. Judge of the disgusted countenances after each had filled his pockets, thinking they were soda crackers, myself among others, and with me the more so since I was exceedingly hungry and had poor teeth. Some of the men to show their disgust got up a game of quoits, using the hard bread for the purpose. Others condemned such a place, "where nothing fit to eat could be had," and proposed leaving. After an explanation from Major Sibley, however, and an assurance of better things to come, the temper of the party improved, and we decided to wait and see. We had been shown our rooms, which were in the brick barracks at the southeast corner of the parade—a building recently torn away. The troops had just vacated it, leaving it in great disorder, with empty bunks, and the whitewashed floors covered with straw and litter. This must all be cleared away, and the place, in a manner, made habitable. Here happened another cause for despondency. We were informed that the government would furnish only the room and the bunk; that we must furnish our beds and blankets. Since many of the party had understood we were to be provided with room, bed and board, none of us had the required articles, and some were without the means to purchase them. I loaned money to a few, and the quartermaster very generously loaned to others, at the same time agreeing to give bed sacks to all of us. These details arranged, my fellow foreman was sent with a government team to "New Town," as Leavenworth was then often called, to buy outfits.

The first night was fast approaching; so some of the party went to scrubbing and cleaning up the barrack, while others with a team went to the forage yard to fill bed sacks, and a few of us, with the aid of the commissary clerk, managed to draw our first rations, but too late to cook supper, and especially as the cook to be furnished us had not reported. My first meal was a big loaf of fresh bread and a big slice of bacon cooked on a stick over a fire, to the great disgust of some onlookers who had never seen a piece of smoked side meat. Some followed my example while others rustled something among the laundresses about the garrison or went to town. We managed by dint of hard work to make ourselves fairly comfortable for the night, and were given all of the next day to improve our quarters and get settled ready for work.

The next morning we were up early and ready for our breakfast, which was prepared for us by a man and his wife who had been employed by the quartermaster to do our cooking and draw our rations. As it soon developed, the meals were to follow the regular soldier fashion of the time, much to the disgust of most of our eastern crowd. Having had a few months' experience in roughing it, I was somewhat prepared to encourage the others to "hang to it," with the assurance that they would soon become used to the conditions and be satisfied, which proved to be the case.

As soon as it could be done, we were assigned to the different branches of the work then in course of construction or in contemplation. This work consisted of ten cavalry stables, each for one hundred horses, with feed and other rooms; frame barracks for six companies, and three sets of double quarters for officers, besides some minor improvements. It having been reported to Major Sibley that I was something of an expert at framing, I was detailed to take charge of that part of the work on the stables. The party that I came with were to build the barracks and officers' quar-

ters. At that time there were about three hundred citizens employed on the different branches of the work. My party was made up of carpenters from St. Louis, Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, with a few from the country near the fort. I messed with the Syracuse party, as did those that came with us from St. Louis.

We had just about gotten settled to business, and each one was taking his soup, coffee, etc., with a relish, and generally asking for more—so often, in fact, that the quartermaster was allowing double rations of some things—when the cholera came upon us. It caused the sudden death of one of the party and attacked two others the same day. This brought about a stampede down the river of several of our men, but there being no more cases, quiet was soon restored—restored, however, only to be disturbed by quite another cause.

One day dinner had been announced and the usual rush made to see who should be served first. The serving in our case was done by a member of our own party, and was direct from the camp kettles, which were placed in the center of a sort of hollow square formed by the long tables with the benches so arranged that all faced inward. On this particular occasion I had been detained several minutes, so that I was late to dinner. Just as I entered the mess room the young German who was serving the soup found something in his ladle quite different from the ordinary, and exclaimed, "Mein Got in Himmel, vot ish dot?" A closer examination disclosed a full grown rodent, minus its hair. Most of the party had been served, and some were ready for more, but a glance at the ladle was sufficient, and for a time a furious uproar prevailed. With a single exception, those who were not busy in relieving their stomachs were frantically engaged in throwing camp kettles, cooks and all their belongings out into the back yard, and it required the quartermaster to quiet them. This he did by supplying other cooks. The one exception in this confusion was a man from St. Louis who just before dinner had been refused a discharge, and who then declared he would stay till the last man, let come what would—and he did. The improvement in the culinary department soon had its effect on the temper of the men; the rat soup was forgotten, except in story, and all ran along smoothly again. The men grew more interested in their work, and as they became better acquainted with their surroundings roughing it got to be more pleasant and satisfactory, especially when our condition was compared with those out in tents. Later a few of us hired a cook and started a mess of our own, but usually the men preferred the general mess rather than pay the extra money.

We had not been very long at the fort when there was an election to settle the question as to the location of the county seat of Leavenworth county. The candidates were Leavenworth, Delaware and Kickapoo. In the afternoon of the day of the election the quartermaster came out on the work and notified those living in the vicinity that any who desired to go to their homes to vote could do so without losing time, his remarks rather indicating a preference for Leavenworth. However, the master mechanic at the post, a man by the name of Braham, favored Kickapoo, and, anticipating the situation, had teams from that village to haul voters to the polls. As it was to be a free ride and "everybody invited," quite a number of our eastern men dropped their tools and got aboard, as they afterwards said, with no intention of voting. But when they got to Kickapoo they were urged to

vote, and accordingly did so. In telling of it they said that as soon as they had voted they were taken to a saloon and given a drink, and soon after were asked to take a ride. After a short ride they were rushed to the polls again with the cry, "More voters," and were told to vote. Thinking the whole affair was but a farce, they voted and drank till many of them could do no more. Each time they voted they used fictitious names—names of men prominent politically which happened first to come to mind. Thus transpired what has ever since been charged to the people of Missouri, and for which the real perpetrators, when they found the election was claimed to be legal, wanted to kick themselves for having done what they did.²

The election caused no interruption in our work except loss of time incurred by the enforced sobering up of some of the party the next day, but it was a topic of discussion for some time after, as were the other political conditions in Kansas at the time.

Late in the autumn preparations had to be made for the return of Colonel Sumner with his regiment of First cavalry, and as we occupied their regimental and band quarters, temporary quarters were fitted up for our party in what had been a tenpin alley, and there most of us passed the winter.

Outside work was kept up until December 24, when there was a partial suspension for the holidays. Our stable work depended largely upon the country sawmills for timber, and the cold weather compelled them to shut down; consequently our part of the work ceased until spring. Employees living near by went to their homes; others were furnished rations and laid off temporarily, and some others "quit the job." I was transferred to the shops and assigned to duty on the officers' quarters (since known as the Syracuse houses), preparing the material and getting everything ready for early spring work.

Referring to that winter (1855-'56), I believe I can safely say there has not been a winter as severe in Kansas since.³ Snow commenced to fall December 24 and continued little by little for days, until it was fifteen inches deep on the level, and no day warm enough to melt it until the 13th day of February.

The troops having returned in the fall, the garrison presented a more animated appearance, and the winter, while severe, passed away pleasantly, so far as our party was concerned. We had plenty of shop work for the days, and the long evenings were spent by the "stay-at-homes" in reading, writing to the folks back east, or in some simple pastime or amusement. Some of the other men preferred frequent trips to "New Town," or to the sutler's store when the triweekly mail came in. An occasional visit there,

NOTE 2.—This election to name the county seat of Leavenworth county was held October 8, 1855, and was a hot triangular fight. Kickapoo City was the pet of General Atchison and the proslavery crowd and was already a thriving village. Delaware City was likewise a flourishing little town. On election day it is said that two steam ferries crowded with voters from Weston and other Missouri towns plied between the Missouri shore and Kickapoo and Delaware. In the election Kickapoo triumphed, the vote standing 892 for that town, while Delaware received 860 votes and Leavenworth 753. A grand ball was given at Kickapoo that evening to celebrate; the brass band from Weston furnished the music, and cannons were fired and an uproarious time was had. However, Delaware City would not abide by the result, claiming that some of her citizens had not enjoyed the privilege of voting, so, not to deprive these citizens of their rights, the little town opened her polls again on Tuesday, October 9. This time with a very different result, the vote being, Delaware 928, Kickapoo 878, and Leavenworth 726, with a scattering vote for other towns. Much litigation followed, and other elections, until, in 1857, Leavenworth was named the county seat.

NOTE 3.—See this volume, p. 118.

however, was about the limit of my outdoor travels of an evening. It had been my good fortune to make the acquaintance of the sutler soon after my arrival at the post, and in a most unexpected manner. He had been sutler and postmaster there for a long time, and while he was held in high esteem by some, he was disliked by others. In manner he was dignified and of commanding appearance. The mails came triweekly, and he had full charge of them. Immediately after our arrival the men commenced to inquire for mail and to go for it in droves as soon as they had eaten supper. Because of his manner of saying "No" to those who asked for letters, I decided not to inquire for some time. Finally I felt I must do so, as I was expecting mail to be forwarded from St. Paul. I had heard the sutler spoken of as "Colonel," and thus I addressed him, giving him my name and asking, as politely as I knew how, for mail. To my surprise, instead of the usual "Yes" or "No," he said, "Why, yes, Mr. Carr, there are several letters here for you, and some have been here several days," in the meantime going to the case for them. Handing them to me he asked if I would step inside, at the same time opening the gate to his private office. I accepted the offer and spent a pleasant half hour with him then, and on many occasions thereafter, to the surprise of some of our party. It was through him also that I made the more familiar acquaintance of some of the officers stationed at that time at the post. From the time of first meeting him until his death, in 1862, I had no truer friend than "Colonel" Hiram Rich.

Spring weather brought renewed activity in our work, and it also brought renewed activity among the opposing elements in the affairs of Kansas. Much had been heard concerning the Kansas troubles during the fall and winter, but as a general thing it had excited very little comment among us beyond an expression of disgust that such a state of affairs could exist among civilized people.

During the winter we had had several Southern men who were in sympathy with the proslavery element assigned to our party. As they were very good fellows, excited discussion had been largely avoided on their account, but with the renewal of hostilities on the part of the proslavery people that sentiment of reserve disappeared. The violent acts of some of the raiders against the "Yanks" caused a "boomerang" among some of the proslavery men, and even among the raiders. Something of this feeling of reaction was noticeable in our party, several changing their sympathies to the free-state side, while some of the most radical quit the job.

About this time two deserters from the "Kickapoo Rangers" came to the fort and applied for work, saying that the acts of the outfit were too rough for them. One was Andrew J. Snider, late a "cattle king" of Kansas City. He worked under me at the fort during the summer of 1856 as a plasterer, and much of the time as a working mate with a free-state man whom the Rangers had ordered to leave the territory.

Until the early part of the spring of 1856 the head of the Syracuse party had been a man whose business card in Syracuse read "R. G. Otis, Arch. & Builder." During the winter several incidents had transpired to cause such dissatisfaction with his management that he was discharged and the work divided between his principal foreman and myself. This gave us an advance in wages, also a promotion from our quarters with the men to a room near the quartermaster's office.

During the early spring the ten stables were completed, and during the

spring and summer we constructed six company frame barracks on the west side of the parade. These stood where the brick barracks stand now. Also we built the three double quarters for officers, later known as "Syracuse houses" from the fact that we were from Syracuse, N. Y. Besides this we did a general overhauling of other barracks and quarters, gradually reducing our force until at the final completion, in December, 1856, we (the two foremen) each had but two men to be "paid off." So far as our work was concerned during the spring, summer and fall, very little transpired worthy of note. The men had become accustomed to the surrounding conditions and rather enjoyed their stay; and often expressed the regret that there was not more to be done.

Our work being finished my fellow foreman and I took the last boat down the river in December, 1856, on our way back East; he to remain there, and I to adjust some financial affairs at my old home and to return again in the spring. Having room to spare in my trunk, I took an assortment of Indian curios from Colonel Sumner to his two sons, "Win" and "Sammy," then living in Syracuse.

On my return to the fort in March, 1857, I was offered the position of master mechanic in the depot quartermaster department under Capt. J. L. Brent, but after duly considering the matter I followed the advice of Colonel Sumner and engaged in business in Leavenworth.

Political affairs in Kansas and in the country at large had been the principal topic of interest for many months of the year 1856, it being the year of a presidential election. Though without a vote in the territory, we were familiar with the cry "Fremont and Free Kansas," but on the way East old bill boards proclaimed "Buchanan and Free Kansas," much to our surprise.

During the spring and summer of 1856 many incidents of a political nature concerning Kansas transpired at Fort Leavenworth, quite interesting to an onlooker at the time, but of more serious import to others. Some of these happenings I will briefly refer to as I remember them after a lapse of more than fifty years, using as an aid a few notes taken at the time.

I do this in behalf of the memory of some who were much criticised for doing what they did, especially Colonel Sumner⁴ and the First cavalry. That regiment at the time was made up of officers and men from pro- and anti-slave states in equal numbers,⁵ but the predominant sentiment seemed to be with the free-state movement, although on the part of the officers there seemed to be a disposition to say very little and not to engage in heated discussion—especially in the back room at the sutler's store. However, as the season advanced in 1856, and troubles increased and the troops were more in demand, there was apparently less reserve and more open discussion. As a free-state man, Captain "Sam" Sturgis was the most outspoken, although he was by no means alone. There are others whom I could name, but I only refer to him as I later heard him criticised for his acts in Kansas and accused of not being true and loyal to the Union.

Regarding Colonel Sumner, I have heard him spoken of at his home in Syracuse as opposed to the institution of slavery and in favor of a free state for Kansas, but as an army officer he had little to say.

NOTE 4.—For biographical sketch of Edwin Vose Sumner, see volume 7, Kansas Historical Collections, p. 393.

NOTE 5.—See note 2 of "Indian Fight in Ford County in 1859," this volume. —

Once in the sutler's store I heard a couple of young officers in conversation upon Kansas affairs, when one said to the other, "I wonder how the old man (referring to Colonel Sumner) likes going after the Yanks, as he is one himself." The short conversation that followed seemed to indicate that both had enjoyed the thought that such acts must be very humiliating to the colonel. They might have said more, but the sutler, "Colonel" Rich, called their attention to the gravity of criticising a superior and objected to further conversation, whereupon they disclaimed any intention of wrongdoing and left.

The sutler told me that he himself was a proslavery Democrat and owned a couple of niggers, and would vote to make Kansas a slave state, but that he was opposed to violence by either party and in favor of a settlement by an honest ballot, and that he would be governed by the majority.

Concerning Colonel Sumner and myself, there was very little more than a sort of mutual recognition between us until just before my departure for the East, in December, 1856. He knew my position in the work and sometimes asked me about its progress. Only once did I do more than acknowledge his recognition. In passing him, as he was about leaving on one of the Kansas expeditions, I remarked, "I see you are off again." He replied, "Yes; while in the service we must obey orders." On my return from the East in the spring of 1857 I had several interviews with him, in which he gave me to understand how he felt concerning Kansas, and also gave me some fatherly advice relative to myself. A principal point was: "Strive for an independent life; be subject to no boss, and not like me be compelled many times to do things repugnant to your better nature"—rather indicating that such had been his position in regard to his acts in Kansas—and he further advised me not to accept a position with the quartermaster.

For years after the early troubles in Kansas had passed I heard many of the residents of Leavenworth during 1855 and 1856, both army people and civilians, myself included, spoken of as Southern sympathizers and as in favor of the Southern element and against the free-state settlers. Also, later we were referred to as secessionists. In 1861 affidavits were sent to Washington, so declaring several of us who were or had been citizen employees at the fort. Not one of the charges, however, was sustained. Concerning any acts of mine against free-state people I have to plead guilty to one little incident, and that at the time very unexpected. During one of the many excitements in Leavenworth several families had left the city and were camped around the garrison for protection. Some were in tents, some with families living at the post, while others had sought shelter among the workmen then in tents. The widow of Sergeant Fleming, who had come to the post years before, was caring for several. After they had been there some time and the excitement had somewhat abated, General Smith, then in command, learning that my fellow foreman and I had charge of some of the workmen living in tents, ordered us, instead of sending an orderly or some other army man, to notify all refugees to leave the garrison and return to their homes, and he would see that they were protected. I had but a small portion of the duty to perform, the greater share falling to my partner, Mr. Blye. However, I got a severe tongue-lashing for what I did do, and when I said by way of apology that it was by order of General Smith, and that he had promised them protection, they would say, "That old granny will do nothing." The order to me was verbal. General Smith

was in command by virtue of his rank, but he seemed to me to have very little force, and to have outlived his usefulness.

As showing the temper of our men, I will give one incident. During the summer it was not an uncommon sight to see parties from Missouri crossing the ferry above the fort in squads of from ten to twenty or even more. They would come past the garrison fully armed, and usually said they were going to clean out the Yanks and d—d abolitionists. Frequently they would stop at the sutler's store to "liquor up," where they were not always accommodated, however. These parties generally came in the evening, and much to the disquiet of some of our workmen. I was the owner at the time of a good rifle and a revolver, and one day two of my men came to me to borrow them, saying they were going to the dead-animal dump at night to watch for wolves. Later one of them told me confidentially that about twenty of our men had been lying in wait for the Missourians for two nights, but the "d—d cusses would n't come." The intention was to fire over the heads of the raiders with a view of stampeding them back to Missouri, but if they showed any fight to give them battle. As I believed such an affair would do more harm than good I advised our men to abandon such a plot, which they did. Some of the voters at the Kickapoo county-seat election were in the scheme.

Connected with the foregoing incidents, and among my associates in 1855 and 1856 at Fort Leavenworth, I can call to mind but one person who is now alive, and that one is Dr. Samuel Phillips, of Leavenworth.

THE CONCEPTION AND GROWTH OF A KANSAS RAILROAD.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by OTTO PHILIP BYERS,¹ of Hutchinson.

IN THE EARLY DAYS of railroading, to buy a railroad without paying money for it was almost an every-day affair, but for a few men, untrained in the science of railroad organization, financing or construction, and without even a local reputation for extraordinary business sagacity, actually to build a railroad without a dollar of money, as was accomplished in southern Kansas in 1889, is probably unparalleled in railroad history. These men, with nothing but prospective subsidies and a franchise which was given them, did build eighty-two miles of standard construction, and when it was completed they owned their own bonds.

Hon. J. P. Usher,² of Lawrence, Kan., the last surviving member of President Lincoln's cabinet, and for several years prior to the time of this inci-

NOTE 1.—See p. 99, note 2, this volume.

NOTE 2.—JOHN PALMER USHER was born in the town of Brookfield, Madison county, New York, January 19, 1816, and died in a hospital in Philadelphia April 13, 1889. He was admitted to the bar of New York in 1839, and soon after removed to Terre Haute, Ind., where he at once began to be known both as an able lawyer and as a political speaker. He took a prominent part in the politics of the state, and in 1861 was appointed attorney-general of Indiana, which office he held until he was made Assistant Secretary of the Interior, in 1862. The next year President Lincoln appointed him Secretary of the Interior. He had met Mr. Lincoln in courts of law in his own state and in Illinois, and it is said that in his own country he was reputed as great a lawyer as Lincoln himself. Lincoln trusted him and honored him with a closer intimacy than he showed toward any other member of his cabinet. After the assassination of the President Judge Usher became general solicitor for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, removing to Kansas some time in 1866 and settling in Lawrence, where he resided until his death. At the time of his death he was general attorney and general counsel for the Union Pacific Railroad.

dent general attorney for the Union Pacific in Kansas, was the father of the movement. He conceived the idea of extending a branch of that road, then in operation from Salina to McPherson, Kan., southward across Indian territory and ultimately to the Gulf of Mexico.

It was clear to his far-sighted vision, even in that early day, that western products would eventually have to seek the Gulf ports for export; also that Indian Territory would some day be opened to settlement and become a state. It was well known that in richness of resources the vast undeveloped country to be crossed by this new road was unsurpassed by any other section of our country. Furthermore, the Santa Fe and the Rock Island were building toward the Gulf, and self-protection made it appear necessary for the Union Pacific to do the same.

Congress was at that time giving away franchises and rights of way across the Indian country, to be had for the asking, whereas later on any land acquired for railroad building would be costly. This vast item of expense removed, together with the possibility of securing large tracts of land for town-site and speculative purposes, in addition to leases of valuable mineral lands owned by the Indians, made Indian Territory the mecca of all railroad-building schemes.

Before Mr. Usher could put his project into execution death removed him, but not until it had been determined to build the road. Agitation of the subject along the proposed line in Kansas began in 1885. A survey was made the following year and a charter obtained.

The original incorporators, organized under the name of the McPherson, Texas & Gulf Railroad Company, were as follows: A. L. Williams, H. P. Dillon, Charles Monroe and N. H. Loomis, of Topeka, Kan.; G. A. A. Deane, Lincoln, Kan.; W. H. Clark and George D. Thompson, Harper, Kan.; W. P. Olmstead and I. B. Forbes, Anthony, Kan. The first board of directors consisted of A. L. Williams, H. P. Dillon, Charles Monroe, N. H. Loomis and G. A. A. Deane. A. L. Williams was elected the first president, and the organization was conducted entirely in the interests of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Col. A. W. Jenkins, right-of-way and tax agent for the Union Pacific, did the active work, and succeeded in carrying the elections from McPherson to the city of Kingman. Under the terms of these elections the road had to be completed within twenty months from the date of the elections, which occurred in August and September, 1887.

About this time the Rock Island was building its El Paso line southwest across Kansas and over a portion of the very route selected for the McPherson, Texas & Gulf. Bonds were voted by McPherson and Reno counties for the Rock Island also. The wild scramble for railroads all over the Central West made the voting of subsidies at that time a mere matter of form.

A few months later the famous Omaha bridge contract, afterward litigated through all the courts, was executed, whereby the Union Pacific and the Rock Island each granted the other trackage rights, including the right of the Union Pacific to use the Rock Island tracks, which had been constructed between McPherson and Hutchinson, making it unnecessary for the Union Pacific to construct its proposed McPherson, Texas & Gulf road between these points. Train service was inaugurated by the Union Pacific

between McPherson and Hutchinson in May, 1890, and continued several months.

A complete change of management in the Union Pacific resulted in a denial by that road of the validity of the joint-track agreement, all train service was withdrawn and the contract attacked in the courts. Pending the decision of the supreme court, the Reno and Kingman county subsidies from Hutchinson to the city of Kingman were expiring by limitation. The new Union Pacific régime knew nothing of the project and took no interest in it.

A local real-estate man of Hutchinson seized upon the idea of building this portion of the road by individuals, and induced three Chicago men, one a high officer of a western railroad and another a near relative of a famous Union army general,³ to join him. The new management of the Union Pacific, glad to rid itself of this franchise, gave it to these men outright, with the stipulation that any construction should be under another corporate name. Accordingly, the Hutchinson, Oklahoma & Gulf railroad was incorporated on March 7, 1889. The following men composed the new board of directors: H. A. Christy, E. E. Wise and E. St. John, Chicago; Charles Collins and G. A. Walkup, Hutchinson, Kan. Officers were elected as follows: H. A. Christy, president; E. E. Wise, general manager, and O. P. Byers, superintendent. The McPherson, Texas & Gulf and the Hutchinson, Oklahoma & Gulf then were consolidated under the name of the Hutchinson & Southern, and the articles of incorporation were filed with the secretary of state on October 7, 1889.

Because of their location being remote from railroads, farmers were induced to donate right of way across their farms for the convenience they would enjoy in having transportation facilities close at hand and the increased value it would give their land. If necessary, lifetime passes were offered. Wherever a farmer refused the road was built around his farm. Since it was being built for sale and for the subsidies voted upon constructive mileage, the curvature of the track and the extra distance around the domain of the obdurate farmer were unimportant items. At any rate, nothing was to be paid beyond promises, for the very good reason that the promoters had nothing to pay with.

Grading and tracklaying contracts were all to be paid in subsidy bonds. No trouble was experienced in purchasing material on credit upon this showing of right-of-way deeds, grading and tracklaying contracts, together with subsidies of \$4000 a mile voted by the county and \$20,000 terminal bonds voted by the city of South Hutchinson. All railroad-supply concerns approached accepted with alacrity the orders for material. Engines and cars were leased for construction purposes. The payment of freight charges on material was the one item which appeared to cloud the horizon. Competition for the traffic, however, settled that, and the material was delivered to the new road, to be paid when the proceeds of the bonds were received. Thus equipped, construction proceeded.

Less than sixty days, however, remained to build the twenty-three miles of road to the south line of Reno county before the expiration of the bonds. All the material had to be transported several hundred miles. Weather

NOTE 3.—These two men were Everitte St. John, general manager of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, and E. E. Wise, a brother-in-law of Major General Schofield.

conditions became very bad. Everyone realized that if the bonds were not earned all was lost. Heavy rains fell every night for more than a week, but the sun shone bright and clear each morning. Tracklaying in the mud proceeded at the rate of almost a mile a day. Finally the end of the track reached a point within a mile of the county line the day before the bonds expired. It was then discovered that all the material possessed or on hand had been used. Nothing was left but to take up sidings and complete the mile of main line, which was done. The road was accepted by the county commissioners and the bonds were issued.

The time limit of the bonds in Kingman county as far as the town of Kingman was much greater, allowing ample time for building that portion, which was accomplished without incident, and the bonds were duly issued. The title thereupon became the Hutchinson & Southern Railway.

But their troubles were not yet over. A purchaser for the bonds was the next thing. Several years of crop failures had impoverished the state, and the enormous corn crop of that year was selling at eight cents a bushel on the farms. Repudiation of boom-day mortgages was in full progress. Worst of all, Populism, which had been budding for several years, bloomed into a flower, scented with radicalism and almost revolution. Investors everywhere looked askance upon any security tainted with the name "Kansas," and refused to bid even for municipal or county bonds. Finally the railroad bonds were sold to the State School-fund Commission at a discount, which was the only possible means of disposing of them.

The local real-estate man and the high railroad official having been eliminated early in the proceedings, the two remaining Chicago men then found themselves the possessors of thirty-two miles of railroad unbonded and otherwise unencumbered, the subsidies having built it, owing to the cheapness of material and of labor, together with the fact that it was built over a level prairie, averaging less than fifty feet of openings to the mile.

During this period of construction a second change of management had occurred on the Union Pacific. The desire to push on south with the road, stimulated by the success of the first venture, which had attracted attention, caused the Omaha, Hutchinson & Gulf to be organized by the admission of a sufficient number of local men for charter purposes.

A survey was made from the city of Kingman to the north line of Indian Territory, through Harper county. Elections were held and bonds were voted in every township but one in both counties. A survey promptly was made around this township and through another that did vote the bonds.

The maximum subsidy allowed by law having been reduced to \$2,000 a mile, terminal bonds to the amount of \$20,000 each were voted by the cities of Kingman, Harper and Anthony. Thus fortified, the proposition was presented to the new management of the Union Pacific, with the proviso that the fifty miles be built, all subsidies to be the property of the promoters and the entire eighty-two miles to be bonded at the rate of \$12,500 per mile, the Union Pacific to advance 75 per cent of the par value of the bonds when the road was built and in operation from Hutchinson to the Indian Territory line, the Union Pacific having the privilege of taking over the road at any time thereafter upon payment of the remaining 25 per cent of the face value of the bonds. The proposition was accepted and a contract entered into, and on June 2, 1890, the road was completed, and the entire line became the Hutchinson & Southern.

New equipment of the very best was purchased, the road was placed in operation and excellent service was provided, which continued for several years. Not a complaint ever was filed with the State Railroad Commission against the road, nor had it ever had a wreck.

The Union Pacific promptly paid over the amount, which was \$768,500. The bonds thus hypothecated were not sold, and were the property of the builders. The stock, however, was in escrow, which, nominally at least, meant passing from the owners, of course carrying with it control of the property.

The net profits of almost a quarter of a million dollars in building the line already constructed, together with every prospect of the Union Pacific fulfilling its contract to continue advancing money to build across Indian Territory to Denison, Tex., made this one of the most desirable railroad projects of the time.

Oklahoma Territory had been created and opened to settlement. Town sites were available wherever desired upon the proposed route of this new railroad, and promised vast returns to the builders, who, of course, absolutely controlled all such situations. Contracts with the Indians for very valuable lands were in prospect.

Preliminary lines had been run, a prospectus issued, and application made to Congress for a charter and a right of way across the Indian Territory portion of the route, when a third change of management in the Union Pacific unexpectedly occurred. The latest management was antagonistic to the proposition and promptly repudiated the contract, refusing at the same time to take possession of the road, and leaving it in the hands of its builders.

When it became apparent no further aid from the foster parent could be hoped for, every effort was made to obtain the necessary money elsewhere, even to the extent of sending an emissary to England.

With one exception, every western trunk line was in the hands of receivers or had recently passed through a receivership. The free-silver craze was at its height, crop failures continued, business was stagnated and railroad earnings at low ebb.

The little road battled bravely for existence, all the time affording its patrons better service than the larger lines in the same territory, hoping for a turn in the tide. After struggling several years it met the receivership fate and passed to the Santa Fe on December 20, 1899. It is now a part of that magnificent system, serving a populous and wealthy district and forming one of its best feeders.

A strange fatality overtook the little band of energetic builders mentioned in the preceding story. They all long since have passed to the great beyond, with the exception of the writer. It is rather remarkable, too, that, though each of them had made a fortune in the building and bonding of the road, this profit soon disappeared and each of them died a poor man.

THE EXODUS TO KANSAS IN 1855.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by CAPT. DEWITT C. GOODRICH,¹ commissary of subsistence, National Military Home, Leavenworth.

I THINK it might be said that the movement from the Eastern and Middle Western states to the territory of Kansas fairly set in in the year 1855. At that time my home was in Miami county, Indiana, on the banks of the widely known Wabash river, where nearly everybody was initiated into the disagreeable and discouraging intricacies of fever and ague, commonly known the country over as "Wabash shakes." Few escaped this miasmatic scourge. My father concluded to get away from it before his estate became an utterly insolvent one in favor of the doctor and the druggist. No doubt, the stories of fair and sunny Kansas put the bee of emigration in his bonnet; at any rate he acted. With him came a number of other families from the same county. All but two, however, after reaching Missouri, switched off into Iowa, leaving my father and a Mr. Appleton to continue into Kansas. The start was made, I think, early in April. We came all the way by wagon, camping out at night, as most emigrants of the early day did. Our wagon was arranged so we could sleep across the bed and over our effects below, and, as the weather was mild, we enjoyed the trip very much. Everything, with the exception of what was actually necessary for use on the trip, was shipped by rail and water to Westport Landing, Mo. I was quite young, not yet eleven years of age, but many incidents at that time and after are very vivid in my memory.

Of the trip itself, there were no events of particular moment or worthy of narrating here. Passing through Missouri, I had my first insight into the then existing system of human slavery. I remember one evening when we were in camp, a young girl, perhaps fifteen years of age, passed us on a horse at a rapid gait, followed by a colored boy about ten years old carrying the young lady's bonnet. He was making desperate efforts to keep up, but was gradually falling behind. I wondered why the girl did not stop and take the bonnet, and so expressed myself, when I was informed that this was a common occurrence. One day we stopped at a wayside spring to water the horses. While doing this, a man rode up and dismounted from his horse. He said to father: "When you are through watering I'd like to borrow your bucket and get this boy to water my horse." When he got

NOTE 1.—DEWITT C. GOODRICH was born May 30, 1844, at Peru, Miami county, Indiana, the son of George Whitfield Goodrich, of Christiansburg, Va., and Jane E. McPherson Goodrich, of New Carlisle, Ohio. The first of the family came from England in 1635 and settled in Virginia. The father was born in 1815 and the mother in 1821. They came to Kansas in the spring of 1855, prior to this time having lived at Peru, Ind., and Chicago. Young Goodrich attended the common schools until ten years of age, and, after a period in Kansas when there were no schools, attended two terms at a private school in Granby, Mo., and one year, after the close of the war, at a Methodist college. He served in the War of the Rebellion, in the Fourteenth Indiana light battery, enlisting in the same battery three times—first in October, 1861, when he was taken out on account of age—re-enlisting in February, 1862; again re-enlisted as a veteran February 28, 1864, and received his final discharge September 2, 1865. He entered the service of the government at the National Military Home, Leavenworth, October 10, 1885, as chief clerk and cashier in the treasurer's office; from November, 1888, as quartermaster and commissary of subsistence, and from January 1, 1900, as commissary of subsistence. He was married December 11, 1867, at Lebanon, Ind., to Harriet E. Landon, who died at Paola, Kan., November 10, 1883. He married a second time. He has had three children by each marriage.

the bucket I was in the act of taking it from his hand to water his horse, when he said, "My son, I did not mean you; I meant this boy," pointing to an old darkey, perhaps seventy or eighty years old. I could not understand why an old man should be called a "boy." My father, who was born and reared in Virginia, told me that all slave men were called "boys," no matter how old they might be.

Arriving at Westport, we went into camp and remained some days, while my father purchased several head of cows, work oxen and an additional horse, which, with the saddle horse brought along, gave him two teams.

Mr. Appleton did not bring his family with him, wanting to see the country first, but brought along a man by the name of Jake Sherlock, and his wife. Jake was the most prodigious story-teller I ever knew personally. Like nearly all "tall-ynarners," he expected every one to accept *in toto* and without mental reservation everything he related, no matter how improbable or impossible it might appear. His stories of his personal encounters and prowess would have done credit to a knight errant.

His boasted valor was soon to be put to the test. Let me say here that Jake possessed the only available firearm in the party. This was an old-fashioned Allen "pepperbox" revolver. Not far into Kansas, in what is now Osage county I think, we came to a Sac and Fox Indian village. The chief demanded toll for passing through his territory. Father and Appleton disputed his right to exact this and refused to pay. The chief dispatched his young bucks to the village, which lay on a hill to the left, and they soon returned armed with bows and arrows. When father attempted to drive past the Indians he was driven back with sticks and clubs. Poor Jake's bravery deserted him in a jiffy and he crawled into the wagon, hiding himself completely. The Indians noticed this and called him a "squaw man." We paid the tribute and drove on, Jake refusing to show himself until we were well away from the village with not an Indian in sight.

Our destination proved to be a point on the Neosho river directly opposite the town of Neosho Falls, as now shown on the map of Kansas. Father purchased a claim of a man named DeFrees, who had erected the walls of a hewed log cabin in order to hold his claim. A clapboard roof soon covered the cabin, and a clapboard door was made and hung, closing the doorway. Mother earth was the floor until a puncheon floor was put in. This was pioneering, and presented a sharp contrast to the very comfortable house we left back in Indiana, but it was a novelty and we really enjoyed it.

I will here relate an incident in our frontier life, which, while it may not be particularly interesting in this narrative, was a very serious one to us. After we were settled in our new home father hitched up his team of two yoke of work oxen and started for Westport to get our household goods. He expected to return within two weeks. While at Westport he was taken sick and lay for over three weeks at Milt McGee's house. This house was still in existence a few years since. We heard nothing from him during this time, for he was unable to write or even dictate a letter to us. No one who has never undergone the same experience can imagine what our anxiety and suspense was during this interval. To attempt to picture our imaginings of what had become of him, or what we should do if we never saw him again, would be beyond the power of my pen. We children, five of us, would sit on the north side of the cabin by the hour, day in and day out, straining our eyes to the north, hoping against hope for his home-coming,

until we would all break down and cry as though we were sure father would never return. What a strain this must have been for our dear mother no one can tell. She was made of strong, enduring stuff. It required a mighty load to break her down. She bore this trial most nobly, as all pioneer women had to learn to bear their anxieties. Few, very few, we saw outside of our own family. We had but two neighbors within ten miles of us, as I remember. The period of waiting and wishing for father's return was finally ended by his coming, and our fears were turned into a very joyful welcome.

While at McGee's tavern, and during his convalescence, father witnessed a game of draw poker between McGee and a guest from somewhere south. McGee was losing heavily, and finally offered to put up his "nigger boy" Ephraim against \$1000. His luck stuck to him and he lost, and this ended the game. It was late at night and all retired, the guest saying before he went to his room: "McGee, have that boy of mine ready in the morning, for I must get an early start for home." "All right," said McGee; "I'll have him ready." Next morning when the man was ready to travel he called for his "nigger." When he was produced, lo and behold, he was a broken-down, crippled, eighty-year-old negro! The man declared and swore this was n't his "nigger." McGee said to the old negro, "What's your name?" "Ephraim, sah," was the reply. "Now this is the nigger I put up last night. You own him; he is your property, and I want you to take him off my place. I am tired of feeding a worthless nigger; take him away," said McGee. The guest stormed and swore that he did not want him, but take him away he did. Evidently the cards were shuffled to lose the wornout, unserviceable property.

The Indians, Sacs and Foxes, Osages and Kaws, were about us during a larger part of our residence in Kansas. The Sacs and Foxes were the better behaved of these tribes, and were the finer appearing also, some of the men being very fine specimens. The other tribes were much given to picking up anything within reach, including horse stealing.

The "irrepressible conflict" was on in Kansas. The border ruffians had begun their forays into the free-soil settlements in the territory. Cold-blooded murders and assassinations were becoming frequent. In the fall of 1855 two men from Le Roy, or near there, and my father went into Missouri, bought grain and took it to a mill about ten miles southeast of Fort Scott, to be ground into flour and corn meal. It so happened that the Le Roy men got their grist through the mill first and started at once for home. When they reached Fort Scott their teams, wagons, provisions and all were confiscated, and they were compelled to foot it home, a distance of about seventy miles, with scarcely a house on the whole route. Fortunately, father got word of this while his grain was being ground; so when he started for home he gave Fort Scott a wide berth, striking the westward trail about ten miles west of there. He had been on this trail but a short time when he met two men horseback, both heavily armed. One asked father where he was from. He told him. "Come through Scott?" "No," was father's reply. "It looks d—d suspicious, coming from where you did and not coming through Scott," said the man. Father replied, "And it looks mighty suspicious, too, to see two men drive into Scott with their loads of provisions and have to walk out without them." The men then ordered father to turn and drive back to Fort Scott. Father was not armed; the ruffians

were. For a moment he thought he would have to obey the order. To lose his team and provisions looked pretty hard. The situation was desperate, and to ward it off required quick action. Jumping on the tongue of the wagon, thrusting his hand down into the bed and holding it there, he looked the man steadily in the eye and said: "The two men are not born who can take me back to Fort Scott." The ruffians scowled, and one said: "Well, you just as well go back with us, for you will soon meet Captain Barnes and forty men, and he will take you back." "Very well," replied father; "Captain Barnes and forty men can take me back, but two men, never." The bluff worked. There was no gun in the wagon. The two men pursued their way east. When they were out of sight father left the trail to the north and did not meet Captain Barnes and his gang of looters.

As the affairs in the territory became more and more unsettled, father sold his claim to a Missourian, I think, and trekked to southwest Missouri, settling at the mining town of Granby, Newton county.

In due time the Civil War broke out in earnest. As my father was a very outspoken Union man, he was marked as an "undesirable" citizen. It soon became apparent that every man known as Union and opposed to secession must get out or suffer the consequences. Those—and they were few—who voted for Lincoln did not tarry long after the firing on Sumter. Those who voted the Union ticket, Bell and Everett, tried to stand their ground, but their efforts were vain. Many enlisted in the Missouri Home Guards, and had to stay there, as a return to their homes singly meant death.

Father was driven from home several times and sought shelter with a friend, a farmer living in Barry county. On one of his trips home to see us, which were always made at night and secretly, he was captured by some Confederate soldiers, then on their way toward Springfield. He, together with other Union men, was held prisoner in Price's army, and at the battle of Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1861, fell into the hands of Colonel Sigel's men, and with them went to Springfield. He had no difficulty in identifying himself and his politics, through acquaintances he had there, and was released.

Going back by night to Barry county, he came to see us, telling us to prepare as best we could to get away from Granby. Very secretly we made our preparations. Living just outside of the town and over a ridge out of sight, we were enabled to do this without exciting suspicion. We engaged a near-by farmer named Rutherford to take us to Rolla, the nearest railroad point. Leaving the house fully furnished, we pulled out just after dark one Saturday night, and, traveling all night, we reached father in the morning. Resting over Sunday, we started for Rolla, traveling over the unfrequented roads, as we feared we might be picked up by the "Johnnies." Arriving at Rolla, we had our first sight, for months, of "Old Glory." It is needless to say it gladdened our hearts and looked mighty good to us. The town was then occupied by Union troops under the command of General Hunter. From Rolla we went by rail to St. Louis, and thence to our former home, Peru, Ind. Soon after our arrival, in October, 1861, I enlisted for the war and was soon at the front. My service was in the Fourteenth Indiana light battery, and I was honorably discharged therefrom, with what was left of the organization, at Indianapolis, September 1, 1865, having served nearly two years as a veteran.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS ON DEEP CREEK, RILEY COUNTY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by FRANCIS A. ABBOTT.

EARLY in the year 1855, after nearly seven years of continuous work in the cotton mills of Lowell, Mass., I found I must make a change to work in the open air and sunshine or go under the sod. Thus the movement to help make Kansas a free state came with peculiar force to me. I confess I thought first of "number one." Only plain necessity made me willing to give up the good position to which I had worked up from that of bobbin boy, which I had filled at sixteen. I was now next in order of promotion to the overseer, and I liked the work.

Just at this time I fell in with Charles W. Smith,¹ who but recently died in Lawrence, Kan., one of her oldest citizens and business men. He had spent the previous winter in Kansas and become an enthusiastic lover of the new territory. His life and experience in the cotton mills had been almost identical with my own, but since spending a few months in Kansas his contentment with factory life was a thing of the past. He told of the balmy winter just past, and assured me that all I needed was to give the Kansas winds a chance to blow the cotton lining out of me. He had returned for the "girl he left behind him," who was an old friend and roommate of the good, brave girl I had chosen as my life companion. These girls were typical of the factory girls of that day in New England. They came from comfortable American homes, and lived, while working, in a small boarding house, carefully overlooked by a motherly American widow with daughters of her own.

We were married on the day we started to Kansas, leaving Boston March 13, 1855. Seeing the probable advantage to my health, my wife accepted the plan to try the West with the same cheerfulness and courage with which she helped me meet the usual ups and downs of pioneer life—and I must say there were some unusual ones, or they seemed so to us at the time. I am sorry to record that her friend, Lucretia Cook Smith, died in Lawrence in 1859.

I knew nothing of farming, but, as Charlie Smith said, I'd have had it all to learn over again if I had. Still I could see, as I was well aware my neighbors did, that some practice with farm work and stock would have been an immense advantage to me. Largely through a friendship that had sprung up during the two week's trip westward between the women, I was asked to join a party from New Hampshire who had their location picked out. Leaving the women folks in Kansas City and Lawrence till we should have shelters built, we started in early April, with several teams of oxen and a new wagon, for the claim of Josiah Pillsbury.² We all helped build

NOTE 1.—For biographical sketch of Charles W. Smith, see vol. 7, *Kansas Historical Collections*, p. 534.

NOTE 2.—JOSIAH HOBART PILLSBURY was born August 15, 1821, at Hebron, N. H. He came to Kansas in 1854 with the third party of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, remaining at Lawrence during the winter. The next spring he went up into what is now Riley county, preëmpted land and located the Zeandale colony in what later became Zeandale township. He was a member of the Topeka constitutional convention and of

his cabin, which was placed so that it overlooked the small natural fall at what has been known ever since as Pillsbury's Crossing. There were in the party William and Andrew Marshall, Josiah and L. H. Pillsbury, Abram Stone, H. A. W. Tabor and J. C. Mossman. From this point we cast about and picked out our claims.

The mild winter of 1854 had misled the newcomers, who supposed that a tent or rude cabin would be sufficient shelter for comfort in Kansas. The following winter was terribly severe, and brought much suffering that could have been avoided with a better knowledge of the climate.

There were several single men living in the settlement, of whom it is a pleasure to speak. Daniel Bates, a young man from Wisconsin, was a kind and thoughtful neighbor and a thoroughly upright and public-spirited man. His housekeeping was carefully done and neighbors were always welcome. When I was unusually discouraged it was cheering to talk with him. He was as proud of his quarter section (now known as the Daniels farm) as if he could see into the future and read present valuations in plain figures. He enlisted when the war broke out, and died in a hospital before the close. Another bachelor by the name of Morse, whose home had been in Hudson, N. H., came to Kansas to teach school. In that day, with very few children, and those mostly infants in arms, the problem of finding pupils was a difficult one. He finally accepted for a few weeks the position of tutor to Jude Bursaw's children, but soon became so homesick that he was really ill, and returned to his old home, first selling his cabin and his right to the claim on which he had declared his intention of homesteading, for the sum of \$15. This farm sold several years ago for \$7200.

John C. Mossman, late of Wichita, and Horace Tabor³ lived farther up

the famous Topeka legislature of 1856, and was also elected a delegate to the Leavenworth constitutional convention. In June, 1863, Mr. Pillsbury moved to Manhattan, where he established the *Manhattan Independent*, maintaining that paper until 1868. In 1869 he was appointed postmaster, and reappointed in 1875. He was also county surveyor from 1863 to 1872. He was twice married, first to Miss Nora L. Pevier, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Pevier, of Franklin, N. H., April 16, 1863. She died July 15, 1863. In November, 1870, he was married to Mrs. Emma Steele, of Terre Haute, Ind. Mr. Pillsbury died at Manhattan November 12, 1879.

NOTE 3.—HORACE A. W. TABOR was born at Holland, Vt., November 26, 1830, and died in Denver, Colo., April 10, 1899. He received a common-school education, and later had some instruction from private tutors. In his early life he learned the stonecutter's trade, and in 1855 joined the emigration to Kansas, where he located in what is now Riley county, as a member of the Zeandale colony. He was a member of the Topeka legislature in 1856, and in 1859 moved west into what is now Colorado, where he first engaged in mercantile pursuits. He moved from Oro City to the new town of Leadville in 1877, and it was there that he made his first lucky strike by staking two prospectors. Tabor's open-handed generosity was proverbial, even at a time when he had but little to share. He soon became one of the most noted figures of Colorado, one of his mines, The Matchless, of which he was sole owner and which he had bought for a relatively small sum, netted him enormous profits, which he sometimes alluded to as "pin money." Mr. Tabor served as mayor of Leadville, 1878-'79; as lieutenant governor, 1879-'83, and as United States senator, being elected on the ninety-second ballot to fill the unexpired term of H. M. Teller, serving from February 1 to March 3, 1883. Many amusing stories are told of Tabor. At one time he was on a campaign tour with James Belford, the brilliant Colorado congressman. Belford was making an impassioned speech and closed it with the classical allusion "To-morrow night we meet the enemy at Philippi!" Tabor rose in his seat and called out: "Judge, you are mistaken; it's at Montrose Junction!"

Tabor was a good spender and dazzled the country with his lavishness—anything from \$600 night shirts to opera houses, if it cost enough, was all right. The Tabor Opera House, which he built in Denver, was the finest of its kind in the United States; it was opened by Emma Abbott, a noted songstress of the time, and Eugene Field, then a reporter on the *Denver Tribune*, contributed a poem in honor of the occasion which ran something like this:

"The opera house—a union grand
Of capital and labor—
Long will the stately structure stand
A monument to Tabor."

In his last days Tabor, a poor and broken man, was postmaster of Denver.

the creek. Both were hardy pioneers. Later, while Tabor, then a Colorado millionaire, was in the midst of a spectacular career, we used to recall his hearty laugh one winter morning, in 1856, when he made an early morning call at our cabin. He was walking home from some neighbor's and had a coffee mill under his arm. One of us said we had been wondering if he had n't starved out during the hard, freezing weather just past. His laugh roared out as he answered: "You need n't worry about Horace Tabor ever starving while he has plenty of corn and a coffee mill to grind it in." Not many years ago I had a pleasant call with his son, who was born on the Kansas claim in 1858, Mrs. Tabor having come from her old home in Maine a year after her husband settled here. The son became the proprietor of the Brown Palace Hotel, in Denver, where I think they do not serve cracked corn prepared in a coffee mill.

Leonard Pillsbury, who came out with his sister, Mrs. Wm. Marshall, when only about seventeen years old, was a lively and original boy. His calls and conversations are a pleasure to remember, even after all these years. He worked with his brother Josiah on the *Independent*, an early publication in Manhattan. It was an ardent anti-slavery paper and reflected the high principles and cultivated tastes of these young enthusiasts.

Prairie fires were terrible in those very early days when the grass grew shoulder high on the fertile bottom lands. The first fall I was here I had, by hiring help, gotten up a fine lot of hay for my oxen and cows. In trying to burn around the stacks to protect against prairie fire, I lost control and burned them all. That was a sad blow to my pride as a promising young farmer. In 1861 I had two valuable colts burned to death in a prairie fire.

J. M. Bisbey, in a sketch he calls "Early-day Transportation," mentions my loss of three yoke of oxen while trying to cross Shunganunga when bank full.⁴ I was wholly unfamiliar with the region. It was raining hard and growing cold when I reached the creek, and being anxious to go on, I decided to see if the lead oxen were afraid. I spoke to them without using the whip, and they plunged right in. I saw at once that they were lost, but made an effort to cut them loose. It was a hard sight to me, and I tried to free them, but had to give it up to save my own life. A friendly Indian directed me from the opposite bank to a place farther upstream where I could best swim across. He took me to his near-by cabin, which he cleared of its inmates. I was thoroughly chilled and my teeth chattering, and the roaring open fire looked good to me. I gladly accepted his offer of blankets, in which I rolled myself while my clothes were drying. In my distressed condition I had no thought of the graybacks, which soon began to discover me. Looking back on the incident, I am disposed to regard them much as David Harum did the fleas on his dog—"a reasonable amount of which were good to keep him from brooding on other troubles." Such exposures as the foregoing were not calculated to keep off the chills and fever. For about three years I suffered so much from the ague that I sometimes wonder I lived through it.

I believe it was on September 12, 1859, that the final public sale of land was held at Ogden,⁵ the settlers having previously filed on their claims

NOTE 4.—See Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 11, p. 596.

NOTE 5.—The land office was moved from Ogden to Junction City October 6, 1859. A notice of the removal was issued by the acting commissioner of the General Land Office on August 8, 1859, the precise wording being: "Will be removed to Junction City . . .

with a declaratory statement. Any settler failing to appear at that sale might expect to lose his right. By this time good claims were in demand, with newcomers constantly arriving. A few days before the important date I had a sinking chill. My wife was badly frightened, and had by hard work the most of the night, with hot applications and by chafing my limbs, brought me through with no other aid than her resolute will and good common sense. We knew nothing of the use of quinine, and most eastern people were prejudiced against it by their old family doctors, who were ignorant of the Kansas brand of ague. A concoction called "collygog" was the only remedy we knew. At daylight my wife hung out the white cloth, the neighborhood signal of distress, which was seen by William Marshall, who responded promptly. She also got word to Mr. Blain, a man from the Ohio valley well versed in the treatment of ague. He said it would not do for me to risk having another sinking chill, and administered such a dose of quinine as was usual for extreme cases in his own family. I was wholly unused to the drug, and after taking it was as deaf as a post for two weeks, but I think the dose saved my life. Going to the land sale was out of the question for me, so Mr. Blain, as kind a neighbor as any one ever had, offered to take my money and represent me at the sale, which he did, saving our quarter section for us and relieving our minds of a heavy burden.

During the war we did not see much money, and what we had did not go far in providing for a growing family. I remember selling a horse to Mr. Campbell, of College Hill, who, not having the cash, gave me an order for \$75 at Higginbotham's store. I rode the horse over and delivered him, then went to the store and traded out the entire sum in sheeting, gingham, hickory shirting, etc., and walked home to Deep creek with the bill of goods tied up in a bandana handkerchief.

In those days coyotes, wolves and other wild animals were a great deal more plentiful than sheep. While sitting in my cabin door one Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1856 I shot the biggest wildcat I ever saw. He had come up to snatch a chicken from our small flock. I lost valuable young stock at different times.

The most tragic and touching event in the history of the Deep creek and Zeandale neighborhood was the loss of little Charlie Meachem, the bright three-year-old son of Oscar and Martha Meachem, who had come from Michigan a year or so before. The child had been playing in the sand near the cabin. The wind began to rise and his mother called him to come and have his coat on. It was in the fall of 1859. Not finding him, she searched the place, and then started to a neighbor's, thinking he might have tried to go by himself. Mr. Meachem had gone in another direction on an errand earlier in the day. The news soon spread, and a general search was organized. Every settler from upper Deep creek to St. George joined sympathetically in the sad work. The woods and hills and prairies were scoured, and never so much as a shoe or a scrap of his little dress was found. The days and nights grew into weeks, and when it was plain the child could not be alive if found, the prairies were burned over; and still no trace. It was feared the mother would lose her mind. The next spring

at as early a period as practicable after the 1st day of October next, being subsequent to the closing of the public sales at Ogden, under the President's proclamation dated the 22d March, 1859."

J. Bardwell, while hunting his cows on the north side of the bluffs, found in a cave-like den a little skull, which the doctors pronounced that of a child about the age of Charlie. Never can I forget the agonized face of that poor father when, worn out and heartsick, he finally abandoned the search. He said to me: "Oh, it is so hard to give up and never know what became of my child." But he too crossed the mystic river some years ago, and, I do not doubt, has found his little boy.

WOMEN IN OFFICE.

A list of women who have held county or municipal offices in Kansas.

THERE have been so many demands on this Society for material on women in office that it seemed a wise thing to compile a list of women officeholders and make it available to the public. The list has been made under difficulties, and does not pretend to absolute accuracy, but it is as nearly correct as imperfect records can make it. One perplexing feature has been the change of name on the part of some of the incumbents; another thing that should not have to be reckoned with, but which unfortunately must, is the irregularity in signature.

The office of county superintendent of schools has not been included, for lack of space. More women hold that office than any other county office. In 1911 there were fifty women in Kansas serving as county superintendents of schools. The work of the office is considered so specially adapted to women that in counties where there has been any recognition of them as officeholders women have at various times filled the position. Although many women have served as deputies in various county offices, no separate list was made of them, since so many were afterward elected and succeeded to the office.

On July 13, 1886, the attorney-general of Kansas rendered an opinion that women could hold office in the state, and the following year the legislature passed "An act conferring upon women the right to vote at city elections and to hold certain offices." This act was approved by Governor Martin February 13, 1887.

As early as April 29, 1871, Attorney-general A. L. Williams rendered an opinion that women were eligible to appointment as notaries public, and Miss Emma Clough, of Leavenworth, received the first notary's commission ever issued to a woman in Kansas, May 12, 1871.

In 1899 President McKinley in a public address said that Kansas had elected more women to public positions than any other state in the Union.

COUNTY OFFICERS.

Allen county.—Frances Wilson began her long term of public service as a clerk in the treasurer's office in 1886. She served as deputy county clerk and deputy treasurer, and was elected county treasurer in 1900, serving until 1907. This made a continuous service of twenty-one years.

Barton county.—Flora A. Smith, register of deeds, 1903-'04.

Bourbon county.—Stella M. Strait, register of deeds, 1896-1900. Mrs. Lydia Barton Ditch, county clerk, 1901-'04.

Brown county.—Mrs. D. P. Leslie began her service as deputy county clerk in 1889, serving in that capacity until 1896. She was elected county clerk in 1896, serving until 1900. In 1897 she was succeeded as deputy by

Miss Jessie Campbell, who in her turn was elected county clerk in 1904, 1906, 1908 and 1910. Miss Campbell is the present incumbent.

Chase county.—Nona Goodreau, register of deeds, 1907-'11, Mrs. Bertha Plummer succeeding her in 1911, with term of office until 1913. Gussie L. Houston, clerk of the district court, 1911-'13.

Cheyenne county.—Ida B. Howell, register of deeds, 1899-1903.

Clark county.—Effie P. Walden, register of deeds, 1907-'09.

Clay county.—Mary P. Coleman, register of deeds, 1888-'89.

Cloud county.—Minnie M. McCay served as deputy county clerk 1907-'09, and was elected county treasurer in 1911, with term of office to 1913.

Coffey county.—Minnie Gilman served as register of deeds 1898-1903, and was elected county treasurer in 1908 and 1910.

Dickinson county.—Anna M. Junken, register of deeds, 1884-'88; Mace King, register of deeds, 1896-'98; Mrs. Bertha C. Anderson, register of deeds, elected 1910.

Doniphan county.—Margaret Schletzbaum served as deputy county clerk 1897-1900 and 1905-'09. She was elected to the office, serving as clerk 1900-'05 and 1909-'13, a continuous service of sixteen years in the same office.

Douglas county.—Adaline Hamor served as clerk of the district court in 1903.

Edwards county.—Florence Erwin elected county clerk in 1908 and 1910; term of office to 1913.

Elk county.—Mollie Whaling, register of deeds, 1903-'05.

Finney county.—Flossie Brown is now deputy county treasurer, having begun her service in June, 1910.

Franklin county.—Mrs. Ada Burney Rodman, elected register of deeds in 1908, and reëlected in 1910.

Geary county.—Jessie Patterson, register of deeds, 1886-'90; Ida A. Hartman, deputy county treasurer in 1904; Mrs. Susan E. Mead, register of deeds, elected in 1906 and reëlected in 1908 and 1910; M. Louise Dixon, deputy county treasurer, 1909-'11, and elected county treasurer in 1910; term of office expires in 1913.

Gove county.—Jennie E. Benson, clerk of the district court, appointed to fill a vacancy; served 1906-'07.

Graham county.—Mrs. Ellen F. Keleher Howland has a service in county offices of twenty-four years. She served as deputy register of deeds 1887-'97, when she was elected to the office, serving 1897-1903. In 1903 she became deputy clerk of the district court, serving until 1905. She was again appointed deputy clerk of the district court, serving 1907-'09, and reëlected register of deeds in 1908, serving 1909-'11. Olive M. Kackley served as register of deeds 1903-'07. She was succeeded by Edna R. Sperry, who served until 1911, when Alice McGill took over the office, with term expiring in 1913.

Greeley county.—Mrs. Mary E. Wells was county treasurer from June, 1896, to the end of the term in 1897, when she became county superintendent, serving two years, until 1909. Hattie I. Brown held the office of register of deeds in 1900. The office was then taken over by Hattie I. Gorboe, who served 1901-'03, when Mary Adams was elected, serving 1903-'05.

Hamilton county.—Fannie R. Starkey served as register of deeds 1897-1901.

Harper county.—Emily S. Rice was county clerk 1884-'88. Winifred L. Mattimore was elected register of deeds in 1908 and reëlected in 1910.

Jackson county.—Mrs. Ruth McConnell, in 1905, filled the unexpired term of her husband, Thomas C. McConnell, 1903-'05, as deputy and county clerk.

Jewell county.—Phoebe Brennan was elected clerk of the district court in 1910, beginning her period of service in 1911.

Kearny county.—Mrs. A. J. Machesney served as register of deeds in 1897. Vardie V. Goeden was elected clerk of the district court in 1908; reëlected in 1910.

Kiowa county.—Mrs. Talitha A. Eaton served as register of deeds in 1895. Margaret Kane was elected to the office of county treasurer in 1896, serving one term. Jennie Parcel also served as county treasurer, being elected in 1906; reëlected in 1908 and 1910.

Lane county.—Mrs. Bertha Bicket was county treasurer 1899-1900.

Lyon county.—Sarah Edwards was elected register of deeds in 1910; term of office expires in 1913.

McPherson county.—Lyda L. Gateka was appointed county treasurer in February, 1912, to fill a vacancy.

Marshall county.—Adamantha Newton was elected register of deeds in 1910.

Meade county.—Belle M. Peed served as register of deeds 1894-'98, when Nettie Bonham took over the office, serving until 1900. She was succeeded by Winnie Bonham, who served 1900-'05, when Florence Smith was elected, serving 1905-'09. Effie Coon served as clerk of the district court 1897-1901.

Mitchell county.—Mrs. Mary H. Cooper was appointed probate judge in 1908 to fill the unexpired term of her husband, and was elected to the office in 1910.

Morris county.—Anna L. Alford was register of deeds in 1905.

Morton county.—Addie Collins served as register of deeds 1900-'01 and 1904-'05. Lucy Williams became register of deeds in 1905, serving until 1907, when Rose Hindman succeeded to the office, serving until 1911.

Nemaha county.—Blanche Magill served as clerk of the district court 1901-'05, when she was succeeded by Lulu Erwin, who is the present incumbent, she having been reëlected in 1906, 1908 and 1910.

Ness county.—Eva A. Ferrell served as county clerk 1909-'11. Bird Temple was elected register of deeds in 1910; term of office expires in 1913.

Norton county.—Kate E. Johnson began her term of public service as deputy treasurer in 1889, serving in that capacity until 1898, when, having been elected to the office, she served until 1905. She again became deputy treasurer in 1905, serving one term, and in 1906 was reëlected as treasurer, and again elected in 1908 and 1910, giving her the longest consecutive period of service in one county office of any woman in the state. Della L. Boddy served as register of deeds 1905-'07.

Osborne county.—Laura V. Ward, register of deeds, elected in 1908 and 1910.

Pawnee county.—May Tickell elected county treasurer in 1910.

Pratt county.—Maria Mawdsley served as county clerk 1905-'07, having first served as deputy in the office 1901-'05.

Reno county.—Amy J. Alexander was deputy clerk of the district court

1903-'09, when after her election she took over the office and is the present incumbent.

Rooks county.—Phemia Fesler was deputy county treasurer in 1895.

Shawnee county.—Kate Maxwell King is the only deputy sheriff in the state, having been appointed in 1910. She is likewise one of the game wardens, appointed April 29, 1912.

Stanton county.—Anna Williams was appointed county treasurer in May, 1900, and served as register of deeds from 1903-'05.

Stevens county.—Allie M. Fisher served as clerk of the district court in 1894. Elsie Hedrick was register of deeds 1896-'98.

Thomas county.—Laura E. Sigman, clerk of the district court, 1907-'11.

Trego county.—Ada E. Clift, register of deeds, 1886-1900. Margaret Swiggett was elected register of deeds in 1906; reëlected in 1908 and 1910.

Wabaunsee county.—Emma Little was register of deeds one term, 1896-'98.

Wichita county.—Alice Gorsuch was elected treasurer in 1908 and reëlected in 1910. Mrs. Helen McClung was appointed probate judge in 1909 to fill the unexpired term of her husband. She was elected in 1910.

Woodson county.—Lucy Jane Phillips served as deputy clerk of the district court 1903-'11. She was elected to the office in 1910 and is the present incumbent.

MUNICIPAL OFFICERS.

Argonia, Sumner county.—Had a woman mayor in 1887, Mrs. Susanah M. Salter.

Baldwin, Douglas county.—Had in 1889 Mrs. Lucy M. Sullivan for mayor; for council, Mrs. Maggie E. Hyde, Mrs. Marian J. Kidder, Miss Lillian M. Scott, Mrs. Helen S. Stewart, and Mrs. Cornelia J. Martin. The city clerk was Miss Alice M. Smith.

Beattie, Marshall county.—In 1899 was served by Mrs. Elizabeth Totten, mayor; Mrs. Lettie Kirlin, Mrs. Mary E. Schleigh, Mrs. Mary A. Sheldon, Mrs. Lulu B. Smith and Miss Elvira Watkins, council; and Miss Katie O'Neil, city clerk.

Canton, McPherson county.—Had a woman mayor in 1890, Mrs. Belle Gray. The council was likewise made up of women: Mrs. M. M. Clark, Mrs. Kate Drake, Mrs. P. W. Elwell, Mrs. S. C. Lyon and Mrs. Amos Oldfield. The city treasurer was Mrs. Allie Merrill.

Cottonwood Falls, Chase county.—Had Mrs. Wilhelmina D. Morgan for mayor in 1889, with the council as follows: Mrs. Barbara Gillett, Mrs. Sadie P. Grisham, Miss Alice Hunt, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Johnson and Mrs. Elizabeth Porter. The police judge was Mrs. Mary F. Groundwater.

Edgerton, Johnson county.—In 1890 the mayor was Mrs. W. H. Kelley; and the council was as follows: Mrs. H. G. Brown, Mrs. W. S. Ewart, Mrs. Nat Ross, Mrs. R. G. Shelden and Mrs. S. E. Stewart. The police judge was Mrs. Jessie D. Greer. These women all qualified and then resigned.

Elk Falls, Elk county.—Had a woman mayor in 1889, Mrs. A. L. King, while the council was made up as follows: Mrs. S. A. Beach, Mrs. Kate Fancher, Mrs. Maggie Hamilton, Mrs. Clara Henderson and Mrs. Anna Welty. The police judge was likewise a woman, Maggie Stout, but she did not qualify.

Ellis, Ellis county.—Had for mayor in 1896 Mrs. M. A. Wade, and for council Mrs. Viola Gaylord, Mrs. Lillian Hussey, Mrs. Elizabeth Murden,

Mrs. Ella Newcomer and Mrs. Emma G. Shields. The city clerk was Mrs. Clara Sheldon.

Gaylord, Smith county.—In 1895 Mrs. Antoinette L. Haskell was elected mayor, and the city clerk was Miss Florence Headley. In 1896 Mrs. Haskell was reëlected and Miss Headley again served as city clerk, while the council in that year, 1896, was made up of women: Mrs. Loella Abercrombie, Mrs. Esther Johnson, Mrs. Emma A. Mitchell, Mrs. Mary A. White and Mrs. Nancy Wright. The police judge was Mrs. Mary L. Foote.

Haddam, Washington county.—The mayor, in 1891, was Mrs. Elizabeth Vedder. Members of the council were as follows: Mrs. Sarah Foster, Mrs. Mary E. Hawk, Mrs. E. Ochiltree, Mrs. Mary McKee Taylor and Mrs. K. C. Teague. The city clerk was Mrs. Emma Kennedy and the police judge Mrs. F. M. Leibel.

Holton, Jackson county.—Had in 1893-'95 a woman city attorney, Mrs. Ella W. Brown.

Hunnewell, Sumner county.—Mayor in 1911, Mrs. Ella Wilson; city clerk, Mrs. Alice Hilton; police judge, Mrs. Rosa E. Osborne.

Jamestown, Cloud county.—Mayor in 1897, Mrs. Anna M. Strain; council, Mrs. Jennie Gould, Mrs. Jane E. Hartwell, Mrs. A. I. Isbell, Mrs. Mary E. McCall and Mrs. Lavinia Wilcox. The city clerk, Mrs. Mamie Barton, refused to qualify.

Kiowa, Barber county.—Had a woman mayor in 1891, Dr. Rachel S. Packson.

Lincoln, Lincoln county.—Had for city clerk, in 1897, Mrs. Amanda E. Moss; in 1899 Miss Cora Wales. Miss Jennie Austin served as clerk some time after 1903.

Oskaloosa, Jefferson county.—In 1888 and 1889 Mrs. Mary D. Lowman¹ served as mayor. The council, in 1888, was composed of Mrs. Sarah E. Balsley, Mrs. Mittie Josephine Golden, Mrs. Emma K. Hamilton, Mrs. Carrie L. Johnson and Mrs. Hanna P. Morse. In 1889 these members were reëlected, with the exception of Mrs. Hamilton, who was succeeded by Mrs. W. H. Huddleston; and Mrs. Johnson, who was succeeded by Mrs. D. H. Kline.

Pawnee Rock, Barton county.—In 1890 had the following women for members of the council: Mrs. Eli Bowman, Mrs. D. R. Logan, who was president of the council, Mrs. Mary Miller, Mrs. George Heynes and Mrs. C. W. Vosburg.

Pleasanton, Linn county.—Mrs. Annie Austin was elected mayor at a special election January 16, 1894, to fill the unexpired term of Z. Kincaid. Mrs. Austin served until April 2, 1894.

Rossville, Shawnee county.—In 1889 had a city government composed of Mrs. H. H. Miller, mayor; council, Mrs. Jos. Cannon, Mrs. Samuel Kerr,

NOTE 1.—The tragic death of Mrs. Mary D. Lowman, at Oskaloosa, on Sunday, June 2, 1912, recalls the prominence into which the little town was thrust by the election in 1888 of Mrs. Lowman as mayor and a full council of women. This election created a great interest all over the United States, and caused the women not a little embarrassment. Oskaloosa was the Mecca of newspaper reporters, and the requests for photographs became monotonous. Telegrams and letters poured in from all parts of the country, as well as from foreign countries. Something unprecedented had occurred in Oskaloosa—an entire city government had been turned over to women, and all in good faith and in the interest of good government. That the experiment was successful was proven by the reëlection of the mayor and council in 1889. Mrs. Lowman at the time of her death was seventy-two years of age. She had been in somewhat feeble health, and in some way set fire to her clothing in endeavoring to revive a fire in the cookstove. Her burns were so serious that she survived but a few hours.

who did not qualify, Mrs. C. C. McPherson, Mrs. W. M. Mitchner and Mrs. W. C. Sherman. The police judge was Mrs. R. Binns, who did not qualify, and the city treasurer was Mrs. Emma Ellis.

Syracuse, Hamilton county.—Council in 1887: Mrs. Caroline E. Barber, Mrs. Sarah M. Coe, Mrs. Mary E. Riggles, Mrs. Hannah D. Nott and Mrs. W. A. Swartwood.

Wetmore, Nemaha county.—Mrs. Marie Antoinette Shuemaker served as city clerk two terms, 1887-'88.

White Cloud, Doniphan county.—In 1889 two women served on the council, Mrs. Annie Kent and Mrs. Belle Ryan.

MY EXPERIENCE IN THE LAWRENCE RAID.

O. W. McALLASTER.¹

IN 1856 I was residing in Chicago, and in the fall of that year Gen. James H. Lane, of Kansas, came to the city and delivered a public address, urging those who desired that Kansas should become a free state to assist in accomplishing that object by contributing of their means, influence and votes, or by emigrating to the territory. At that meeting I resolved to make my home in Kansas, and to go there the following spring, as soon as the Missouri river was open to travel.

In the office where I was employed were two young Germans, who decided to join me in the adventure. They were brothers, and one had just married.

In the spring, 1857, agreeable to our plans, we set out for Kansas, traveling by railroad as far as Jefferson City, Mo., where we took a steamboat for Kansas City. In St. Louis we purchased supplies for several months' subsistence, and on our arrival in Kansas City we procured a wagon and a yoke of oxen. On this wagon we loaded our goods and started for Osawatomie, where we met O. C. Brown, who questioned us as to our politics and intention in coming to the territory. Finding we were all right politically, he advised us to take claims on Middle creek, in Linn county, southwest of Osawatomie, which we did, each of us taking 160 acres.

In the fall, having preempted my claim, and being sick with fever and ague, I removed to Lawrence, traveling in a stage coach, with Mr. Henry Tisdale as driver. Soon after I went to Lecompton, where the Lecompton constitutional convention² was in session, and worked in the office where

NOTE 1.—OCTAVIUS WARREN McALLASTER was born in Morristown, N. Y., January 11, 1834. He died at Lawrence on December 26, 1911. His grandfather, William McAllaster, came from Londonderry, Ireland, in 1739 and settled at Londonderry, N. H. Here he married Miss Jerusha Spofford, in 1765. He enlisted May 18, 1775, in the Revolutionary army, and participated in the battle of Bunker Hill. He was commissioned ensign January 1, 1777. After the war he settled at Bedford, N. H. Here his son Benjamin was born, April 12, 1782. Benjamin married Martha McKinney in 1822. They settled in Morristown, where they raised a family, O. W. McAllaster being their third son. When fifteen years old this young McAllaster went to Ogdensburg, N. Y., to learn the trade of printer. In the spring of 1855 he started west, reaching Lawrence in 1857. In September, 1855, he married Ella Parry Jones, the daughter of Rev. Evan Jones, a Baptist missionary to the Cherokee Indians. In 1871 he was elected a member of the board of education of the city of Lawrence and served twenty-one years. He was a Mason, an Odd Fellow and a member of the Unitarian Church. He had been a member of the State Historical Society for several years.

NOTE 2.—The Lecompton constitutional convention met September 7, 1857, continuing in session only long enough to organize. On September 11, on account of the approaching election of October 5, the convention adjourned to reassemble on October 19. From October 19 the convention continued until November 3, when it finally adjourned. The secretary of the Historical Society was an apprentice in the office in Lecompton, where the printing for the convention was done.

the printing for the convention was done. Later on I returned to Lawrence, and was employed in the *Herald of Freedom* office, where I remained until the office was suspended for want of support. I then rented the job office, running that until the *State Journal* was established by Trask & Lowman, when I accepted a situation with them.

When the war broke out I enlisted in one of the several militia companies in the city, and was orderly sergeant of company A, Third regiment, Kansas State Militia, with Holland Wheeler captain and Colonel Charles Williamson commander of the regiment.

About the 1st of August, 1863, the militia companies in the city and in portions of the county were called out, and with a small squad of United States infantry were stationed on Mount Oread. The mayor of the city had received information that Quantrill and his band could be expected at almost any time, and he therefore sought to give them a warm reception and welcome them to hospitable graves. But like many previous alarms, it proved false, Quantrill failing to appear. Mayor Colamore, who was a very reticent, peculiar and careful man, sent the companies home, and had most of the muskets of the city companies placed in a store room on Massachusetts street, with only one or two men in the building on guard duty. The United States troops, believing all immediate danger over, retired from Mount Oread to the north side of the river, where they had better camping grounds, with plenty of wood and water. At that time there was no bridge, the only means of crossing being by fording in low water and by ferry boat when the river was high.

The night before the raid all thought of an invasion had passed from the minds of the Lawrence people, and a public meeting to consider some railroad project was held in front of the Eldridge House. The *Journal* office was then where Mr. Selig's insurance office now stands, and it was nearly eleven o'clock at night when I went to my home on the east side of Rhode Island street, about the middle of what is now the 700 block. It being very warm, I was up about five o'clock on the morning of August 21, 1863. A noise attracted my attention, and I looked south and saw between 300 and 400 horsemen on Rhode Island street, just east of the park, near Hancock street, I at first supposed they were United States troops, as it was a very common thing for them to be passing through the city, but in an instant they spread out, taking possession of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont streets principally, shooting every person they saw. On New Hampshire street, near the south part of what is now block 900, they reached a camp of thirty-two unarmed recruits, waiting to be mustered into the United States service. I saw them shooting down these men, who ran in every direction, some crawling under sidewalks and into bushes, only about five escaping with their lives. Then I realized that Quantrill and his guerrillas were upon us.

William L. G. Soule was then city marshal, and lived with his mother and two sisters in my house, E. W. Wood and I boarding with them. These people I quickly awakened. By this time the invaders were separating. The larger number, with the commanding officer, rode rapidly down Massachusetts street to the Eldridge House, shooting all men and boys as fast as they appeared in sight, while others, equally, merciless, took Vermont and New Hampshire streets, and a smaller number went into each of the other streets, extending to the river and into West Lawrence. I was so com-

pletely taken by surprise that the bushwhackers had reached Winthrop street by the time I realized they were really upon us and on all sides of us. Houses were burning in all directions, and I so feared being burned in my house that I climbed down the well, a few feet east of the building. Mr. Wood came to the well and inquired, "What are you doing down there?" I replied by immediately coming up, and we all went into the basement kitchen of the house, locking the outside doors. It was fortunate for me that I left the well, for several large stones were afterward found to have been thrown down into it, which, had I been there, would have ended my life.

City Marshal Soule had only one revolver with him and in it were but two or three loaded chambers. My musket and ammunition were at the office. Soule's mother and one sister (the other sister was then teaching school in Kanwaka), Mr. Wood and I placed ourselves near the foot of the stairs, while Mr. Soule stood near the head of the stairs with his revolver in hand, ready to shoot the first ruffian who should enter the house.

We had not long to wait. They soon came to the doors, pounding and demanding admittance and threatening to set the house on fire. The greater portion of the ruffians by this time had collected on Massachusetts street, where the most favorable opportunity offered for plunder, and we thought we saw a way clear to escape by getting out of the house and running east to a cornfield down in the bottom. One man had his horse hitched on the street near our front door, and, after trying the door without success, had gone on to the next house south. So, seeing no man to the east, we decided to attempt an escape in that direction. Before starting out I went upstairs to my room and got my watch and what money I had on hand. By the time I came down Mr. Soule had started, with Mr. Wood next and Mrs. Soule and daughter following. As I hurried on to overtake them I saw that Mr. Soule and Mr. Wood had been intercepted by four or five horsemen who came riding up, demanding their watches and money, so I handed my money and watch to Miss Soule as I passed by her. The ladies were not disturbed. I had on that morning only a shirt and pants, having laid off my blue blouse, an article of wearing apparel which was very offensive to rebel bushwhackers, and I looked so much like a forlorn tramp as to be able to pass the ruffians apparently unnoticed. At any rate, Mrs. Soule, her daughter and I were allowed to go on to the cornfield.

The raiders who had robbed Mr. Soule directed him to enter David Evan's stable and bring the horses out to them. These men seemed to be the quiet farmers of the band, doing guard duty for that portion of town, and taking no part in the shooting of men and burning of houses. From the cornfield we could see the villains riding in every direction and firing buildings, my house among the number. From a neighbor, who was hidden in the bushes, we learned that the ruffian who had tried our doors and then gone on to the next house south came back, and, finding the back door of my house open, as we had left it in our flight, entered and went through the rooms, taking what he wanted and carrying it out to where his horse was hitched in front; he then started a fire on a lounge and left it to burn. When we returned the woodwork was all burned out, but the brick work was standing, and in such good shape that I soon had it enclosed again. The grand lodge of Masons of the state very kindly loaned me \$500 for the

purpose. The members of this order, through the grand lodge, assisted many widows, orphans and brethren in distress at this time.

As soon as we found the invaders were leaving town we returned to behold a most sickening sight. The main street was almost entirely in ruins and dead bodies lay along the sidewalk in every direction. The work of burying the dead we commenced at once. Many were engaged in finding their own dear ones and preparing them for the last sad rites; others were collecting the dead bodies of those without known relatives and conveying them to the old Methodist church on Vermont street, where the seats were removed and the floor nearly covered with the dead. The wounded were carried to their homes or to the house of some friend or neighbor, wherever they could receive care and surgical attention. A party repaired to the cemetery, volunteering to dig graves for the burial of the dead, and the bodies of fifty-three unknown dead, without friends or relatives, were buried in one long trench in boxes hurriedly nailed together. This work was carried on for three days before it was fully accomplished. The cries of the bereaved were heard in all parts of town, and filled our hearts with greater sadness.

A partial list of the killed and wounded, published in a Leavenworth paper August 26, 1863, showed the number of killed and missing to be about one hundred and fifty, with twenty-two wounded. For many days and weeks the survivors were in a frightfully nervous state, consequent upon the shock received. Any unusual noise would startle us. The following Sunday evening a rumor was started that Quantrill was coming again, and men, women and children rushed pell-mell from the city, north and west, while the people in the country mounted their horses, shouldered their guns and rushed for the defense of the town. The story was very soon contradicted, but it was almost impossible to convince many that it was a false alarm.

Business of every kind was literally obliterated, but many people were determined to stay and rebuild the town, while others, having lost everything, became discouraged, and decided to seek their fortunes in some less dangerous quarter.

I, having come to Lawrence to stay, commenced to look around to recover some of my losses and do what I might toward making myself a home.

KANSAS CHRONOLOGY.

Day—Year.

JANUARY.

- 1—1872. *Kansas Magazine*, issued at Topeka, Capt. Henry King, editor.
- 1876. Franklin G. Adams elected secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society; Miss Zu Adams becomes assistant.
- 1908. Antipass law in operation.
- 1912. Santa Fe branch through southwestern corner of state begun.
- 2—1875. Mennonite party of 200 arrive at Great Bend direct from Russia.
- 1886. Blizzard in Kansas.
- 1894. Missouri river bridge at Leavenworth completed, the occasion of a grand jollification.
- 1908. Marshall M. Murdock, founder of *Wichita Eagle*, died at Wichita.
- 1911. Coldest January 2 on record at Topeka since establishment of weather bureau.

JANUARY.

- Day—Year.
- 3—1855. *Kansas Free State* issued at Lawrence by Miller & Elliott.
1911. Bank guaranty laws of Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma declared constitutional by United States supreme court.
- 4—1859. "John Brown's Parallels" published in the *Lawrence Republican*.
1876. Kansas State Historical Society Library has its beginning in a book case in the auditor's office, Topeka.
- 5—1858. Free state legislature, under Topeka constitution, meets at Topeka.
- 6—1876. "Washerwoman's Song," by Eugene F. Ware, published in *Fort Scott Monitor*.
1888. Atchison union depot destroyed by fire.
- 7—1906. Earthquake shocks felt over the entire state.
- 8—1877. George T. Anthony inaugurated governor.
1883. George W. Glick, first Democratic governor of Kansas, inaugurated.
- 9—1858. General Harney asked by Secretary Denver for troops to assist in quelling disturbances in Leavenworth.
1893. Lorenzo D. Lewelling inaugurated governor.
1899. William E. Stanley inaugurated governor.
1905. Edward W. Hoch inaugurated governor.
- 10—1865. Samuel J. Crawford inaugurated governor.
1893. Legislature convenes; two houses of representatives organized; the legislative war begins.
1910. Fred Wellhouse, apple king of Kansas, died at Leavenworth.
- 11—1865. Free Missouri sends greetings to the Kansas legislature.
1885. Mrs. Clarinda I. H. Nichols, suffragist of 1859, died in California.
- 12—1865. James H. Lane elected United States Senator for term beginning March 4.
1861. James McCahon, a prominent Kansan, died at Leavenworth.
1863. Thomas Carney inaugurated governor.
1869. James M. Harvey inaugurated governor.
1885. John A. Martin inaugurated governor.
1897. John W. Leedy inaugurated governor.
1903. Willis J. Bailey inaugurated governor.
1909. Walter R. Stubbs inaugurated governor.
1912. John Seaton, died at Atchison.
- 13—1875. Frank B. Sanborn begins in *Atlantic Monthly*, a series of articles entitled "Virginia Campaign of John Brown."
1880. District judges of Kansas hold meeting at Topeka.
1881. Farmer's convention at Topeka.
1911. Weir City takes initial steps to secure State School of Mines.
- 14—1846. Kansas Indians cede 2,000,000 acres of land to the United States.
1873. Thomas A. Osborn inaugurated governor.
1879. John P. St. John inaugurated governor.
1889. Lyman U. Humphrey inaugurated governor.
1895. Edmund N. Morrill inaugurated governor.
1909. "Copeland county" burned to the ground; this was the Copeland hotel at Topeka, a political gathering place for the whole state.
- 15—1846. New York Indians receive lands in Kansas.

JANUARY.

- Day—Year.
- 15—1856. Election held under Topeka constitution; Dr. Charles Robinson elected governor.
- 16—1855. First school in Lawrence opened by Edward P. Fitch.
1874. Peter T. Abell, one of the founders of city of Atchison, died.
- 17—1866. Burlington woolen mill in operation.
1882. Wool growers' convention at Topeka.
1882. Dickinson county courthouse destroyed by fire, loss \$60,000.
1856. Nebraskans south of Platte desire annexation to Kansas and to that end introduced in the Nebraska legislature a resolution to memorialize Congress.
- 18—1867. Osage Mission laid out by George A. Crawford, Charles F. Drake and others.
- 19—1859. James Montgomery made a speech in Lawrence defending his course in Linn and Bourbon counties.
- 20—1859. Wm. T. Sherman, residing at Leavenworth, applies for a commission as notary public.
- 21—1905. Statue of John J. Ingalls, in Statuary Hall, Washington, D. C., dedicated.
- 22—1855. Governor A. H. Reeder issued order for taking first census.
1871. Grand Duke Alexis of Russia visits the legislature.
- 23—1862. State capitol site, given by the Topeka Town Association, accepted by the legislature.
1867. Town of Ellsworth laid out.
1880. Alfred Gray, secretary State Board of Agriculture, died at Topeka.
- 24—1856. Topeka constitution denounced as revolutionary by President Pierce.
1867. Siamese twins exhibited at Junction City.
1880. Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific railroad companies consolidate.
- 25—1885. Coffeyville post office burned.
- 26—1865. Overland mail line from Atchison west reopened, after suspension on account of Indian troubles.
- 27—1866. Two hundred and twenty-eight post offices in Kansas.
1891. Wm. A. Pepper elected United States Senator by People's Party.
1893. Waverly bank looted; one man killed; robbers captured.
1908. Freedom Labor Exchange Colony, near Fort Scott, suffers loss of buildings by fire.
- 28—1856. Intense cold visits Topeka; mercury registers 23° below zero.
- 29—1861. Kansas statehood bill signed by President Buchanan, admitting Kansas to the Union.
1906. Santa Fe Trail markers were contributed to by the school children of Kansas; contributions amounted to \$600.
1911. Semicentennial celebration of the admission of Kansas to statehood held at Topeka.
- 30—1862. Governor Robinson, Secretary of State Robinson and Auditor Hillyer impeached.
- 31—1855. Wyandotte Indians cede lands bought of Delawares in Kansas to United States.
1868. Leavenworth Mercantile Library burned.

FEBRUARY.

Day—Year.

- 1—1871. Dr. Peter McVicar, elected president of Washburn College.
1875. Alma salt works begin yield of twenty bushels daily.
1908. Primary election law approved by the governor.
- 2—1853. Nebraska territory recommended to be organized in bill reported by Wm. A. Richardson, of Illinois.
- 3—1855. *Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison, proslavery newspaper, started by Robert S. Kelley and J. H. Stringfellow.
1858. Cherokee Mining Company, for coal, lead and zinc, incorporated by act of legislature.
- 4—1860. Smallpox rages among the Kansas Indians.
1901. Carrie Nation starts a temperance crusade in Wichita and other Kansas cities.
1910. Memorial and Historical Building at Topeka started by the first work of the excavators.
- 5—1877. Telephones first discussed in Kansas newspapers as a coming necessity.
- 6—1865. Lincoln College (Washburn), Topeka, incorporated.
1893. Col. Samuel Walker died.
- 7—1857. Claims for property destroyed at Lawrence May 21, 1856, reported in a bill in the United States house of representatives.
1860. Kansas Central Railroad begun in Kansas by breaking of ground at Wyandotte.
- 8—1832. Cantonment Leavenworth renamed Fort Leavenworth, for Col. Henry Leavenworth.
1873. Ex-Governor John W. Geary died at Harrisburg, Pa.
1888. Rock Island Railroad lays track in Meade county, sixty feet a minute.
1909. Antilobby law approved by the governor.
- 9—1858. Blue Mont Central College (which became the Kansas State Agricultural College in 1863), incorporated by legislative act.
1858. Highland University, Doniphan county, incorporated by legislative act.
1861. First governor of the state of Kansas, Charles Robinson, sworn in.
1888. Agricultural Experiment Station organized at Kansas State Agricultural College.
- 10—1858. Capital of the territory of Kansas designated as Minneola.
- 11—1859. Atchison & Topeka Railroad (later A. T. & S. F. R. R.) granted a charter; H. J. Strickler appointed auditor and Robert B. Mitchell treasurer.
- 12—1858. Baker University incorporated by legislative act.
- 13—1858. Territorial legislature entertained by Governor Robinson with supper at the Morrow House, Lawrence.
- 14—1875. Thomas Warren, born February 14, 1770, visits Kansas house of representatives.
1893. Governor Lewelling orders out militia to preserve order at Topeka; legislative war in progress.
1901. Pike's Pawnee Indian Village site accepted by state as a gift from Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson and Mr. George Johnson, and appropriation made for marking and care of same.
1905. State printing plant established by law.

FEBRUARY.

Day—Year.

- 15—1865. Military draft enforced for first time in Kansas.
1887. Boston Corbett, slayer of John Wilkes Booth, causes adjournment of house of representatives, of which he is assistant sergeant at arms.
1887. Municipal suffrage for women granted.
1893. Legislative war comes to a climax.
- 16—1877. Nebraska legislature visits Kansas.
1880. West wing of state house completed as far as basement story.
- 17—1893. Legislature signs peace agreement with Governor Lewelling.
1905. Oil refinery to be established at branch penitentiary, approved by the governor; law declared unconstitutional by supreme court at the July term, 1905.
- 18—1882. Robinson, Kan., suffers a \$50,000 fire.
- 19—1874. Temperance crusade reaches Kansas.
1881. Prohibitory amendment signed by Gov. John P. St. John.
1885. Emporia suffers a destructive fire.
- 20—1857. St. Joe & Topeka Railroad (afterwards A. T. & S. F.) chartered by legislative act.
1857. Emporia and Olathe town companies chartered.
1862. Kansas has 9000 soldiers in the field.
- 21—1865. Eleventh Kansas, Col. P. B. Plumb, leaves Fort Riley for Fort Kearny.
- 22—1853. Annie L. Diggs born in London, Ontario.
1882. Englishmen in Clay county hold annual reunion.
1894. *Aurora Borealis* clearly seen.
- 23—1880. Santa Fe trains in operation to Santa Fe, N. M.
- 24—1835. Jotham Meeker prints the first issue of the *Shawanoë Sun*.
1881. New Santa Fe depot at Topeka opened.
- 25—1873. Senator S. C. Pomeroy testifies relative to bribery charges before United States senate committee.
1874. Osage ceded land suits begun.
- 26—1855. Judicial districts defined and judges assigned in proclamation of Governor Reeder.
1903. Pittsburg Manual Training School established by act of legislature.
- 27—1860. Roger Williams University (now Ottawa University) organized by legislative act.
1887. Wichita county county-seat war reaches shooting stage.
- 28—1855. Territorial census completed, showing 8501 inhabitants, barring Indians.
1893. Mary E. Lease appointed a member of State Board of Charities.
1901. Appropriation for completion of statehouse.
- 29—1864. Eighth Kansas regiment tendered a reception in Leavenworth.
1884. Mrs. Mary Brown, widow of John Brown, died at San Francisco.

MARCH.

Day—Year.

- 1—1858. First superintendent of public schools, James H. Noteware, appointed.
1864. State University organized by act of legislature.
1889. Industrial School for Girls, at Beloit, receives legislative appropriation for building.

MARCH.

Day—Year.

- 1—1905. Marking of Santa Fe trail provided for by legislative appropriation of \$1000.
- 2—1874. Josiah E. Hayes, state treasurer, impeached by resolution of the house of representatives.
 1889. State Soldiers' Home, on Fort Dodge military reservation, created by act of legislature.
 1909. First antituberculosis legislation enacted in Kansas.
- 3—1825. Santa Fe trail designated as a "road from Missouri to New Mexico," ordered to be built by act of Congress.
 1863. State Normal School at Emporia established by act of legislature.
 1899. State Hospital at Parsons provided for by legislative act.
- 4—1853. Fort Riley established by Major E. A. Ogden.
 1856. Topeka free-state legislature meets.
 1885. The *Thomas County Cat* issued by D. M. Dunn.
- 5—1860. Intense heat at Topeka; mercury registers 105 degrees.
 1885. Bureau of labor and industrial statistics created by legislative act.
- 6—1874. House managers exhibit articles of impeachment of Josiah E. Hayes.
 - 7—1862. Quantrill raids Aubrey; three killed.
 1885. State Reformatory first provided for by legislative act, locating it at Hutchinson.
 1885. State Board of Health created by act of legislature; J. W. Redden first secretary; G. H. Johnson first president.
 1911. Railway employees liability law passed.
- 8—1883. First Board of Railroad Commissioners created.
 1884. Enumeration of newspapers and periodicals shows 420 published in the state.
 1886. General strike on the Gould railroad lines in the southwest.
- 9—1874. Five centennial Managers provided by legislative act.
 1885. Free delivery of mail is established in Lawrence post office.
- 10—1857. Governor Geary leaves Kansas secretly, having resigned his office.
 1885. Railroad strike makes necessary the ordering out of ten companies of state militia.
 1888. Rush county county-seat war reaches an acute stage.
 1911. "Blue-sky law" approved by the governor.
- 11—1885. Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Atchison, established by act of legislature.
 1885. Railroad strikers at Atchison have conference with Governor Martin, the railroad commissioners and superintendent W. W. Fagan.
 1911. Income tax amendment to the constitution of the United States, ratified by Kansas Legislature.
- 12—1874. Howard county is provided with arms on account of its county-seat war.
 1879. State Reform School for Boys located at Topeka.
 1897. School Textbook Commission created.
 1909. First inheritance tax law passed by Kansas legislature.
- 13—1879. Abilene suffers a destructive fire.

MARCH.

Day—Year.

- 13—1897. Uniform textbooks in public schools provided for by legislative act.
- 14—1870. First state librarian, David Dickinson, appointed.
 1879. Edison phonograph exhibited at Topeka.
 1909. Ex-Governor E. N. Morrill died.
 1911. Public Utilities Commission created, this commission replacing Board of Railroad Commissioners.
- 15—1884. State Oratorical Association organized at Topeka.
 1888. First salt made at Hutchinson.
 1888. A. T. & S. F. engineers and firemen go on a strike.
- 16—1857. Davis (Geary) county commissioners hold first meeting.
- 17—1879. Commission to audit claims growing out of Indian raid of 1878 appointed.
 1884. Great mortality among live stock in Kansas and adjoining states.
- 18—1908. George M. Stone, Topeka artist, gives first exhibit of his work, showing fifty-two oil paintings.
 1911. Silvia Pankhurst, English suffragette, speaks at Topeka.
- 19—1856. Committee to investigate bogus legislature and the election of Whitfield appointed, with John Sherman at the head, by United States house of representatives.
- 20—1878. Enumeration of papers shows 180 published in the state.
 1879. "Exodus" of southern negroes under "Pap" Singleton arrives.
- 21—1884. John M. Waller, colored, who later held a diplomatic position at Madagascar, becomes editor of the *Western Recorder*, at Lawrence.
- 22—1858. Gov. J. W. Denver writes letter of inquiry to Colonel Monroe relative to disposition of United States troops in Kansas and Utah.
- 23—1855. Six hundred emigrants ready to start for Kansas from Cincinnati, according to Cincinnati *Gazette*.
 1858. Constitutional convention meets at Minneola.
 1901. Frederick Funston captured Aguinaldo.
- 24—1855. Manhattan located by Isaac T. Goodnow and others.
 1856. Topeka constitution presented in United States senate.
 1898. Annie L. Diggs, Populist, appointed state librarian.
- 25—1884. First veterinary surgeon appointed, A. A. Holcomb.
 1884. First Live Stock Sanitary Commission appointed.
- 26—1873. Henry Ward Beecher lectures in Topeka.
- 27—1858. Two Free State men, Denton and Hedrick, killed near Fort Scott.
- 28—1856. Henry Ward Beecher sends Bibles and rifles to New Haven colony.
 1901. Board of Railroad Commissioners reestablished.
- 29—1856. Two companies of Charleston, S. C., men pass through Atlanta on their way to Kansas.
- 30—1855. Armed Missourians, to the number of one thousand, enter Kansas and vote for members of the legislature.
 1855. First legislative election; proslavery ticket elected.
 1869. First locomotive, the "C. K. Holiday," passes over A. T. & S. F. railroad bridge at Topeka.

Day—Year.

MARCH.

- 30—1901. Frederick Funston commissioned brigadier general in United States army.
- 31—1875. Henry Worrall, artist, is given a benefit at Topeka.
- 1878. Henry Ward Beecher preaches at Leavenworth.

Day—Year.

APRIL.

- 1—1879. "On to Oklahoma" becomes a newspaper catch phrase.
- 1908. United States pumping plant in Finney county began operation.
- 2—1884. Wichita corn train pictured in *Harper's Weekly*.
- 3—1860. Pony express left St. Joseph, over the California road, on first trip to the Pacific coast.
- 1862. Tenth Kansas infantry organized, by the consolidation of the Third, Fourth and part of the Fifth.
- 1882. Jesse James, Missouri bandit, a member of Quantrill's band, killed by Bob Ford, at St. Joseph, Mo.
- 4—1861. James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy represent Kansas as her first United States senators.
- 1883. First Arbor Day proclamation issued by Governor Glick.
- 5—1878. Santa Fe engineers strike; mob at Santa Fe depot, Topeka.
- 6—1832. Wyandot Indians to the number of 687 sell Ohio lands and locate in Kansas.
- 1884. Butler county corn train of thirty cars sent to the relief of Ohio.
- 7—1856. Topeka movement memorial presented in United States house of representatives.
- 8—1878. Santa Fe strike at Emporia; Captain Walkinshaw, with state troops, leaves Topeka for scene of action.
- 9—1842. Camp Scott, later Fort Scott, selected as site of military post.
- 1863. Fourteenth Kansas organization begun; completed November 20.
- 10—1864. Horace Greeley issues volume one of "American Conflict," containing Kansas annals.
- 1876. Osage ceded lands case decided by United States supreme court in favor of settlers.
- 1899. Board of Railroad Commissioners ceased to exist.
- 11—1860. Protestant Episcopal Church holds a special convention for the election of a bishop, Rev. Dr. Dyer being elected but refusing to serve.
- 1877. Rev. C. M. Callaway, first rector of Grace Church, Topeka, and one of the founders of the College of the Sisters of Bethany, died.
- 1884. Gen. Geo. W. Dietzler, a noted free-state pioneer, died at Tucson, Ariz.
- 12—1856. Free-state Hotel, Lawrence, completed, Shaler W. Eldridge, proprietor.
- 1911. Miss Zu Adams, for thirty-five years connected with the Kansas State Historical Society, died at Topeka.
- 13—1857. First free-state mayor of Leavenworth, Henry J. Adams, elected.
- 1911. George W. Glick died.
- 14—1863. T. D. Thacher becomes proprietor of Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*.
- 15—1857. Fred P. Stanton, secretary Kansas territory, arrived at Le-compton.

APRIL.

Day—Year.

- 15—1865. President Abraham Lincoln assassinated; Governor Crawford named April 23 as day of fasting and prayer.
- 16—1874. Anthony A. Ward, who took a claim, adjoining site of Topeka, died.
- 17—1883. Abernathy furniture factory, Leavenworth, burned; loss, \$40,000.
- 18—1856. United States Congressional investigating committee reached Lawrence.
- 1861. Union men at Leavenworth tear rebel flag from steamer "Sam Gaty."
- 19—1856. Col. S. N. Wood is charged with aiding in rescue of Branson in November, 1855; Sheriff S. J. Jones attempts his arrest.
- 20—1879. Kinsley is visited by devastating fire; half the town destroyed.
- 1883. Resurvey of Kansas lands provided for by Congressional appropriation of \$15,000.
- 21—1859. Daily mail runs between Topeka and Pike's Peak gold mines.
- 22—1898. Frederick Funston commissioned colonel of the Twentieth Kansas.
- 1910. United States census gives Kansas a population of 1,696,361.
- 23—1858. Wm. H. English reports his compromise bill in Congress.
- 1860. First locomotive, "Albany," moved by ferry boat from St. Joseph to rails at Elwood.
- 1875. Arbor Day celebrated for first time in Kansas; 820 trees planted by citizens of Topeka.
- 24—1867. Earthquake shock in eastern Kansas.
- 1874. First rails produced in the Topeka rolling mills.
- 25—1896. Destructive cyclone in Clay, Cloud and Washington counties.
- 1899. Funston, Lieutenant Ball and four volunteers of the Twentieth Kansas swam the Bagbag river.
- 26—1854. Emigrant Aid Society incorporated by Massachusetts general assembly.
- 27—1898. Twentieth Kansas regiment makes first enlistments.
- 28—1858. Free-state convention met at Topeka to nominate officers under Leavenworth constitution.
- 29—1847. Osage Mission is opened by the arrival of Revs. John Schoenmachers, John J. Bax and Paul Ponziglione.
- 1856. Maj. Jeff Buford's Southern command reaches Westport, Mo.
- 30—1803. Louisiana ceded by France to the United States.
- 1856. Rev. Pardee Butler mobbed by proslavery men at Atchison.
- 1898. Twenty-second Kansas regiment received its first enlistments.

MAY.

Day—Year.

- 1—1856. Major Buford, of Alabama, and Col. H. T. Titus, of Florida, in Kansas with a thousand armed southerners.
- 1875. State bonds quoted at \$1.05; first time they have been above par.
- 1881. Prohibitory law went into effect.
- 1903. President Theodore Roosevelt laid corner stone of Railroad Y. M. C. A., at Topeka.
- 2—1862. First Indian regiment, organization begun; completed May 22.
- 3—1856. Lecompton *Union* started by A. W. Jones and Charles A. Faris.
- 4—1873. Bender murders discovered.

Day—Year.

MAY.

- 5—1856. Charles Robinson, A. H. Reeder and others, indicted for treason.
- 6—1828. Treaty with the Cherokee Indians.
- 7—1856. Gov. A. H. Reeder summoned to appear before a grand jury at Lecompton; he refused.
- 8—1827. Cantonment Leavenworth (later Fort Leavenworth), located by Col. Henry Leavenworth.
1872. Kansas Indians removal act passed by Congress.
- 9—1800. John Brown born at Torrington, Conn.
1905. Marquette struck by cyclone; twenty-nine dead, forty-four injured.
- 10—1847. School for Indian boys at Osage Mission opened by Father John Schoenmachers.
- 11—1851. Rt. Rev. John B. Miede, first Catholic bishop of Kansas, left St. Louis for Kansas.
1867. Henry M. Stanley, African explorer, visited Junction City.
- 12—1854. Emigrant Aid Company, Boston, organized; Eli Thayer, president.
- 13—1857. Quindaro *Chindowan* started by J. M. Walden and Edmund Babb.
- 14—1804. Lewis and Clark expedition leaves St. Louis.
- 15—1885. Elk City visited by a waterspout; eleven people drowned.
- 16—1872. Santa Fe runs first train to Topeka from Atchison.
- 17—1855. William Phillips, of Leavenworth, tarred and feathered for protesting against election frauds.
1859. Horace Greeley met at Stanton by prominent Kansans.
- 18—1859. Republican party organized in Kansas, at Osawatomie.
- 19—1858. Marais des Cygnes massacre, by party under Chas. A. Hamelton.
1878. Colored "exodusters" settle in Morris county.
- 20—1862. Homestead law passed; chapter 75, U. S. Statutes.
1869. Grasshoppers a pest in Leavenworth county.
- 21—1855. Kansas river almost dry at Topeka.
1856. Sacking of Lawrence by border ruffians.
1869. Indian raid on Republican river and White Rock creek.
1903. Tornadoes in Clark, Clay, Ford, Hodgeman, Saline, Dickinson, Marshall, Pottawatomie, Riley, Norton, Morton, and Wallace counties.
- 22—1903. Continued destructive storms, accompanied by hail, hailstones being as large as hen's eggs.
- 23—1859. Horace Greeley at Leavenworth.
- 24—1856. The Pottawatomie massacre; five proslavery men killed by party under John Brown.
1859. Horace Greeley spoke in Topeka.
- 25—1857. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, visited Lawrence, Topeka, and other Kansas towns.
1871. First Decoration Day proclamation in Kansas issued by Gov. James M. Harvey.
- 26—1859. Horace Greeley visited Manhattan.
- 27—1857. Gov. Robert J. Walker arrived at Lecompton.
1903. Floods in the valleys of the Kansas, Smoky Hill, Neosho, and other rivers.

MAY.

Day—Year.

- 28—1872. Lawrence and Topeka railroad begun by the laying of the first rail at Topeka.
1883. Fred Harvey assumes control of eating houses on Santa Fe from Topeka to El Paso.
- 29—1835. Col. Henry Dodge leaves Fort Leavenworth on expedition to Rocky Mountains.
- 29—1841. Eugene F. Ware (Ironquill) born.
- 30—1854. Kansas-Nebraska bill, establishing Kansas territory, passed.
1869. Indian raid on Saline river; thirteen killed and wounded.
- 31—1879. Tornadoes at Irving, Frankfort, Centralia, Delphos and other Kansas towns.

JUNE.

Day—Year.

- 1—1875. State Insane Asylum located at Topeka; opened for patients 1879.
1875. Grasshoppers begin to fly.
- 2—1825. Osage Indian treaty ceding certain lands in Kansas to the United States.
1856. Battle of Black Jack.
1903. Floods in Kansas reaches maximum height.
1903. Edward Grafstrom drowned while doing rescue work in flood.
1906. Edward Grafstrom's memory honored by dedication of bronze tablet, placed in State Historical Society museum.
- 3—1825. Treaty with Kansas Indians, who sell their right to about one-half their lands in Kansas.
1870. Maj. Henry J. Adams died at Waterville, Kan.
1876. Austrian prince and officers of imperial staff, Austrian army, visit Topeka.
- 4—1812. Louisiana territory became Territory of Missouri by act of Congress.
1861. First Kansas regiment organized at Leavenworth.
- 5—1846. Pottawatomie Indians are given 576,000 acres of land in Kansas by the United States.
- 6—1856. Osawatomie sacked by Missourians under Reed, Pate, Bell and Jernigan.
1857. P. B. Plumb issued first number of *Emporia News*.
1867. Kansas Pacific railroad carried Simon Cameron and other eastern men to the end of its track.
1875. Grasshoppers swarm at Topeka.
- 7—1836. Platte purchase is given to Missouri by act of Congress changing boundary line.
1905. Garden City project begun by United States government.
- 9—1867. Atchison suffers severe fire; twenty-three houses burn.
1875. Grasshopper scourge reaches climax.
- 10—1842. John C. Fremont left Chouteau's Trading Post on Kansas river for the Rocky Mountains.
- 11—1876. Samuel Lappin, defaulting state treasurer, attempts to break jail at Topeka.
- 12—1844. Jotham Meeker and Ottawa Indians driven from their homes by flood of the Marais des Cygnes river.
1890. People's Party launched in the state of Kansas.

JUNE.

Day—Year.

- 13—1854. Town of Leavenworth established by written agreement of Missouri men.
- 13—1860. Atchison & Pike's Peak railroad begun by breaking ground at Atchison.
- 14—1720. Villazur expedition to visit the Pawnees, left Santa Fe, N. Mex., via El Cuartelejo, Scott county, Kansas.
 1867. Flood at Salina and Ellsworth.
 1870. Abram Burnett, chief of the Pottawatomie Indians, died at Topeka.
- 15—1862. Leavenworth *Inquirer* suppressed by Gen. James G. Blunt.
- 16—1854. Steamer Excel starts up Kansas river on second trip to Fort Riley.
 1874. Osage Indian raid begun by killing a man near Fort Dodge, Ford county.
- 17—1874. Osage Indians raid Barber and Comanche counties.
 1907. Battleship Kansas presented with silver service by state of Kansas.
- 18—1874. John A. Wakefield, member of the Topeka constitutional convention and of the Big Springs convention, buried at Lawrence.
- 19—1856. James F. Legate arrested, charged with treason, and confined with other free-state men at Leecompton.
- 20—1861. Second Kansas regiment mustered in at Kansas City, Mo., having been organized at Lawrence.
- 21—1867. Fort Hays established on new site.
 1877. Ex-Gov. Thos. A. Osborn leaves Topeka to assume duties as minister to Chili.
- 22—1862. Second Indian regiment organized.
- 23—1859. A 160-pound catfish caught in Kansas river at Topeka.
- 24—1878. Fort Larned is doomed to abandonment by statement of General Pope.
- 25—1876. Gen. Geo. A. Custer and command killed by Sioux on Little Big Horn.
- 26—1865. Leavenworth & Lawrence railroad begun.
 1869. Chapman creek in flood; thirteen lives lost.
 1873. St. Ananias Club, Topeka, chartered.
- 27—1898. Twenty-third Kansas infantry (colored) receives first enlistments.
- 28—1868. St. Benedict's College, Atchison, incorporated by legislature; founded 1859.
- 29—1541. Coronado reaches Arkansas river on way to Quivéra.
 1854. Daniel Woodson, of Virginia, appointed first territorial secretary of Kansas.
- 30—1834. Territory of Missouri divided and called "Indian Country."
 1854. First attorney-general of Kansas territory, Andrew J. Isaacs, of Louisiana, appointed.
 1858. Hiram J. Strickler commissioned as librarian of Kansas territory.

JULY.

Day—Year.

- 1—1844. First free school in Kansas territory opened at Wyandotte by J. M. Armstrong.
1867. Eighteenth Kansas organization called for by proclamation of Governor Crawford; organization completed July 15, 1867.
1907. State Tax Commission met and organized.
1911. Eugene F. Ware died at Cascade, Colo.
- 2—1855. Legislature met at Pawnee, near Fort Riley.
1864. Seventeenth Kansas organization authorized by General Curtis; organization completed July 28, 1864.
1879. Gen. U. S. Grant in Kansas.
- 3—1856. Grow's bill for admission of Kansas under Topeka constitution passed.
- 4—1804. Declaration of Independence celebrated for first time in Kansas by Lewis and Clark expedition, at Independence creek, near site of Atchison.
1855. Kansas *Freeman*, first paper in Topeka, issued by E. C. K. Garvey.
1856. Topeka legislature dispersed by General Sumner.
- 5—1883. Ed. W. Howe prints "Story of a Country Town."
- 6—1855. First public printer, John T. Brady, elected.
- 7—1854. First governor of Kansas territory, Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, takes oath of office.
- 8—1724. M. DeBourgmont, with party of explorers, crossed Missouri river into Kansas, near Atchison.
- 9—1856. Kansas Aid Committees met in convention at Buffalo, N. Y.; Andrew H. Reeder, presiding officer.
- 10—1864. Independent Colored Kansas battery received first enlistments; mustered in February 27, 1865.
- 11—1832. Col. Alexander S. Johnson, member first territorial legislature, born at Shawnee Mission.
1866. James H. Lane died from self-inflicted gunshot wound.
- 12—1856. First banking advertisement, C. P. Bailey, jr., & Co., Leavenworth *Herald*.
1861. Fifth Kansas organization begun.
1900. Noble L. Prentis died.
- 13—1885. Ottawa has \$35,000 fire.
- 14—1883. Fort Scott and Wichita railroad completed to Wichita.
- 15—1861. Third Kansas regiment organized; James Montgomery, colonel.
1911. Daniel W. Wilder, compiler *Annals of Kansas*, died at Hiawatha.
- 16—1868. Generals Grant, Sherman and Sheridan met at a reception at Fort Leavenworth.
- 17—1865. Petroleum excitement in Miami and Bourbon counties.
- 18—1861. First Overland coach arrives from the Pacific, seventeen days from San Francisco.
1867. Cholera epidemic at Fort Harker.
- 19—1866. Edmund G. Ross appointed United States Senator by Governor Crawford.
1899. Balie Waggener gave first picnic, in honor of his birthday, to the children of Atchison and surrounding country.

JULY.

- Day-Year.
 20—1885. Dr. Joseph P. Root, first lieutenant governor of state, died at Kansas City, Kan.
 21—1883. Mrs. James H. Lane, died in Ohio; burial at Lawrence, July 24.
 22—1881. Thomas A. Osborn, United States minister, receives public thanks of government of Chili for having settled boundary dispute between Chili and Argentine.
 23—1859. Dr. John Doy rescued from St. Joseph jail by Kansas men.
 1862. Ex-Gov. A. H. Reeder revisits Kansas.
 1885. Gen. U. S. Grant died; proclamation by Governor Martin ordering state offices closed on day of funeral.
 24—1861. First Kansas battery organized; Thomas Bickerton, captain.
 25—1825. Cheyenne and Arapahoe peace treaty concluded by United States.
 1879. Pratt county organized for the third time.
 1883. "History of Kansas," edited by Wm. G. Cutler and published by A. T. Andreas, issued.
 26—1853. William Walker appointed provisional governor by Wyandot Indians.
 27—1854. Atchison Town Company organized in Missouri.
 1876. Smuggler, a Kansas horse, makes a mile in 2:16½, at Cleveland, beating Goldsmith Maid, Lucille and Fullerton.
 28—1854. First Emigrant Aid settlers arrive at mouth of the Kansas river.
 29—1859. Wyandotte constitution signed by framers.
 30—1878. Charles G. Scafford, forger of school bonds, returned from Chili, surrendering to the authorities.
 31—1856. John W. Geary's nomination as governor of Kansas territory confirmed by United States senate.

AUGUST.

- Day-Year.
 1—1854. Massachusetts Emigrant Aid party, with Charles H. Branscomb, arrive at Lawrence.
 1857. Chester A. Arthur was in Kansas.
 2—1872. John A. Logan spoke at Atchison.
 1882. The Goss ornithological collection, gift of Col. N. S. Goss to the state, was shipped to Topeka.
 3—1855. Cholera at Fort Riley claimed Maj. E. A. Ogden and fifteen others as victims.
 4—1862. First Kansas Colored infantry began recruiting, completed May 2, 1863.
 5—1856. Georgia camp near Osawatomie driven out by free-state men and fort taken.
 6—1873. Coal-oil excitement at Paola.
 7—1856. Gen. James H. Lane and party of northern emigrants entered Kansas territory via Iowa and Nebraska.
 1874. Gen. Nelson A. Miles organized an expedition against the Indians from Fort Dodge.
 8—1831. Shawnee Indians of Ohio given lands in Kansas.
 1855. Leecompton was selected by the legislature as capital of the territory of Kansas.
 9—1819. Maj. J. C. Long's zoölogist, Thomas Say, with a party of explorers, entered Kansas, in what is now Johnson county.

AUGUST.

Day—Year.

- 9—1877. St. Joe & Western railroad had a serious accident at Troy.
 1878. Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad sold for \$760,000.
- 10—1825. Osage treaty with United States made at Council Grove, to secure right of way for government road, Santa Fe trail.
 1855. Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, appointed governor of Kansas territory.
 1861. Battle of Wilson's creek, Missouri, in which the First and Second Kansas took part.
- 11—1859. Protestant Episcopal Church held a convention of its clergy to organize a diocese; nine in attendance.
 1863. Second Kansas Colored infantry, (Eighty-third U. S.) organization begun; completed November 1, 1863.
- 12—1856. Franklin, Douglas county, was attacked by free-state men and captured.
 1892. Coronado monument, Quivira, near Junction City, unveiled.
 1905. Battleship Kansas christened by Miss Anna Hoch, daughter of Governor Hoch.
- 13—1858. Rush Elmore took oath of office as associate justice of supreme court.
 1872. Price raid money was received by Governor Harvey in Washington.
- 14—1855. First free-state convention assembled at Lawrence.
 1907. National Negro Business Men's League met at Topeka.
- 15—1856. Survey of southern boundary line of Kansas provided for in bill passed by United States house of representatives.
 1859. Telegraph line from Atchison to Leavenworth and the East, newly completed, carries congratulatory message of S. C. Pomeroy to its promoters.
- 16—1855. Pardee Butler stripped, tarred and cottoned and sent adrift down the Missouri river.
 1856. Fort Titus was attacked by Capt. Samuel Walker and party of Lawrence men, and burned, and twenty proslavery men were captured.
 1900. John J. Ingalls died at Las Vegas, N. M.
- 17—1894. Charles Robinson, first governor of the state of Kansas, died at Lawrence.
- 18—1857. Charles Robinson tried for usurpation of office of governor; acquitted August 20, 1857.
 1868. Indians in Solomon valley pursued by Gen. Alfred Sully.
- 19—1856. Hoppe, free-state settler from Lawrence, murdered by Fugit, proslavery.
- 20—1819. Thomas Say and party of Long's expedition, reached village of the Kansas Indians on Blue river, near what is now Manhattan.
 1867. General Sheridan ordered to Kansas.
- 21—1828. Isaac McCoy started from St. Louis to explore Kansas.
 1854. Edward Everett Hale published his history, "Kansas and Nebraska."
 1863. Quantrill's raid on Lawrence; 143 killed, 30 wounded, 175 buildings burned.
- 22—1824. Daniel R. Anthony born, at Adams, Mass.

AUGUST.

Day—Year.

- 22—1828. Napoleon Boone, grandson of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky, born; first white child born in Kansas.
- 23—1855. John Brown left Chicago for Kansas, arriving at Osawatomie October 6.
- 1863. Order No. 11 issued by General Thomas Ewing, jr.
- 24—1855. Alexandria Coal Company, first in Kansas, incorporated by house of representatives.
- 1871. Centennial Commissioners, John A. Martin and Geo. A. Crawford, appointed.
- 25—1856. Acting Governor Woodson declares territory of Kansas to be in state of insurrection.
- 26—1854. John Calhoun, of Illinois, appointed surveyor general of Kansas.
- 1878. Stephen A. Cobb died at Wyandotte.
- 1878. Kansas Indian agency abolished.
- 27—1856. New Orleans had meeting in favor of making Kansas a slave state.
- 1857. Richard Realf and James Redpath had poems published in *Lawrence Republican*.
- 1868. Prof. Louis Agassiz and Roscoe Conkling visited Leavenworth.
- 28—1854. Thomas J. B. Cramer appointed territorial treasurer.
- 1861. Eighth Kansas infantry organization begun.
- 29—1867. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton started for Kansas, to advocate woman suffrage.
- 30—1831. Ottawa Indians cede Ohio lands, receiving 34,000 acres of Kansas lands.
- 1854. John Donaldson appointed auditor of public accounts, Kansas Territory.
- 1856. Battle of Osawatomie; robbery and fire utterly destroying the town.
- 1877. John Brown monument dedicated at Osawatomie.
- 1910. Osawatomie battlefield dedicated; Theodore Roosevelt, speaker.
- 31—1865. Cherokee and Osage lands in Kansas the subject of dispute between Governor Crawford and Commissioner General of Land Office.
- 1868. Grasshoppers in innumerable numbers alighted upon Leavenworth.
- 1893. Mrs. Ellen P. Allerton, died.

SEPTEMBER.

Day—Year.

- 1—1856. William Phillips, free state, killed at Leavenworth city election.
- 1909. Common drinking cup abolished by State Board of Health.
- 1911. Common roller towel prohibited by State Board of Health.
- 2—1861. Battle of Dry Wood.
- 3—1861. Platte river bridge massacre.
- 1900. L. D. Lewelling, twelfth governor of the state, died at Arkansas City.
- 4—1882. Washington Monument Society receives the Kansas stone, through the State Historical Society.
- 5—1806. Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike entered what is now Bourbon county, Kansas.

SEPTEMBER.

Day—Year.

- 5—1855. Big Springs convention; organization of Free State Party.
- 6—1854. Charles Robinson, S. C. Pomeroy and others arrive at the Wakarusa.
- 1864. Fort Zarah established by General Curtis.
- 7—1855. Arapahoe county (Kansas) officers receive commissions; this county extended westward to the Rocky Mountains.
- 8—1873. Lead discovered in abundance near Baxter Springs.
- 9—1861. Sixth Kansas organized at Fort Scott.
- 10—1862. Second Kansas battery organization begun; completed September 19.
- 11—1867. Susan B. Anthony lectured at Salina.
- 1867. General Sheridan was tendered a reception at Leavenworth.
- 1885. Soldiers' Orphans' Home located at Atchison.
- 1911. First biplane made in Topeka, by A. K. Longren, makes successful flight over the city.
- 12—1860. Protestant Episcopal Church holds first annual convention at Leavenworth, Kansas territory; Rt. Rev. Henry W. Lee, bishop of Iowa, invited to take charge of the diocese of Kansas.
- 1861. Humboldt sacked by rebels.
- 1866. State University dedicated.
- 1883. First sugar manufactured in Kansas sent out from Hutchinson sugar refinery.
- 13—1856. Battle of Hickory Point.
- 14—1862. Eleventh Kansas cavalry organization completed.
- 1864. Rev. Thomas Hubbard Vail elected bishop of the diocese of Kansas, Protestant Episcopal Church.
- 1868. Indian depredations on the frontier the occasion for Governor Crawford's calling out five companies of cavalry.
- 1882. James G. Blaine visits Topeka.
- 1889. General Grant monument unveiled at Leavenworth.
- 15—1854. Leavenworth *Herald* issued, first paper published in Kansas.
- 1884. Haskell Institute at Lawrence opened.
- 16—1862. Third Indian regiment organized.
- 17—1857. First troops of the Utah expedition, with Col. Philip St. George Cooke in command, started from Leavenworth.
- 1868. Battle of Beecher Island, Arickaree Fork, fifty-one scouts in eight-day fight, against over 500 Indians.
- 18—1866. Seneca the scene of a legal hanging; Melvin Baughn executed for murder of Jesse H. Dennis.
- 1907. James Humphrey, president State Tax Commission, died at Topeka.
- 19—1827. Daniel Morgan Boone, son of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky, appointed farmer for Kansas Indians.
- 1865. Osage treaty made at Canville Trading Post, Neosho county.
- 1911. Edmond H. Madison died at Dodge City.
- 20—1861. John Brown song first sung at Leavenworth.
- 1862. Thirteenth Kansas mustered in at Camp Stanton, Atchison.
- 1895. William McKinley, of Ohio, spoke to the Grand Army of the Republic at the Ottawa Chautauqua.

SEPTEMBER.

Day—Year.

- 21—1854. Atchison had first sale of town lots.
- 1855. Henry Harvey issued "History of Shawnee Indians."
- 1885. Humboldt suffered from an incendiary fire; loss \$100,000.
- 22—1873. Financial panic.
- 23—1874. Mennonites to the number of 1100 arrived in Topeka.
- 24—1829. Delaware Indians given lands in Kansas.
- 1860. William H. Seward tendered a reception at Leavenworth.
- 1879. President R. B. Hayes and wife entered the state, via Fort Scott, for Agricultural Fair at Neosho Falls.
- 25—1862. Twelfth Kansas infantry mustered in at Paola.
- 1910. Dr. F. A. Cook, arctic explorer, lectured at Topeka.
- 26—1879. President Hayes and party tendered an evening reception in Topeka.
- 1884. National Military Home located at Leavenworth.
- 27—1911. President W. H. Taft laid corner stone of Memorial and Historical building, Topeka.
- 1911. Balie Waggener presented with a silver loving cup from the children of Atchison; presentation speech made by President Taft.
- 28—1860. William H. Seward given reception at Atchison.
- 29—1806. Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike raised United States flag at Pawnee Village.
- 30—1858. Kansas gold regions draw many adventurers; Topeka an important outfitting point.
- 1878. Cheyenne Indian massacre, Decatur county.
- 1911. Monument to victims of Cheyenne massacre in Decatur county dedicated.

OCTOBER.

Day—Year.

- 1—1800. Louisiana ceded to France by Spain.
- 1854. First sermon preached in Lawrence by Rev. S. Y. Lum.
- 2—1864. Gen. Sterling Price's approach was made known to Gen. Samuel R. Curtis at Fort Leavenworth.
- 1889. John A. Martin, tenth governor of the state, died at Atchison.
- 3—1854. First chief justice of Kansas territory, Samuel D. Lecompte, was commissioned.
- 1908. President Taft and party entered Kansas on tour of the state.
- 4—1859. Wyandotte constitution adopted; vote for, 10,421; against, 5530.
- 5—1724. Bourgmont's party crossed the Kansas river.
- 1847. Mother Bridget Hayden arrived at Osage Mission to conduct Indian girls' school.
- 6—1854. Lawrence regularly christened, its earlier names having been Wakarusa, New Boston and Yankee Town.
- 1857. Proslavery votes to the number of 1628 polled at Oxford, Johnson county; nearly all were illegal.
- 1863. First state fair held at Leavenworth.
- 1872. Leavenworth street railway completed.
- 7—1854. Governor Reeder arrived and established his office at Leavenworth.
- 1876. "Kansas wagon" received medal at Centennial exposition as best farm wagon.

OCTOBER.

Day-Year.

- 8—1864. Price's invasion caused Governor Carney to call out the militia.
- 1909. Santa Fe wreck near Topeka; sixteen dead.
- 1910. Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter's "Price of the Prairie" published.
- 9—1833. Baptist mission for Pottawatomie Indians opened.
- 1854. Leavenworth had first sale of town lots.
- 1861. State Temperance Society held first meeting at Topeka.
- 10—1852. Washington Irving at Fort Gibson, Indian territory.
- 1890. President Benjamin Harrison at soldiers' reunion at Topeka.
- 11—1865. Fort Fletcher, afterward Fort Hays, established.
- 12—1837. P. B. Plumb was born, he was United States senator 1877-'91.
- 1891. Natural-gas development begun in Wilson county.
- 13—1868. Indian massacre in Solomon valley; four killed, two women captured.
- 1910. Ex-Gov. Wm. E. Stanley died at Wichita.
- 14—1865. Treaty with Arapahoes and Cheyennes.
- 15—1854. Kansas *Tribune* issued by Speer Brothers at Lawrence.
- 1857. Land office opens at Doniphan.
- 1911. William D. Street died at Oberlin.
- 16—1863. Fifteenth Kansas cavalry mustered.
- 1866. Gen. Geo. A. Custer leaves Leavenworth to take command at Fort Riley.
- 17—1854. Lawrence city lots drawn.
- 1862. Quantrill gang made foray in Johnson county.
- 1866. State capitol, Topeka, had corner stone laid by grand lodge of Masons.
- 18—1859. Anson Burlingame spoke in Topeka.
- 1865. Gen. W. T. Sherman given public reception at Leavenworth.
- 1865. Topeka pontoon bridge completed.
- 19—1857. Election returns from Oxford precinct, Johnson county, rejected in proclamation issued by Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton.
- 1878. Attempted train robbery on Kansas Pacific, at Rock Creek, caused fight, in which one robber was killed and the other captured.
- 20—1862. Chief Justice Thomas Ewing resigned.
- 1872. Prairie fire in Butler county caused great suffering and loss.
- 21—1854. Kansas *Herald of Freedom*, dated Wakarusa, issued by G. W. Brown & Co.
- 22—1853. Col. John C. Fremont left Westport to survey route for Pacific railroad.
- 1857. McGee county election returns rejected by proclamation of governor.
- 1864. Battle of the Blue.
- 23—1855. Topeka constitutional convention met; James H. Lane elected president.
- 1855. Lecompton town-lot sale.
- 24—1832. Kickapoos receive lands in eastern Kansas.
- 1856. Mrs. Sarah T. D. Robinson's "Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life," published.

OCTOBER.

Day—Year.

- 24—1876. Bonanza Mining and Smelting Company, of Cherokee county, chartered.
- 25—1864. Battle of Mine Creek.
- 1906. Charles W. Fairbanks, vice president of United States, spoke at Topeka.
- 26—1904. Father Padilla's monument dedicated at Herington; he was the first Christian martyr in the United States.
- 27—1898. First detail of Twentieth Kansas sailed on the "Indiana" for Manila.
- 1904. Tatarrax, Indian chief, is honored by monument dedicated to him at Manhattan.
- 28—1861. Seventh Kansas cavalry organized at Leavenworth.
- 1867. Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians located on lands in Indian territory.
- 1904. Harahey Indian monument dedicated at Alma.
- 29—1857. Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton threatened by Lecompton men on account of action in matter of election frauds.
- 30—1865. Pacific railroad, Kansas branch, accepted for first forty miles by President Johnson.
- 31—1854. Sterling G. Cato took oath of office as associate justice.

NOVEMBER.

Day—Year.

- 1—1870. Freshet general over the state, doing great damage.
- 1896. Natural gas for manufacturing purposes first used at Iola.
- 2—1880. First woman to vote at a general election in Kansas was Mrs. Eunice Gehr, of Miami county.
- 1899. Twentieth Kansas returned from the Philippines; welcomed by a reception at statehouse.
- 1909. Commission form of city government adopted at Topeka.
- 3—1762. Louisiana ceded to Spain by France.
- 1865. Union Pacific Railroad Company, Southern Branch, organized at Emporia.
- 4—1864. General Curtis at Fayetteville, Ark.
- 1867. George Francis Train left state after woman suffrage campaign.
- 1868. Governor Crawford resigned to command the Nineteenth Kansas.
- 1868. Nehemiah Green inaugurated governor.
- 5—1861. Pottawatomie Indians dispose of lands to Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company.
- 1867. Hays City *Advance*, first paper in Ellis county, issued by Joe Clarke.
- 6—1897. Statehouse dome completion contracted for.
- 1911. Oscar E. Learnard died at Lawrence.
- 7—1825. Treaty locating Shawnees in eastern Kansas.
- 8—1892. L. D. Lewelling, "first People's Party governor on earth," elected.
- 9—1858. Governor James W. Denver issued parting address to Kansas.
- 1898. Second detail of Twentieth Kansas sailed on transport "Newport" for Manila.
- 10—1854. Governor Reeder issued proclamation naming November 29 for election of delegates to Congress.

NOVEMBER.

Day—Year.

- 11—1856. Governor Geary says "Peace prevails throughout the territory," and that United States troops may be withdrawn, except at Leecompton.
1866. Fort Fletcher, renamed Fort Hays, moved west to present Hays.
- 12—1871. First woman notary in Kansas, Miss Emma F. Clough of Leavenworth, commissioned.
- 13—1911. State School of Mines located at Weir City.
- 14—1855. Law and Order (proslavery) party organized at Leavenworth.
- 15—1865. Telegraph line completed to Topeka.
1865. Marble discovered at Fort Scott.
1877. Earthquake in Kansas.
1911. Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson died at Lawrence.
- 16—1864. Humboldt *Herald*, first paper in the town, started by Joseph Bond.
- 17—1908. First Kansas aëroplane, invented by Henry L. Call, Pittsburg, proves unsuccessful.
- 18—1911. Insane asylum located at Larned by commission; location approved by Governor Stubbs, February 16, 1912.
- 19—1858. Samuel Medary, governor of Minnesota territory, appointed governor of Kansas territory.
- 20—1856. First Thanksgiving Day in Kansas appointed by Governor Geary, in proclamation dated November 6, 1856.
- 21—1855. Charles W. Dow killed by F. N. Coleman, proslavery man, in Douglas county.
- 22—1870. Railroad celebration at Humboldt.
- 23—1911. Vital statistics report first issued.
- 24—1854. Shawnee Mission became seat of executive offices of Kansas territory.
1864. Atchison and Topeka Railroad renamed Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad by vote of directors.
- 25—1855. Thanksgiving proclamation issued by James H. Lane, from office of executive committee, naming Christmas Day as Thanksgiving Day.
1871. Lawrence street railway in operation, for first time.
- 26—1832. Delaware Baptist Mission located by Dr. Johnston Lykins.
- 27—1858. Newspapers in Kansas number twenty; one in Topeka.
1868. General Custer defeats Cheyennes on the Washita.
- 28—1840. Miami Indians cede lands in present Miami county, taking lands on Wabash river.
1862. Battle of Cane Hill, Arkansas; Col. Lewis R. Jewell, Sixth Kansas, killed.
1864. Kansas Pacific ran its first excursion, going from Wyandotte to Lawrence.
- 29—1854. First delegate to Congress elected.
- 30—1864. Battle of Franklin, Tenn., Eighth Kansas participating.

Day—Year.

DECEMBER.

- 1—1859. Abraham Lincoln spoke at Elwood.
1883. Mrs. Mary A. Humphrey published "The Squatter Sovereign," first Kansas story.

DECEMBER.

Day—Year.

- 2—1859. John Brown hung at Charlestown, Va.
1884. Statehouse foundation for main building completed.
- 3—1855. Lawrence besieged by Missourians.
- 4—1889. David J. Brewer appointed associate justice of United States supreme court.
- 5—1854. Topeka founded by C. K. Holliday, F. W. Giles and others.
- 6—1855. Thomas Barber, free-state settler, shot by G. W. Clarke, near Lawrence.
1899. Geo. W. Martin elected secretary of Kansas State Historical Society, to succeed F. G. Adams, deceased.
- 7—1857. First free-state legislature met at Lecompton.
- 8—1874. Kansas Pacific train robbed at Muncie; Wells Fargo & Co. lost \$27,000.
1875. Baxter Springs Mining and Smelting Company chartered.
1883. Mrs. Ellen P. Allerton published her "Walls of Corn."
- 9—1855. Proslavery forces near Lawrence ordered by Governor Shannon to disband.
- 10—1863. Temporary capitol building, 427-429 Kansas avenue, Topeka, leased and used by state from 1863 to 1869.
- 11—1863. J. W. Robinson, first secretary of state and surgeon of Second Kansas, died at Fort Smith, Ark.
- 12—1877. Granges in state number 874, with 24,658 members.
- 13—1852. Territory of Platte (Kansas and Nebraska) bill for its organization introduced in Congress by Willard P. Hall.
1906. Battleship Kansas started on first trial trip.
- 14—1861. Third Kansas regiment captured Butler and Papinsville, Mo.
- 15—1855. At Leavenworth election ballot box was carried off by proslavery men, and Mark W. Delahay's newspaper was destroyed.
1871. Hutchinson laid out
- 16—1908. Kansas wheat took first prize at Omaha corn exposition.
- 17—1844. Stephen A. Douglas introduced first bill in Congress to establish Nebraska territory.
- 18—1858. Samuel Medary assumed duties as governor of Kansas territory.
1883. Henry Hopkins, captain of Second Kansas, and warden of Kansas Penitentiary for sixteen years, died.
- 19—1876. Augustus Wattles, Linn county pioneer, died.
- 20—1854. First territorial delegate to Congress, John W. Whitfield, took his seat.
1858. Battle of the Spurs, Jackson county.
1891. Preston B. Plumb died at Washington.
- 21—1876. Meteor of unusual size passed over Kansas; also seen in New York.
- 22—1855. Lawrence convention nominated state officers under Topeka constitution.
1863. Wilkes Booth played Richard III at Leavenworth.
- 23—1854. Free-state meeting at Lawrence.
- 24—1847. Squatter sovereignty dogma first promulgated by Lewis Cass.
1869. White Hair, Osage chief, died at his camp on the Verdigris.
- 25—1869. State capitol first occupied by state officers.

DECEMBER.

Day—Year.

- 25—1893. Natural gas sufficient for manufacturing purposes found at Iola.
1911. Emporia celebration in memory of Father Padilla, first Christian martyr in America, it being the 369th anniversary of his massacre by Indians.
- 26—1872. Concordia suffers great fire.
- 27—1855. Thomas N. Stinson commissioned treasurer of Kansas territory.
- 28—1858. James Montgomery's operations in southeastern counties induce Governor Medary to ask for military aid.
- 29—1833. John J. Ingalls born at Middletown, Mass.
1874. Lawrence dam completed and used; cost \$100,000.
- 30—1825. Osage Indians located on the Neosho river.
- 31—1858. Governor of Missouri telegraphed that he would aid governor of Kansas in southeastern counties.
1860. Law abolishing slavery in Kansas declared to be unconstitutional by Judge Pettit.

SOME OF THE LOST TOWNS OF KANSAS.

[Six or eight years ago the Historical Society attempted to gather the story of the lost towns of Kansas. Information was obtained from about thirty-two counties, when interest in the matter ceased. Somehow, during the past spring and summer a greatly increased interest arose, the newspapers made frequent mention, and many inquiries concerning the blasted hopes and ambitions of individuals and communities, affecting about every county in the state, came to us. It was, therefore, concluded to make a selection from the material we had and prepare such as we could in the time allotted us in making this volume 12. In the first instance circulars were issued to county officers or local men interested, but we have now discovered that in our newspaper files and the correspondence and documents from other offices left with us, and called archives, we can make a better statement than from the personal recollections of those interested. The statements we herewith give of Coolidge, Kendall, Coronado, Montezuma and Sidney were selected from our own records and carefully edited. This enables us to promise that in our next volume we will continue this interesting feature of the efforts and sacrifices of the people in the beginning of things in Kansas. There is scarcely a county that has not had its contests and losses, fully as exciting or interesting as the few we have selected for this issue. Horace Greeley said: "It takes three log houses to make a city in Kansas, but they begin calling it a city as soon as they have staked out the lots." But "three log houses" were enough in those days to make much history.—SECRETARY.]

JUNIATA.

IN THE latter part of 1853 a man by the name of Samuel D. Dyer, who is said to have been a Virginian, and is also spoken of as from Tennessee, was running the government ferry on the Big Blue river at a point on the military road about a mile below Rocky Ford. The government built a bridge over the river there very soon after, costing about \$10,000, but during a flood in the year 1855 it was carried away. After the opening of the territory a little town sprung up at this place, on the east side of the river, and was called Juniata. Most of its inhabitants were in sympathy with the proslavery cause. In 1855 Juniata was made a post office, with Seth J. Childs as postmaster. The town was about as well known by the cognomen of Dyers Town as it was by the name of Juniata. In 1856 the name of the post office was changed to Tauromee and was removed to the west side of the Blue. This post office was abolished March 26, 1858.

In July, 1857, Juniata was called upon to furnish its quota of "volunteers for the protection of the ballot box," a free-state organization under the command of James H. Lane.

In November, 1854, Rev. Charles E. Blood, of Mason, N. H., commenced his labors as a Home Missionary at Juniata. He lived about a mile west of the town.

Mr. Dyer was the leading man of the town, and is described as an "old six-foot man of the Methodist Church South." His house was said to be "one story high and three stories long." Dyer and his wife kept a sort of free hotel and a small store. The town was a preaching place for all the denominations, and it was customary to invite everybody to dinner after "preaching." This pair were a kindly, generous-hearted old couple, and their free table and dishonest clerks soon made way with most of their little property.

Juniata was about five miles north of the town of Manhattan, and after the destruction of the bridge the road was moved down the stream closer to its mouth. This, together with the rivalry of Manhattan, effectually wiped out the town.

OLD INDIANOLA.¹

Indianola was situated about a half mile west of the Reform School, near the bank of Soldier creek—in fact part of the town was on the east bank of the creek—in Jackson county, when the county line was the Kansas river. The town was founded in 1854 and was about the same age as Topeka. The founders were H. D. McMeekin and a man named Tutt, of Weston, Mo. Mr. McMeekin left Topeka years ago, after having conducted for many years the old Tefft House, now the National Hotel. Tutt returned to Missouri before the war, and in fact he had always considered that his home.²

In one particular Indianola had the advantage of Topeka. It was on the government road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, which was also the stage road. The heavy trade on the military road missed Topeka entirely, and consequently Indianola was a very active place, while Topeka was considered nonprogressive and inactive. Topeka was a free-state center, and Indianola was a proslavery town and was therefore a favored spot with the government in the fifties. While Indianola was decidedly proslavery in the sentiment of its citizens, there were few open ruptures between the proslavery and the free-state settlers, who were numerous in the vicinity of the village. The proslavery people belonged to the better class.

Although Indianola was known as a proslavery center before the war, its inhabitants were not disloyal after the war commenced. In fact, company F of the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry was recruited at Indianola soon after the sacking of Lawrence by Quantrill. Orren A. Curtis, father of Congressman Charles Curtis, was elected captain of this company. An eyewitness tells the following incident in this connection:

"After the organization of the company had been completed Captain Curtis formed his men in line on the main street, and, riding out in front of them, he delivered the following speech: 'Now, gentlemen, I want you to follow me. There's no place where Jack Curtis dassent go.'"

NOTE 1.—Reprinted from the *Topeka State Journal* of November 16, 1901. See, also, Miss Fannie Cole's paper, "Pioneer Life in Kansas," in this volume, for much interesting information relating to Indianola and Whitfield.

NOTE 2.—The proprietors of Indianola were H. D. McMeekin, John F. Baker and George H. Perrin. McMeekin bought the land for the town site from a Pottawatomie half-breed, Louis Vieux, and the town was laid out in November, 1854. The first public sale of lots was on June 27, 1855.—Cutler's *History of Kansas*, p. 534.

Company E of the Eighth Kansas infantry was also recruited from the vicinity of Indianola. This was the regiment commanded by John A. Martin, which made a brilliant record for gallantry at Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge and elsewhere.

The hotel which stands as a monument to the prosperity of Indianola was built in 1860 by William Clinton. He had married a woman old enough to be his mother, and by that means had got a good sum of money. They kept a hotel in a log house for a short time, and then built the one that still stands. It was not long after this that Clinton was apprehended for rifling the mails. He was the postmaster, and disappeared, and with him went the young, handsome Mrs. Deborah Harding, who left a husband behind. The hotel was soon after sold to James Kuykendall, and after that a man named Sawyer came into possession.

The hotel building, weatherboarded in walnut, is sixty feet long and forty-five feet wide, with an L eighteen by twenty feet. It is a two-story building, with a high attic, which was used for a lodge room. The southwest corner was a commodious barroom, which was separated by a narrow hall from a room used as a parlor and another room occupied by a general store. The dining room was on the north side of the building and was forty feet long and twenty feet wide. The kitchen was in the L. On the second floor of the hotel were nine very small bedrooms. The only reason for making these rooms so small was undoubtedly to provide space for the very large hall. This hall is twenty feet wide and extends the whole length of the building—sixty feet—and was the dancing hall of the village. Dancing was about the only means of enjoyment in the fifties and sixties, so it is not difficult to understand why a commodious hall was provided by the architect of the hotel at the expense of sleeping rooms.

As late as January, 1868, a big public ball was held in this hall. It was given by the Masons, and the members of the legislature, which was then in session in Topeka, were especially invited, and a large number of them attended the dance. This was really the last large social event in the town of Indianola, for its sun was already low in the horizon.

Indianola was sacrificed on the altar of the Kansas Pacific railroad, and Topeka started the fire. In 1865 the Kansas Pacific railroad was surveyed, and the survey missed Topeka but went through Indianola. It was then planned that the railroad should not follow the bend of the Kansas river to reach Topeka, but run straight across the country from Calhoun Bluffs. The people of Indianola were naturally delighted, and their enthusiasm was heightened when a contractor arrived and gave the contract to the citizens for cutting the ties for the new road. There was plenty of timber along Soldier creek, and the people of the town and neighborhood went to work with a will. The right of way had been secured and the cutting of the ties was done under the supervision of a man named Jones, one of the railroad contractors. The ties were cut and delivered, but when pay day came Mr. Jones was not to be found. And then the people heard that Topeka had taken their railroad, and it was not long until new grade stakes were driven, leaving Indianola far to the north. The people hitched up to their wagons and hauled the ties home and built corn cribs of them, and their dream of greatness was over. They said that Topeka had more money than they did and made the railroad promoters an offer they could not refuse; but the Kansas Pacific railroad was built, and it did pass through Topeka and missed

Indianola three miles. It was through the efforts of James H. Lane, then United States senator, that the railroad was built to both Lawrence and Topeka. The story is told in Speer's *Life of General Lane*. [See also *Historical Collections*, vol. 11, p. 534, note 15.]

When the railroad had been completed and trains were running the people simply took their town and moved to Topeka. The hotel was too large to move, and so it still stands—a crumbling monument to the town that was.

MONEKA.³

Moneka, Linn county, was located on parts of section 1, township 22, range 23; section 31, township 21, range 24; and section 6, township 22, range 24 east. It was said to have been named for an Indian maiden, meaning morning star. The town was located in February, 1857, with the following incorporators: John B. Wood, Erastus Heath, Andrew Stark, Julius Keeler, Augustus Wattles and John O. Wattles. The town was abandoned about 1864 or 1865. In 1858 Moneka's population was nearly 200 people. From this time it dwindled away until, in 1859, all the inhabitants had left for other localities.

Most, or all, of the incorporators of the town were abolitionists, as were the settlers who lived on its site. The Wattles settled on quarter sections adjoining on the north and Andrew Stark on the west. The latter was the first clerk of the supreme court, serving from 1861 to 1867. John O. Wattles was an ardent advocate of Spiritualism, a non-resistant, an enthusiastic educator and an optimist of the most pronounced type. Through his influence a large frame building, to be used for an academy, was erected by the town company, and for several years Moneka was the educational center of Linn county. On the death of Moneka the academy building was moved to Linnville, and in 1871 to Pleasanton. The company also erected what was, in those days, considered quite a commodious hotel, which was run by George E. Dennison. Under its roof were sheltered at various times several of the territorial governors and most of the free-state leaders of the territory. Here plans of action in behalf of the free-state settlers were inaugurated and truces between the contending factions proposed and agreed upon.

One of the various projects of which J. O. Wattles was a promoter, and for which he worked with great enthusiasm, was a railroad from Jefferson City to Emporia by way of Moneka. This railroad was to make the city one of the great emporiums of the West. He held meetings along the whole route, organized a company, obtained a charter, with directors in both Missouri and Kansas. He besieged Congress one winter to grant the right of way and make an appropriation of public lands. He had the preliminary surveys made and did divers other things, among which was the breaking of ground for the proposed road at the state line, which ceremony was attended by many citizens of both Kansas and Missouri. Congress granted the right of way, but the death of Mr. Wattles and the breaking out of the Civil War stopped all further proceedings.

Augustus Wattles came to Kansas in 1855 from Ohio, where he had been for years an active worker on the underground railroad in that state. He located near Washington creek, in Douglas county, and came to Linn

NOTE 3.—This article was written by J. H. Stearns for the Kansas State Historical Society.

county in 1857. He was associated with G. W. Brown for some time in the publication of the *Herald of Freedom*. Soon after the Marais des Cygnes massacre, in May, 1858, he brought to his home John Brown and some of his men, and they made their headquarters there off and on until Brown's departure from the state, when he took a dozen slaves from Vernon county, Missouri, and landed them safely in Canada. Wattles corresponded with Brown up to the time of the Harper's Ferry raid, and it was at his house that the plan to liberate Brown from Charlestown jail was inaugurated.⁴ He went east to perfect the plan, and it was only Brown's refusal to sanction it, together with the deep snow in the mountains at the time, that prevented its being carried out, or at least attempted. Afterwards he was summoned to Washington to tell the celebrated Mason investigating committee what he knew of Brown and his so-called traitorous plans. As might be expected, the testimony elicited from him on this occasion only showed how profoundly ignorant he was of the whole matter.

PARIS, LINN COUNTY.⁵

Paris was the first county seat of Linn county, named for Paris, Ky., the former home of James H. Barlow, one of its most prominent citizens. It was situated on the northwest quarter of section 8, township 21, range 24, and located by a commission appointed by the bogus legislature. It had a population in its palmy days of from 300 to 400 people. It was abandoned in the early sixties.

Among its most prominent citizens was James P. Fox, the owner of the claim on which the town was located, a typical exponent of the fire-eating Southerner of his day in Kansas; by profession a lawyer, but without much ability in this line beyond a vocabulary of invective, abuse, and an abundant supply of cuss words, which he used without stint in addressing a jury or haranguing a crowd. His stay in Linn county was not long, however, for at the earnest solicitation of some free-state men in 1858 he concluded to remove to a more healthy, or at least a safer, location.⁶

James H. Barlow was a lawyer of considerable ability, a Kentuckian by birth and education, a suave gentleman, and the owner of several slaves, some of whom remained with him till the close of the war or until they died. Unlike Fox, he was mildly conservative in his speech and actions and was generally respected and esteemed by those who knew him. He remained on his farm adjoining the town several years after the close of the Civil War, and then moved back to his native heath in old Kentucky.

Robert B. Mitchell was another good lawyer, an Ohio man, having been born in Richland county, April 4, 1823. In politics he was a so-called free-state Democrat and one of the first free-state representatives from Linn

NOTE 4.—See "Attempted Rescue of John Brown," by O. E. Morse, in volume 8, Kansas Historical Collections, p. 213.

NOTE 5.—This article was written for the State Historical Society by J. H. Stearns, of Linn county.

NOTE 6.—JAMES P. FOX was the first treasurer of Linn county, having been appointed January 8, 1856, by the board of county commissioners, then known as the "court." Fox was succeeded by C. H. Stilwell, who was elected at the first election held to elect county officers, October, 1857. Fox and McD. Osborn located the county seat, under authority of the county commissioners. The most suitable location found was on Fox's claim, and he was paid \$100 for his house, which was used for a courthouse. Paris was platted by William Rogers, county surveyor. The town company, incorporated by special act, February 14, 1857, consisted of James P. Fox, John H. Tate, I. T. Glover and Luke Grimes.

county in the legislature, serving in 1857 and 1858. He was colonel of the Second Kansas volunteer infantry, and was severely wounded at the battle of Wilson's Creek. He was afterward promoted to brigadier general, and did excellent service in Kentucky and Tennessee. On December 14, 1866, he was appointed governor of New Mexico, serving until 1869. Governor Mitchell died at Washington, D. C., January 26, 1882.⁷

Pleasant Chitwood, another prominent citizen of Paris, was a lawyer of the genus petty-fog. In politics he was an uncompromising Democrat of the free-state type, with a mixture of proslavery proclivities. He accumulated considerable property as a farmer, and moved to Kansas City in its boom days, where he died, having lost a good share of the accumulations of his lifetime.⁸

Among others who made Paris their home for a short time in its early days were Ross Burns⁹ and Thomas Butler. Both removed to Topeka, and later entered the service of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company, the former as its general attorney. There was also a young man—Ira Bronson¹⁰—who, by reason of his natural ability and genial "God bless

NOTE 7.—ROBERT BYINGTON MITCHELL enlisted with the Ohio Volunteers for the Mexican war, serving as first lieutenant of the Second infantry from September 4, 1847, to July 26, 1848, when he was honorably mustered out. He returned to Ohio and resumed the practice of law until 1856, when he moved to Kansas, settling at Paris, Linn county, in 1857. Mitchell served this state in many capacities. He was a delegate to the Leavenworth constitutional convention, elected March 25, 1858; likewise a member of the free-state convention held at Topeka, April 28-29, 1858. He was appointed territorial treasurer February 11, 1859, serving until February, 1861, and was the first adjutant general of the state, holding that office from May 2 to June 30, 1861. He also served as president of the territorial relief convention, held at Lawrence in November, 1860.

At the time of the Marais des Cygnes massacre, May 19, 1858, Mr. Mitchell organized a posse of men, among them James Montgomery, and followed the notorious Hamelton and his gang into Missouri. Unfortunately these outlaws escaped the pursuing party. After serving as governor of New Mexico Governor Mitchell returned to Kansas, and lived at Paola, Miami county, for a time. From there he was sent as a delegate to the Liberal Republican convention held at Topeka in 1872, where he received the nomination of that body to Congress. Later he went to Washington, D. C., where he died.

George A. Crawford, in a letter to Col. Sam Stambaugh, of Pennsylvania, dated Leavenworth, May 29, 1862, says of Mitchell: "Of all our soldiers he is my model. Of all our citizens he is my friend of friends. Take him to your heart."

NOTE 8.—PLEASANT CHITWOOD was born in Macon county, Tennessee, February 22, 1827. He began his business life as a hotel clerk in Mississippi, and in 1848 emigrated to Boone county, Iowa, where he became a farmer. He was elected sheriff of Boone county in 1852, and during his term of office read law, being admitted to the bar in 1856. The next year, 1857, he came to Kansas, settling in Linn county. Mr. Chitwood was married in Macon county, Tennessee, May 10, 1848, to Miss Mary Whitley, a native of Smith county, Tennessee.

NOTE 9.—ROSS BURNS was born in Morrow county, Ohio, in 1831, his parents being early settlers of that region. When he was but twenty-two years of age he was elected sheriff of his native county, serving two terms. While in this office he read law, and after a very creditable examination was admitted to practice before all courts in Ohio. He came to Kansas at an early day and became one of our foremost lawyers. In 1873 he organized the law department of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company, and was its first solicitor, which position he retained until his death, which occurred at Topeka, June 28, 1882. In a eulogy on Ross Burns, delivered before the Bar Association by the late A. L. Williams, he said: "As a lawyer he stood preëminent, and his great industry was the key to his success." After Wilson Shannon died Ross Burns stood at the head of the entire bar of the state."

During the Price raid, at the battle of the Blue, Mr. Burns served as captain of the Topeka artillery company. In this battle he heroically defended his gun alone until struck down from the rear with the breach of a musket in the hands of a rebel. He lay all night as one dead, and his recovery from this wound was never complete, for in the years of his life after there was seldom a time when he was free from pain. Mr. Burns came to Topeka from Leavenworth, and in 1862 was a clerk in the office of the auditor of state. During the last eighteen months of his life he was unable to attend to business on account of a stroke of paralysis. He was twice married, first to a woman known as Mrs. Sparr, and whom he divorced. She was a sister of the notorious Tennessee Claffin. By his first wife he had two daughters. His second wife survived him many years, dying at Topeka, May 20, 1900.

NOTE 10.—IRA D. BRONSON was born in Warren, Herkimer county, New York, October 24, 1835. At the age of nineteen he emigrated to Illinois, where he taught school, first

you" ways, later on served Linn county as clerk of the district court, and afterwards Bourbon county in the same capacity for a number of years.

The first free-state convention in Linn county was held at a sawmill just outside the town of Paris, in 1857. The first election thereafter was held in the log courthouse, the voters calling aloud, through a small window to the judges and clerks within, the names of those for whom they voted.

An election was held, November 8, 1859, to relocate the county seat. At this election Paris received 471 votes and Mound City 508. The county officials residing at Paris refused to remove the records to the new county seat, whereupon a number of the citizens of Mound City, led by Dr. Charles R. Jennison, armed with pistols, shotguns, Sharps rifles and a cannon—"Brass Betsey"—appeared early one morning on the public square of the town and made a pressing demand for all the books and records of the various offices. This demand was at first refused, and the officers denied all knowledge of the whereabouts of the county records. After some strenuous persuasion, however, they yielded and brought them out from under the puncheon floors of several buildings, delivering them into the hands of the invaders. Thus fell Paris! From then on its decay was rapid, and in a few years there was hardly a ruin left to tell where once it stood in all its border-ruffian pride and glory.

OREAD, COFFEY COUNTY.

James G. Sands, a pioneer at Lawrence, writes from Cantonment, Okla., November 8, 1902, as follows:

"During 1855, 1856 and 1857 interests in towns, consisting of twelve lots, circulated as freely as 'wild-cat' currency of that period. Lithographs, showing beautiful parks, with fountains playing, band stands, ornamental trees and shrubbery surrounding magnificent public buildings, beckoned onward the 'tenderfoot' to fortune who never had 'speculation in his eye' before.

"In 1857 a convivial party of gentlemen had gathered at the Eldridge House, Lawrence, when the suggestion was made that before they separate they lay out a town. In the party were several surveyors, who at once proceeded to make the proper drawings; a fine lithograph was procured and the blank space filled in, which completed the certificate of the birth of Oread.¹¹

"These are the incidents that gave life for a brief period to one of the many towns that sprung into existence by the motion of a pen. Shares were put on the market and sold like hot cakes at prices from ten to fifty dollars. The writer of this was the happy owner of one of these, but before the crisis came he unloaded his 'interest.' Just where the town was located I do not now remember, but it was near the border of Missouri, where the inquisitive dared not risk his life to look up his possessions.

"One of the founders of Oread died a few days ago in Leadville. I do not now remember any other living, but attention to this matter through the paper may bring more light on the subject."

in Knox county, and later near Antioch, Lake county. At Antioch he married, on June 11, 1867, Miss Annie Webb, a native of that place. Mr. Bronson came to Kansas in 1857, locating in Paris, where he engaged in the lumber business. In May, 1861, he enlisted in company F, Second Kansas volunteers, and was mustered out of the service in the fall of 1865 as captain of company I, Second Arkansas volunteer infantry, having also served as captain of company A, Fourth Arkansas volunteer infantry. In March, 1866, he moved to Mound City, remaining there until August 1, 1870, when he removed to Fort Scott. Mr. Bronson was interested in numerous town sites in southern Kansas, the town of Bronson, in Bourbon county, having been named for him.

NOTE 11.—Oread was a paper town, started as a speculation by a party of Lawrence men, Governor Robinson being at the head. It was located in the winter of 1856-'57, ten miles northeast of Burlington. The town site was surveyed by B. L. Kingsbury in the spring of 1857. No houses were ever built there.

Orson Kent, of Burlington, a name well known long ago, writes, September 2, 1903 :

"My attention was called to an article giving a history of the lost towns in Kansas, or some of them, and special mention was made of the town of Oread, as being finally located in Franklin county, which is not correct.

"Oread was laid out, as you say, by a lot of Lawrence men, and was located about twelve miles northeast of this place (Burlington) on the head of Long creek. Two or three log houses were built there, and a man by the name of Clemons came down from Lawrence with a little stock of goods and carried on a store there for several months. One of the prettiest pictures that I saw when I came to Kansas, in 1857, was a lithograph of the town of Oread. It was nicely decorated and—on paper—looked fine.

"This county had its full quota of towns that were lost. Some eight or nine were laid out on paper and shares in the same placed on the market. I was at that time a young surveyor, and as the plat and survey were the main items of expense in starting a town, I became rich on paper in a few months by doing work and taking an interest in towns for my work. There were some three or four of those towns here that reached the lithographing stage, but most of them died before getting that far along in the world."

THE HISTORIC TOWN OF MINNEOLA.

In reading of the very early days in Kansas frequent mention is found of a town called Minneola.¹² Minneola was one of the most remarkable of all of the projected towns in Kansas territory, and by only a hair's breadth did it miss becoming the capital and perhaps the metropolis of the state. The capital was at Lecompton, but the free-state legislature had a fashion of adjourning its sessions from that town to Lawrence on account of the proslavery reputation of Lecompton. This sort of a movable capital was not satisfactory, however, and under the leadership of Perry Fuller, of Lawrence, a scheme was evolved to go to Franklin county and start a capital in the midst of the virgin prairie. At the suggestion of E. N. Morrill the new town was called Minneola, and the list of stockholders in the town company included almost every prominent leader in the free-state cause, including a majority of the members of the legislature. At once nine quarter sections of land were purchased, at a cost of \$3131. Money was raised by assessment and by mortgage. Inside of six weeks a hotel costing \$8000 had been completed, as well as a large hall to be used for legislative purposes.¹³ On February 10, 1858, the legislature, sitting at Lawrence, passed a bill making Minneola the territorial capital, but this bill was vetoed by Acting Governor Denver. Then an appeal was taken to the attorney general of the United States, who decided that the bill was in violation of the organic act, and therefore void.¹⁴

The same legislature which adopted the capital bill made provision for a number of railroads centering at Minneola. Maps and bird's-eye views

NOTE 12.—Old Minneola was located one mile east of Centropolis, on section 29, township 15, range 19 east. Only one section of land was entered as a town site; the balance was kept for speculative purposes. Footnote 8 in "First Capital of Kansas," this volume, contains an amusing account of Col. John Conover's hunt for Minneola. The present town of Minneola is in the northwest corner of Clark county, twenty-five miles from Ashland, and is a station on the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway.

NOTE 13.—A governor's mansion was built at Minneola. It was a large house of fourteen rooms, and was afterward owned and occupied by William Pennock and family. The house stands on the Pennock farm, a quarter section of the old town site of Minneola.

NOTE 14.—This opinion of Jeremiah S. Black, attorney-general of the United States, Dated November 20, 1858, may be found as a footnote in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 342.

issued by the company are still in existence, and made the town appear as a great railroad center. Before the decision of the attorney general town lots in choice localities sold at phenomenal figures. Many buildings went up, and the town had several hundred population. Although afterward it became the county seat for a brief period, its downfall dated from the constitutional convention which had been called by the legislature to meet there. This was in March, 1858. The convention met in the big new hall, and James H. Lane was elected chairman. At this point a motion was made to adjourn to Leavenworth. It was supported by all the delegates from localities which had ambitions to secure the state capital, and after a debate lasting all one day and all one night the motion carried. This convention was the one that drew up the "Leavenworth constitution." It sealed the fate of Minneola, and to-day the former town site is the place of half a dozen farms, and there is nothing to show its former glory.

THE RISE AND FALL OF SUMNER.¹⁵

Three miles south of Atchison, Kan., is the site of a dead city, whose streets once were filled with the clamor of busy traffic and echoed to the tread of thousands of oxen and mules that in the pioneer days of the Great West transported the products of the East across the Great American Desert to the Rocky Mountains. It was a city in which for a few years twenty-five hundred men and women and children lived and labored and loved, in which many lofty aspirations were born, and in which several young men began careers that became historical.

This city was located on what the early French voyagers called the "Grand Detour" of the Missouri river. No more rugged and picturesque site for a city or one more inaccessible and with more unpropitious environments could have been selected. It was literally built in and on the everlasting hills, covered with a primeval forest so dense that the shadows chased the sunbeams away. It sprang into existence so suddenly and imperceptibly it might almost have been considered a creation of the magician's wand. It was named Sumner in honor of the great Massachusetts senator. Its official motto was "*Pro lege et grege*" (for the law and the people). This would, in the light of subsequent events, have been more suggestive:

"I shall fall

Like a bright exhalation in the evening."

Sumner's first citizens came mostly from Massachusetts, and were imbued with the spirit of creed and cant, self-reliance and fanaticism that could have been born only on Plymouth Rock. They had come to the frontier to make Kansas a free state and to build a city, within whose walls all previous conditions of slavery should be disregarded and where all men born should be regarded equal. The time—1856—was auspicious. Kansas was both a great political and military battle-field, upon which the question of the institution of slavery was to be settled for all time.

The growth of Sumner was phenomenal. A lithograph printed in 1857 shows streets of stately buildings, imposing seats of learning, church spires that pierced the clouds, elegant hotels and theaters, the river full of floating palaces, its levee lined with bales and barrels of merchandise, and the

NOTE 15.—This article was written by H. Clay Park, an old citizen of Atchison. Mr. Park was editor and part owner of the *Atchison Patriot* from 1875 to 1890.

white smoke from numerous factories hanging over the city like a banner of peace and prosperity. To one who in that day approached Sumner from the east and saw it across the river, which like a burnished mirror reflected its glories, it did indeed present an imposing aspect.

One day the steamboat Duncan S. Carter landed at Sumner. On its hurricane deck was John J. Ingalls, then only twenty-four years old. As his eye swept the horizon his prophetic soul uttered these words: "Behold the home of the future senator from Kansas." Here the young college graduate, who since that day became the senator from Kansas, lived and dreamed until Sumner's star had set and Atchison's sun had risen, and then he moved to Atchison, bringing with him Sumner's official seal and the key to his hotel.

Here lived that afterwards brilliant author and journalist, Albert D. Richardson, whose tragic death some years ago in the counting room of the *New York Tribune* is well remembered. His "Beyond the Mississippi" is to this day the most fascinating account ever written of the boundless West.

Here lived the nine-year-old Minnie Hauk, who was one day to become a renowned prima donna and charm two continents with her voice, and who was to wed the Count Wartegg. Minnie was born in poverty and cradled in adversity. Her mother was a poor washerwoman in Sumner.

Here lived John E. Remsburg, the now noted author, lecturer and free-thinker. Mr. Remsburg has probably delivered more lectures in the last thirty years than any man in America. He is now the leader of the Free-thought Federation of America.

Here Walter A. Wood, the big manufacturer of agricultural implements, lived and made and mended wagons. Here Lovejoy, "the Yankee preacher," preached and prayed. Here lived "Brother" and "Sister" Newcomb, from whom has descended a long line of zealous and eminent Methodists. Here was born Paul Hull, the well-known Chicago journalist.

And Sumner was the city that the Rev. Pardee Butler lifted up his hands and blessed and prophesied would grow big and wax fat when the "upper landing" would sleep in a dishonored and forgotten grave, as he floated by it on his raft, clad in tar and feathers. The "upper landing" was the opprobrious title conferred by Sumner upon Atchison. The two towns were bitter enemies. Sumner was "abolitionist"; Atchison was "border ruffian." In Atchison the "nigger" was a slave; in Sumner he was a fetich. It was in Atchison that the "abolition preacher," Pardee Butler, was tarred and feathered and set adrift on a raft in the river. He survived the tortures of his coat of degradation and the "chuck-holes" of the Missouri river and lived to become a prohibition fanatic and a Democratic presidential elector.¹⁶

NOTE 16.—Rev. Pardee Butler was placed on a raft at Atchison, August 17, 1855, branded on the forehead with the letter R [rogue] in black paint, and sent down the river. A member of the mob, one Ira Norris, said to Mr. Butler: "N-e-ow, Mr. Butler, I want to advise you as a friend, and for your own good—when you get away, just keep away." In Mr. Butler's own words, "We parted under a mutual pledge: I pledged myself that if my life was spared I would come back to Atchison, and they pledged themselves that if I did come back they would hang me." True to his word, he returned to Atchison in November, 1855, but was not molested in any way. In April of the following year he came back again, however, and was at once seized by a mob, and this time tarred and feathered. He was stripped to the waist, his body covered with a coat of tar, and, for lack of feathers, cotton was applied. He was then put into his buggy, his clothes tossed in beside him, and again with threats of hanging if he returned, he was allowed to depart. The raft on which Mr. Butler was sent down the river was made of two logs; one

Jonathan Lang, alias "Shang," the hero of Senator Ingalls' "Catfish Aristocracy," and the "last mayor of Sumner," lived and died in Sumner. When all his lovely companions had faded and gone "Shang" still pined on the stem. The senator's description of this type of a vanished race is unique:

"To the most minute observer his age was a question of the gravest doubt. He might have been thirty; he might have been a century, with no violation of the probabilities. His hair was a sandy sorrel, something like a Rembrandt interior, and strayed around his freckled scalp like the top layer of a hayrick in a tornado. His eyes were two ulcers, half filled with pale-blue starch. A thin, sharp nose projected above a lipless mouth that seemed always upon the point of breaking into the most grievous lamentations, and never opened save to take whisky and tobacco in and let oaths and saliva out. A long, slender neck, yellow and wrinkled after the manner of a lizard's belly, bore this dome of thought upon its summit, itself projecting from a miscellaneous assortment of gent's furnishing goods, which covered a frame of unearthly longitude and unspeakable emaciation. Thorns and thongs supplied the place of buttons upon the costume of this Brummel of the bottom, coarsely patched beyond recognition of the original fabric. The coat had been constructed for a giant, the pants for a pigmy. They were too long in the waist and too short in the leg, and flapped loosely around his shrunk shanks high above the point where his fearful feet were partially concealed by mismated shoes that permitted his great toes to peer from their gaping integuments, like the heads of two snakes of a novel species and uncommon feter. This princely phenomenon was topped with a hat which had neither band nor brim nor crown:

"If that could shape be called which shape had none'."

"His voice was high, shrill and querulous, and his manner an odd mixture of fawning servility and apprehensive effrontery at the sight of a 'damned Yankee abolitionist,' whom he hated and feared next to a negro who was not a slave."

The only error in the senator's description of "Shang" is that "Shang" was "abolitionist" himself, and "fit to free the nigger."

"Shang" continued to live in Sumner until every house, save his miserable hut, had vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision. He claimed and was proud of the title, "the last mayor of Sumner." He died a few years ago, and a little later lightning struck his cabin and it was devoured by flames. And thus passed away the last relic of Sumner.

In the flood tide of Sumner's prosperity, 1856 to 1859—for before that it was nothing, after that nothing—it had ambition to become the county seat of the newly organized county of Atchison. J. P. Wheeler, president of the Sumner Town Company, was a member of the lower house of the territorial legislature, and he "logrolled" a bill through that body conferring upon Sumner the title of county seat, but the Atchison "gang" finally succeeded in getting the bill killed in the senate. Subsequently—October, 1858—there was an election to settle the vexed question of a county seat. Atchison won; Sumner lost.

About this time Atchison secured its first railroad. The smoke from the locomotive engines drifted to Sumner and enveloped it like a pall. The decadence was at hand, and Sumner's race to extinction and oblivion was

sound, the other rotten. At the end of the raft a small sapling was placed, from which floated a flag bearing this inscription around a picture of a white man riding at full gallop, on horseback, with a negro behind him: "Greeley to the rescue; I have a nigger. The Rev. Mr. Butler, agent for the underground railroad." The Historical Society has a facsimile of this flag in its museum; the original is owned by the Butler family.

rapid. One day there was an exodus of citizens; the houses were torn down and the timbers thereof carted away, and foundation stones were dug up and carried hence. Successive summers' rains and winters' snows furrowed streets and alleys beyond recognition and filled foundation excavations to the level, and ere long a tangled mass of briars and brambles hid away the last vestige of the once busy, ambitious city. The forest, again unvexed by ax or saw, asserted his dominion once more, and to-day, beneath the shadow cast by mighty oaks and sighing cottonwoods, Sumner lies dead and forgotten.

OLD SUMNER.¹⁷

The founder of Sumner was John P. Wheeler, a red-headed, blue-eyed, consumptive, slim, freckled enthusiast from Massachusetts. He was a surveyor by profession, and also founded the town of Hiawatha. He was one of the adventurers who came to Kansas as a result of the excitement of 1855-'56, and was only twenty-one years old when he came west. Most of the men who had much to do with early Kansas history were young.

The town was not named for Charles Sumner, as is generally supposed, but for his brother, George Sumner, one of the original stockholders. At that time Atchison was controlled by southern sympathizers—P. T. Abell, the Stringfellows, the McVeys, A. J. Westbrook and others—and abolitionists were not welcome in the town. It was believed that a city would be built within a few miles of this point, as it was favorable for overland freighting, being farther west than any other point on the Missouri river. On the old French maps Atchison was known as the "Grand Detour," meaning the great bend in the river to the westward.

Being a violent abolitionist, John P. Wheeler determined to establish a town where abolitionists would be welcome, and Sumner was the result. The town was laid out in 1856, and the next year Wheeler had a lithograph¹⁸ made, which he took east for use in booming his town.

Among others captured by means of this lithograph was John J. Ingalls. Wheeler and Ingalls were both acquainted with a Boston man of means named Samuel A. Walker. Wheeler wanted Walker to invest in Sumner, and as Walker knew that Ingalls was anxious to go west, he asked him to stop at Sumner and report upon it as a point for the investment of Boston money.

Mr. Ingalls arrived in Sumner on the 4th of October, 1858, on the steamer Duncan S. Carter, which left St. Louis four days before. The town then

NOTE 17.—This account of Sumner, by E. W. Howe, was printed in the pictorial historical edition of the *Atchison Daily Globe*, issued July 16, 1894.

NOTE 18.—Ingalls thus describes the lithograph used by Wheeler as an advertisement of his town:

"That chromatic triumph of lithographed mendacity, supplemented by the loquacious embellishments of a lively adventurer who has been laying out town sites and staking off corner lots for some years past in Tophet, exhibited a scene in which the attractions of art, nature, science, commerce and religion were artistically blended. Innumerable drays were transporting from a fleet of gorgeous steamboats vast cargoes of foreign and domestic merchandise over Russ pavements to colossal warehouses of brick and stone. Dense, wide streets of elegant residences rose with gentle ascent from the shores of the tranquil stream. Numerous parks, decorated with rare trees, shrubbery and fountains, were surrounded with the mansions of the great and the temples of their devotion. The adjacent eminences were crowned with costly piles which wealth, directed by intelligence and controlled by taste, had erected for the education of the rising generation of Sumnerites. The only shadow upon the enchanting landscape fell from the clouds of smoke that poured from the towering shafts of her acres of manufactories, while the whole circumference of the undulating prairie was white with endless, sinuous trains of wagons, slowly moving toward the mysterious regions of the Farther West."

contained about two thousand people, five hundred more than Atchison; but Sumner was already declining, and Mr. Ingalls did not advise his friend Walker to invest.

A hotel building costing \$16,000 had been built by Samuel Hollister. A famous steamboat cook had charge of the kitchen in the old days, and the stages running between Jefferson City and St. Joe stopped there every day for dinner. Jefferson City was then the end of the railroad—the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, now the Missouri Pacific, which runs through the deserted site of Sumner and directly over the foundation of the wagon factory built by Levi A. Woods. This wagon factory was one of the results of Wheeler's audacious lithograph, and few wagons were actually manufactured. The factory was heavily insured, and burned.

Albert D. Richardson was a citizen of Sumner¹⁹ when Mr. Ingalls arrived there; also James Hauk, the father of Minnie Hauk, who has since become famous as a singer in grand opera. James Hauk was a carpenter, whose wife operated a boarding house. Minnie Hauk waited on the table, and was noted among the boarders as a smart little girl with a long yellow braid down her back, who could play the piano pretty well. The next year Hauk made a house boat and floated down the river to New Orleans.

When John J. Ingalls went to Sumner, a young man of twenty-four, he took great interest in such characters as Archie Boler and Jonathan Gardner Lang. Lang was a jug fisherman in the river, melon raiser, truck-patch farmer and town drunkard. Ingalls says that Lang was really a bright fellow. He had been a dragoon in the Mexican war, and his stories of experience in the West were intensely interesting. Ingalls used to go out in Lang's boat when he was jugging for catfish and spend hours listening to his talk. Finally Ingalls wrote his "Catfish Aristocracy," and Lang recognized himself as the hero. He was very indignant and threatened to sue Ingalls, having been advised by some jackleg lawyer that the article was libelous. Lang lived on a piece of land belonging to Ingalls at the time, and Ingalls told the writer of this the other day that it was actually true that he settled with Lang for a sack of flour and a side of bacon. Lang served in the Civil War, and long after its close, when his old friend was president of the United States senate, he secured him a pension and a lot of back pay. But this he squandered in marrying. His pension money was a curse to him, for it only served to put a lot of wolves on his trail.

When the war broke out the Atchison men who objected to abolitionists settling in their town were driven out of the country, and this attracted a good many of the citizens of Sumner. But its death blow came in June, 1860, when nearly every house in the place was either blown down or badly damaged by a tornado. This was the first and only tornado in the history of this immediate section.

ROME, ELLIS COUNTY.

"The secretary of the Kansas Historical Society is endeavoring to prepare a complete list of all the Kansas towns which once flourished and then passed into oblivion. Perhaps Mr. Martin is not aware of the stupendous

NOTE 19.—The Historical Society has in its collections a plat of Sumner. The town was surveyed in 1857 by John P. Wheeler, its proprietor. Sumner was situated on a bluff overlooking the river, and to make traffic easy and the wharf accessible a sixty-per-cent cut was necessary. It is said that laborers and teams were imported from St. Louis and that \$20,000 was spent in grading Washington avenue, as the street to the levee was called. This grade, though choked with young timber, is still visible.

nature of his undertaking," remarks Frank C. Montgomery in the *Kansas City Journal*. "The early Kansan was essentially a town builder. The settler who did not dream dreams of a future metropolis on his quarter section was very much the exception. Every county in the state has had from three to ten towns which flourished for a brief spell and then decayed slowly or went quickly before the violent assaults of some successful rival. In many of the counties the story of county-seat contests reads like something akin to civil war. Aside from the slavery question, nothing has caused the loss of more life in Kansas than the fierce jealousies which existed between the budding towns, and particularly upon the western border. Martin has certainly hit upon a subject of surpassing interest and one which involves most of the history of the state itself.

"When the collection of abandoned towns has been made complete it will be found that none has more of interest than the town of Rome, in Ellis county. Rome was the pioneer town of the whole western half of Kansas. If we draw a line from Jewell county south to Harper county, we shall find that west of it is fully one-half of the territory of Kansas, and in 1867 Rome was the only town in this vast region.

"Rome came into existence in the latter part of May in the year given, being founded by the Lull brothers, of Salina. At that time the Kansas Pacific railroad was complete to Ellsworth and grading was in progress more than one hundred miles west. By the middle of June quite a town had appeared about the first tent erected by the Lull boys. Why the name of Rome was chosen no one can tell. It was soon the rendezvous for all the plainsmen. The first stone building was erected by W. E. Cody²⁰ (Buffalo Bill), and he was one of the moving spirits of the settlement. In a week the population numbered about 500. Soon there were 2000 souls upon the town site, composed of that curious hodgepodge, always found in the frontier camp, of business men, soldiers, railroad graders, gamblers, hunters, cut-throats and prostitutes. There were stocks of goods in Rome that would be a credit to any of the largest cities of Kansas. Numerically the saloons were in the ascendancy. Glancing down a single business street, the eye would meet such familiar names as the 'Lone Star,' 'The Dewdrop Inn,' 'The Occidental,' 'Grader's Retreat' and 'The Last Chance.' Writing some years ago of the rise and fall of Rome, Mr. S. Motz, one of the original settlers, said:

"The saloon business was thriving and continuous all day, all night; no halt, no intermission. The fully supplied customer was pushed out into the street to make room for the thirsty one. This apparent ill treatment touched the sympathies, or the speculative nature, of one Joe North, a conspicuous character among the saloon element, who constructed a small annex to his place of business, to be used as a stowaway for all who had lost the power of locomotion. Some of North's competitors circulated the report that all who enjoyed the advantage of this special hospitality would depart humming the refrain, "Not a Penny in My Pocket." The report, however, did not affect the business of Joe; his victims always had a good word for him. He was generous, kind hearted by nature, but so thoroughly imbued with the high-heeled-boot and broad-brimmed-hat idea that only what was reckless and tended toward desperate deeds would satisfy his ambition to be known as wild and woolly and hard to curry. Before he had fully established the reputation which he coveted his career ended at the end of a rope, with the other end thrown over a telegraph pole at Wallace, Wallace county.'

NOTE 20.—W. E. Cody and William Rose were partners in a general store at Rome, and were among its most ardent promoters.

"In the summer of 1867 the Kansas Pacific reached Rome and passed on west. In June of that year a great freshet in Big creek drowned out old Fort Fletcher, fifteen miles below, and a new post called Fort Hays was established about a mile from Rome. Then came Phinney Moore and W. E. Webb and erected a tent on the plateau about one mile east of Rome, and said they were starting a town called Hays City. At the same time the railroad raised its approaches to the Big creek bridge, cutting Rome off from the fort by a high embankment. Then the rival towns struggled for the ascendancy, and Hays City gradually forged ahead. There was n't much violence between the partisans, though at one time 'Jedge' M. E. Joyce, a famous border character, got a bullet through his shoulder in the course of an argument which he was making in behalf of Rome. In 1868 the cholera swooped down on Rome and gave her another impetus toward the goal of oblivion. Little by little her population oozed away, and mostly into the new town of Hays, and by 1870 there was little left in Rome save the ruins. To-day not even a ruin remains, and the traveler can see but an enormous patch of sunflowers to mark what was once the metropolis of all western Kansas."

REPUBLICAN CITY,²¹ CLAY COUNTY.

There was a time when Republican City was a rival of Clay Center, but to-day it is a mere memory of the men who fondly wished and hoped to make it the leading town of Clay county. Although Clay Center became the county seat when the county was organized, it too was barely more than a town upon paper. The founders of Republican City, scanning the future, believed, no doubt, that push and enterprise would secure to them the county seat.

A division of the county into two parts by the Republican river materially aided the projectors, for it was very natural for those living south of the Republican to be interested in securing this much coveted prize—the county seat. But it was a question of votes, and if the influx of settlers preponderated over those north of the river, then it could be secured. Although for several years there was considerable rivalry between the two sections of the county over the relocation of the county seat, ultimately the population increased faster north of the river, and Republican City was destined to survive only in name.

In 1868 A. C. Stickney, of Junction City, a business man of that place, filed on the south half of the southeast quarter of section 14, township 8, range 2 east, for town-site purposes, and that year surveyed and platted eight blocks in the south half of this tract, one of which was designated on the plat as the courthouse square. Mr. Stickney also erected a business house and opened a general store, with W. E. Payne, of Wakefield, in charge, the business being continued until 1872. On March 12, 1873, the Junction City & Fort Kearney railroad reached Clay Center. That forever ended the hopes and attempts to build up Republican City.

At one period, though, the latter possessed some advantages which Clay Center did not have. A daily stage route between Junction City and Concordia was established by the Southwestern Stage Company, carrying passengers and the mail, and Republican City became a relay station.

NOTE 21.—This article, by W. P. Anthony, was first published in the *Clay Center Times* of June 6, 1912, from which paper we copy it.

Sometimes important letters were mailed by Clay Center people at Republican City, because mails only reached Clay Center semi-weekly. The various lines of business, too, were better represented there for a short time than at Clay Center.

No one could foresee the events of the future, and evidently Doctor Millen, who only a short time ago died, must have balanced probabilities and solved them in favor of Republican City as a future business point. Anyway, he began the practice of his profession—dentistry—there, and, I presume, was the first dentist in Clay county. Amos Reeder, an early settler, sold his dwelling house to the school district, and it was moved from the Reeder homestead into the village. It was a small building, 14x20, and served as a schoolhouse, church and public hall—a convenience that for some time Clay Center did not possess, the latter using the old stone courthouse that stood on the northeast corner of the square for all public meetings. The first school was taught by Mrs. Porter Sargent, wife of one of the early homesteaders on Five Creeks, and now remembered only by the early settlers remaining in the county. This school was taught during the winter of 1868-'69. The schoolhouse was moved to its present site about 1874, and was long known as the Hand schoolhouse.

Mr. Stickney built a second store room, in which James Shaffer, for many years a resident of Clay Center, conducted a harness shop. Afterward M. E. Clark opened a grocery store in this building, with Charles H. Horton in charge. This stock, the business probably not being very profitable, was moved back to Junction City, from which place it came. Then Blattner & Blakely occupied the building with a stock of hardware, stoves and tinware. In 1870 E. B. Marvin, another homesteader, opened a blacksmith shop, which he ran until 1874. Of the men who were originally interested in Republican City, Doctor Gillespie is probably the only one still residing in that vicinity. He was engaged in selling drugs and practicing medicine. He also carried a stock of groceries. At one time there was a Grange store, with J. W. Reeder in charge, but the business kept dwindling until it opened only on Saturdays for the benefit of its customers. Mr. Reeder also conducted a hotel, this building now forming part of the house on the Marshall farm.

Republican City became a post village in 1868, J. W. Reeder being postmaster. He was succeeded by W. E. Payne, Doctor Gillespie, Smith Beatty and George Neill, who served until the office was discontinued.

Whether it was because of the exalted patriotism of the residents of the place or not I do not know, but daily they kept the stars and stripes floating to the breezes upon a tall flagstaff, the flag at all times being plainly visible at Clay Center, seemingly bidding defiance to any schemes of that town to retain the honor of being the county seat.

But that was forty years ago or more. About all that now remains—a continuing reminder of the scenes and associations of bygone days—is the church that was established there. As of yore, its congregation still assembles, but few, indeed, of the "old familiar faces" of the men and women of forty years ago will be found there.

THE END OF CORONADO.

The rival towns of Leoti and Coronado were within plain sight of each other, being but three miles apart. Leoti was platted as a government town site in July, 1885, and was proved up June 10, 1886. The post office was first called Bonasa, the department at Washington having refused to

permit it to be called Leoti, since there was another post office in the state by the name of Leota. A half dozen different names had been suggested by the inhabitants of the new town, and each turned down by the department. At last Milton Brown, the secretary of the town company, happened to see a picture of a bird called "Bonasa" and described as a species of the prairie grouse. This seem to him not an inappropriate name for the newly fledged town, and after some conference on the subject he sent the name to the Post Office Department, where it was promptly accepted. The town carried this name but a short time, for on January 18, 1887, through the efforts of Congressman S. R. Peters, the original name of Leoti was restored.

R. E. Jenness was the president of the Leoti town company, and nearly half of the members of the association were Garden City men. A newspaper was among the town's first achievements, the *Wichita County Standard* being issued November 19, 1885, by C. S. Triplett.²² At this time there were but five shanties on the town site, and the nearest post office was twenty-five miles away.

Coronado was incorporated in October, 1885, with John W. Knapp as president of the town company, and W. D. Brainerd secretary. It is said that in February, 1886, the town had but four houses, but that by July 15 of that year it could boast of a newspaper, the *Wichita County Herald*, issued by James Barrett, and after his death by James B. Rodgers. The first house in the town was the Hotel Vendome, built by the town company and completed in February, 1886. The village grew rapidly, and by March, 1887, there were over one hundred business houses and residences.

A bitter strife between the two towns is indicated by the tone of the newspapers during the years 1885, 1886 and 1887. The editors indulged in some of the most abusive and picturesque invective, couched in the vernacular of the West, ever spread on print paper in Kansas. Each town charged the other with lies, forgery, fraud, trickery, bulldozing and intimidation, and finally with murder. From the files of these and Topeka papers we have gathered some of the facts relative to the organization of the county of Wichita and the county-seat war.

The county was created by the legislature of 1873 and named by the late Col. M. M. Murdock, of Wichita, Kan., who was a member of the state

NOTE 22.—The Historical Society is indebted to Mr. Triplett for information contained in this story of "The End of Coronado."

Charles S. Triplett was born at Lima (now Howe), La Grange county, Indiana, December 20, 1849. He is the son of Robert Triplett, a native of Virginia, and Emily R. (Kinney) Triplett, a native of Vermont. They settled in La Grange county when Indians were their neighbors. He was educated in the common schools and the printing office. He came from La Grange to Kansas in March, 1870. He first settled in Burlingame, then Marion, Hutchinson, and subsequently in various localities, engaged in printing and publishing of county newspapers. For six years past he has been engaged in the state printing plant in Topeka. He worked at Burlingame for a year and a half on the *Chronicle* for Hon. M. M. Murdock, and then going to Marion in the summer of 1871, he established the *Marion Record*. In the fall of 1874, after the grasshopper invasion, he sold the plant to E. W. Hoch and moved to Hutchinson, where he worked on the *News*. In the fall of 1885 he located at Leoti, Wichita county. Here he established the *Wichita County Standard*, afterwards changed to the *Leoti Standard*. He published this paper for eleven years. He was the first justice of the peace in Wichita county, appointed in 1886. He represented Wichita county in the legislature in 1887 and 1889. He was postmaster at Leoti in 1891 and 1892. He was one of the original guards at the Hutchinson Reformatory. In 1897 and 1898 he was a justice of the peace at Herington. While justice of the peace in Wichita county he performed the first marriage ceremony in that county and sentenced the first man to jail from the county. At different times he engaged in editorial work on the *Junction City Republican*, *Manhattan Mercury* and *Mound City Republic*. He has no wife, no children and no near relatives, every member of his family being dead.

senate at the time; organization, however, was not attempted for some years.

In the spring of 1886 Leoti raised money to send its representative to Topeka with a memorial for the organization of the county, and about July 15 Governor Martin appointed W. D. Brainerd, of Coronado, census taker for the county. Both Leoti and Coronado asked to be allowed to send an agent with him on the census tour, that their respective interests might be protected, but permission was refused them. The Coronado paper said: "As a public official Mr. Brainerd intends to do his work impartially, but as a citizen of Coronado he is for this town first, last and all the time."

The work of the organization was not coming on as rapidly as was desired. The *Leoti Standard* of October 21, 1886, thus states the cause of the delay: "Coronado has raised the question of jurisdiction, and secured a ruling from the court that Wichita was not attached to Finney county for judicial purposes, and under that ruling they secured an injunction to prohibit the probate judge of Finney county from issuing deeds to the citizens of Leoti for their lots. Under that decision the county commissioners of Finney county refused to grant the petition for organization of Leoti as a city of the third class. Under that decision the sheriff of Finney county has failed to issue his proclamation calling an election in Wichita county as a municipal township attached to Finney, thus depriving nearly 1000 voters of their right of franchise."

On November 8, 1886, a delegation from Leoti, headed by C. W. Garland, arrived in Topeka in search of Mr. Brainerd, whom they charged with connivance with Coronado in delaying the organization of the county, "because they were unable to get enough signers to their memorial to make Coronado the county seat." November 12 Mr. Brainerd reported to the governor a population of 1095 householders in the county, 817 voters, and \$510,572 in taxable property in excess of exemptions.

During the last week in November representatives from both towns presented memorials to the governor, who agreed to appoint a special disinterested commissioner to canvass the county for votes on the county seat. The town securing the most votes was to have not only the temporary county seat, but two county commissioners as well. The Leoti memorial contained 500 names, while that of Coronado had 1700. Governor Martin appointed T. B. Gerow as special commissioner, and he began his work December 7, 1886. He was accompanied by a man from Leoti and a man from Coronado, and completed the poll December 22. The result was 451 votes for Leoti and 285 for Coronado, a total of 736 votes cast, and the census taker had listed 817 votes. Of this special canvass the *Coronado Herald*, December 23, 1886, says: "No doubt Leoti has a majority of the votes polled. Four townships north and northeast were intimidated from voting by the presence of 72 teams loaded with rifles, shotguns and imported bulldozers from Wallace, Greeley and Hamilton counties, 242 in number, put there by Leoti agents." The *Leoti Standard* retaliated by charging that Coronado men said they would win if it cost them \$50 per vote, that they had imported Kendall men and men from other counties, and had employed a United States marshal, without authority, to guard the polls. The *Standard* also claimed that the polls at Coronado were covered by men stationed in stairways and second-story windows, armed with Winchesters, and that in addition to these they had 300 armed men to use in case of an emergency.

The Scott City *Herald* of about the same date had the following to say: "Leoti was the scene of a genuine cowboy raid. Anticipating trouble over the county-seat war, Leoti had sent to Wallace after a band of fifteen or twenty cowboys, armed to the teeth, to assist in protecting their rights. Not being needed for protection, they proceeded to shoot up the town. The post office was riddled with bullets, every business building fired into, men were compelled to dance at the point of cocked revolvers, including the county clerk, and one man was shot through the foot."

Another lively episode of the time was the horsewhipping of a Coronado editor by a Leoti man, who rode defiantly out of the town at full speed, shooting his revolver into the air and scattering the women and children on the main street.

This poll having been completed, Wichita county was duly organized by the governor's proclamation, dated December 24, 1886, and Leoti was named as temporary county seat. R. E. Jenness, S. W. McCall and W. D. Brainerd were appointed county commissioners and Lilburn Moore county clerk. These officers divided the county into townships, appointed voting places, and set the day, February 8, 1887, for the election of county and township officers and the choice of a permanent county seat. On February 4, 1887, there was approved by the governor a legislative "Act to provide for the registration of electors at elections for the location of county seats." This act was not published until February 5, and R. E. Jenness, chairman of the temporary board of county commissioners, telegraphed to the attorney-general for instructions. These instructions were to hold the election for officers on the date decided upon, but to postpone the county-seat question, not voting on it until March 10. In a decision rendered March 3, 1887, at the request of the governor, the attorney-general again made the statement that under the new act the county-seat question must go over until March 10. The legislature recognized the election of the representative from the county, Charles S. Triplett, editor of the *Leoti Standard*, and made no movement to unseat him.

Nearly all of Leoti voted at this election (February 8), but over 400 Coronado boomers refused to vote, claiming that the election would be illegal, and that it should be postponed until March 10, proceeding to handbill the county to that effect. Leoti claimed that the act postponing the election was unconstitutional, and that Leoti had been legally chosen county seat.

The crisis in the war came on Sunday, February 27, each town charging the other with starting it. The following account is taken from a report of the affair made to the governor by Commissioner Jenness, Sheriff John H. Edwards and County Treasurer S. E. Gandy:

"About ten A. M. Sunday a messenger was sent from Coronado [to Leoti], inviting Charles Coulter and others to go over and have a good time. About one P. M. Mr. Coulter, Frank Jenness, William Raines, Albert Boorey, George Watkins, A. Johnson and Emmet Deming went over to Coronado in one rig. They met a few of the boys at the drug store of Doctor Wright, and after a half-hour visit got in their wagon to return, when Coronado men began an abusive tirade. Coulter and Williams got out of the wagon, and the fight began. Several volleys of shots were fired into the Leoti boys, killing Charles Coulter and William Raines and mortally wounding George Watkins, who died later. The other four men were sitting in the wagon unarmed, but none of them escaped without four or five severe wounds from large Winchester balls. They all fell out of the wagon at the

first volley except Albert Boorey, who with Frank Jenness escaped to Leoti with the runaway team. The scheme was concocted by the Coronado gang, stationed on the streets and in their houses, a large part of the shots coming from second-story windows.

"We ask your excellency to take action in the matter that will prevent further bloodshed and protect us at the election March 10."

Coronado claimed that the Leoti men came over with a case of beer, and that the visitors were partially masked. On arrival they announced that they had come to round up the town, and immediately started in to make everybody drink, compelling an eastern man to dance to the spatter of the bullets, and beginning the fight by knocking down two men. It was also claimed that the Leoti men fired from the wagon, thus forcing the Coronado men to fire in self-defense.

The Leoti side of the story as told at the time was that Charles Coulter, who was running a drug store at Leoti, had borrowed a case of beer from Doctor Wright, the Coronado druggist. For, notwithstanding the desperate condition of county-seat affairs, there was a strong feeling of neighborliness and goodwill between the citizens of the contending towns, and beer borrowing was but one of the evidences of that feeling. Doctor Wright had not received the consignment he had expected on Saturday, and his stock of this beverage was running a little shy. He sent word to this effect to Coulter, asking a return of the loan. Coulter, with the utmost good nature, arranged to keep his credit good, and asked some of the boys to go over for the ride, which invitation was accepted. Deming was a good musician and quite a favorite among the young people, and took his guitar along to give the Coronado folks some music. After an hour or so of social intercourse the boys got into their spring wagon and started back home. At this juncture "Red" Loomis came up and began abusing them, calling them names and using expressions which some of the Leoti boys would not stand for. Then the trouble began, and Loomis got the licking he richly deserved.

The Leotians again loaded up and started for home. As they turned the corner by the bank building they were greeted with the volley of bullets from the second-story windows, which resulted so disastrously. The team was hit by several bullets and the bed of the spring wagon was perforated in many places. Boorey was so full of bullet holes that his escape was considered a miracle. Jenness was badly hurt, but seemed to be the most lucky one of the bunch. Johnson received one bullet in the head which the physicians were unable to locate. After suffering agony for weeks, during which his death was daily expected, he began slowly to recover. One day while on the street the bullet dropped into his mouth, after which his improvement was rapid. Deming was hit in the leg, and in spite of heroic efforts to save the injured member it was found necessary to amputate it just below the thigh.

Adjutant General A. B. Campbell was notified at once of the situation, and Col. J. H. Ricksecker, lieutenant colonel of the Second Kansas militia, was instructed to bring the Larned and Sterling companies to Garden City and station them there ready for marching orders. General Campbell and Colonel Ricksecker arrived at Leoti about four o'clock Monday morning, after an all-night ride from Lakin, the nearest railroad station. Leoti was closely guarded to prevent surprise from the enemy, and a large rifle pit

was dug near the town well at the center of the town. Pickets were also placed around Coronado to prevent the escape of any of the citizens before the authorities could get action.

Immediately after breakfast the officers drove over to Coronado, accompanied by the sheriff, to review the situation. General Campbell soon quieted the objections to arrest on the part of the Coronado citizens by telling them that the law must be allowed to take its course; that he had two companies of militia under arms, ready to march at a moment's notice, and that unless they would quietly submit to the civil authorities he would have his soldiers on the ground in twenty-four hours and give the town a little touch of military discipline. They finally consented to submit to arrest if they could be guaranteed full protection. This was readily agreed to by both the officers and the representatives of Leoti. The sheriff then proceeded to arrest fourteen citizens implicated in the murder of the Leoti men, and swore in deputies from both towns to act as guards. When the party returned to Leoti with the prisoners there was not the slightest demonstration, it having been previously arranged that people should keep out of the streets as much as possible. The sheriff placed his prisoners in the upper room of the town hall, there being no jail. All waived examination until the June term of the district court. Four of the prisoners were taken to Garden City and the rest to Dodge City.

Other arrests followed, making twenty in all. They were all prominent business men, including a banker and the president of the town company, and each swore that he had nothing to do with the shooting. In June the prisoners were all released, eight being admitted to bail at \$3000 each, and the others discharged for lack of evidence. On Saturday night, December 12, 1887, one other Coronado man was arrested and lodged in the Leoti jail. Early Sunday morning a mob of masked Leoti men demanded the prisoner to lynch him. Being refused, they opened fire on the sheriff and his deputies, who returned shot for shot, which scattered the mob and left a bloody trail behind it. The trials of all these defendants came up on a change of venue at Great Bend in February, 1888. The trial of the man who was so nearly lynched was most bitterly contested. The jury acquitted him, and the other cases were dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

A one-time resident of Coronado now says that his townspeople heard of the threat of the Leoti men to round up their town, but paid little heed until the men arrived in their midst one day soon after dinner. While they were amusing themselves by making a sick druggist and his nurse dance to the crack of six-shooters, and other like tricks, the cooler heads of Coronado were gathering in near-by places, armed for the protection of the town. He maintains that the Leoti men were the first to knock down and shoot, and that three Coronado men were shot and two knocked on the head before the volley was fired which killed the two leaders from Leoti. He also says that it was with great difficulty that another fight was averted during the negotiations for the removal of the dead and wounded.

Although as a result of the election of March 10, 1887, the commissioners declared Leoti to be the permanent county seat, the Coronado paper fought to the last ditch. Its issue of March 10 had the first page printed in red ink and gaudy with a spread-eagle and a crowing cock. It claimed to have won the victory because Leoti had shoved in 500 illegal votes, and also stated that the light vote at Coronado was caused by the presence of Leoti's

armed forces entrenched in rifle pits around the polls. Indeed, both towns were fortified by earthworks and rifle pits.

Until September, 1888, Coronado continued the fight to set aside the county-seat election of March 10, 1887. Meantime Farmer City came to the front as a sort of compromise, and two county commissioners assumed the right to remove some of the records from Leoti to Farmer City, basing their actions on an alleged election in that year, 1888, for the location of a permanent county seat.

The fight ended abruptly and tamely by the town of Leoti offering free lots to all Coronado citizens desiring to move to the county seat. This offer was generally accepted, and during the fall and winter of 1888-'89 all of the Coronado town-site buildings were moved to Leoti. The strife was so quickly forgiven and forgotten that the president of the Coronado town company, John W. Knapp, was elected a member of the Leoti city council the following spring. But Leoti never became more than a country town, dwindling to a population of 151 in 1900. The Santa Fe deserted it, selling for a few hundred dollars its one-story depot to the county for a courthouse. The town now (1912) has a population of 288 and one railroad, the Missouri Pacific.

The last house at Coronado was just outside the city limits, on land which reverted to the state. This house belonged to an old couple who lived on their farm. A sharp lawyer took the land as a homestead and tried to bluff the aged people out of the building. Ten farmers came one day with teams and moving apparatus, set the lawyer's family out, and moved the four-room cottage to the farm of the rightful owners. The lawyer sued the farmers for \$10,000 each. The jury was out but ten minutes, returning a verdict of damages for the plaintiff to the amount of 57 cents.

A few years later the editor of the *Leoti Standard* went over to the forsaken town site, pulled up the old town pump and carried it to Leoti. So now there remains not even a place to get a drink of water in this dead town, where strong drink once made men so reckless of human life.

Besides what it cost in blood and suffering and useless litigation, the Wichita county-seat war cost the state, according to the report of the adjutant general, just \$668.08.

LOST TOWNS OF BOURBON COUNTY.

Complying with a request from the secretary of the State Historical Society, Mr. C. E. Cory, of Fort Scott, undertook to dig up some account of the lost towns of Bourbon county, with the following result:

In 1871 the coal-mining interests established "B" switch on the west half of the northeast quarter of section 27, township 26, range 25. A town was afterwards built there, whose name, Clarksburg,²³ commemorates the maiden name of the wife of one of the early settlers. It was the home of those who worked in the "strip" banks, and the town at one time contained 800 people. The site was never platted and is now farm land. On the establishment of the rural free delivery even the post office was discontinued.

In 1870 a coal baron did an immense business in stripping and shipping coal in the southeastern part of Bourbon county. In 1871 he platted a town

NOTE 23.—The 1891-'92 directory of Fort Scott and Bourbon county gives Clarksburg a list of thirty-one male residents of voting age.

on sections 19 and 30, township 26, range 25, and its name, Godfrey,²⁴ keeps him in mind. After growing to a population of 1200 people, with freight shipments equal to those of Fort Scott, the town dwindled with the passing of the coal business, until now there is not even a post office. It was here and at Clarksburg that George W. Finley, now of Topeka, cut a wide swath in those old days in the coal business. From that neighborhood, also, John Perry started the business which afterwards became the Keith & Perry Coal Company, and later the Central Coal and Coke Company. At that time Perry used to haul coal to the station with four oxen. If John should lose the two or three millions which he has gathered up he could come back here and do as good a job as ever, for wealth has not spoiled him.²⁵

Appleton, section 12, township 27, range 25, was started by Capt. E. R. Stevens in 1866. Captain Stevens was a Wisconsin man, and he, with Adam Hoffman and Eugene Goss, formed the town company. A post office was established, but when Memphis was platted, one mile northwest on the railroad, most of Appleton moved over. The village of Wheeling, Mo., was just across the state line road. In 1874 the town of Memphis, located on section 1, township 27, range 25, was platted on account of the little coal switch built from the old Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad by B. P. McDonald and others. The railroad station at first was Elnor. This coal switch was afterwards taken over by the Gulf road, and thus later became a part of the enormous Memphis system. When the road was constructed to Memphis, Tenn., the railway company, unable to have two stations of the same name, asked the people of the village to change its name. A public meeting was held, post-office directories were studied, and finally J. I. Million, then and now a prominent citizen, caught the name Garland from the Garland stoves which were then coming into popularity. This was in 1885. The name pleased the people, and so the name of the town and post office became Garland, and in 1910 had a population of 276. Appleton, Memphis, Wheeling and Elnor have long since been forgotten.

In 1861 Gen. James H. Lane decided that Fort Scott was not needed on the map. It was a proslavery town, and Lane had no love for it. He organized the town of Fort Lincoln, named after the President, on the Osage river, about four miles west of where Fulton now is, section 27, township 23, range 24. Preparations were made by him to burn Fort Scott, but the plan failed.²⁶ The town of Fort Lincoln is only a memory.

In 1859, when the free-state people had settled in Bourbon county in sufficient numbers, they decided that Fort Scott should not be the county

NOTE 24.—Godfrey was on the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad, five miles south of Fort Scott, and in March, 1877, had 100 inhabitants, two stores, a schoolhouse and a church, and shipped fifty cars of coal daily. In 1891-'92, according to the directory of Fort Scott and Bourbon county, there were 130 male residents of voting age in the village, and in 1902-'03 the total population was but 34.

NOTE 25.—JOHN PERRY was born in Oxfordshire, England, February 4, 1850, the eldest son of Joseph and Mary (Coulling) Perry. He emigrated to America in 1869, when he was nineteen years of age, and soon located in Fort Scott, where he became engaged in mining and coal selling. In 1888 he established himself in Kansas City, Mo., becoming at once prominent in business and financial circles. Mr. Perry married Miss Kate M. Massey, of Washington, D. C. She and their four children were lost at sea, being passengers on the ship *La Bourgogne*, which went down as a result of a collision, July 4, 1898. Of the 735 people on board the ship only 164 were saved, and of that number only one was a woman. As a memorial to his wife and children Mr. Perry built the Perry Memorial Orphan Boys' Home, on Westport avenue, Kansas City. In 1901 Mr. Perry returned to his native land, taking up his residence in London. He has married the second time.

NOTE 26.—See Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 11, p. 229 *et seq.*

seat. An election was held and the county seat was removed to Marmaton,²⁷ where it remained until 1863, when the city of Fort Scott, under the subterfuge of building a city hall, erected a very nice courthouse at the corner of National avenue and Second street, where the Carnegie library now stands, which was given to the county and used until the present courthouse was built. The Fort Scott *Monitor*, always one of Fort Scott's most important business enterprises, was founded at Marmaton by D. B. Emmert,²⁸ one of the men who used to make things happen here. The Marmaton referred to was not the Marmaton of to-day, a station on the Missouri Pacific railway. It was located three-fourths of a mile south of that place, on the southwest corner of section 31, township 25, range 24. The town started off in pretentious style. A three-story hotel and a lot of good residences were built, and everybody thought that the future of the city was secure. There is nothing there now but a well and some rose and currant bushes run wild.

In 1878 the coal switch referred to in connection with Garland reached a point three miles south of Garland, and a town was started on the farm of John B. Caldwell, section 23, township 27, range 25. It had a post office and a railway station, both named in honor of Mr. Caldwell. Its 500 inhabitants have long since gone away, and the town site now produces good corn.

The town of Dayton, named after Dayton, Ohio, was located on the northwest quarter of section 14, and the northeast quarter of section 15, township 24, range 23. The plat was filed January 10, 1863. It never was even a village, however, and the post office was long ago discontinued. In the beginning of its career it was called Sprattsville.

The town of Harding, named after Russell Harding, general superintendent of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, was platted in 1888 by John N. Post, on the northwest quarter of section 6, township 24, range 24. The town was still-born, however, and is as large now as it was then. The post office, store and blacksmith shop make up the town.

In 1855 Rayville, northwest quarter section 31, township 23, range 24, was started, and the village and post office named after Josiah Ray, an early settler there. The town site was platted, lots were sold and the deeds recorded, but I have been unable to find any record of the plat. It was a well-known rendezvous for the Jayhawkers and a station on the stage line from Westport to the South. General Lane, Colonel Montgomery and John Brown were frequent visitors, and many old citizens of Fort Scott still tell

NOTE 27.—On February 11, 1858, the town of Marmiton was incorporated. It was located on section 31, township 25, range 24. Later the inhabitants objected to the spelling of Marmiton and petitioned the county court to change it. This was done by substituting the letter a for the i. The river had been named Marmiton by the French traders, the word meaning scullion or kitchen boy. The suggestion to the French traders may have come through finding some Indian pot or cooking utensil by the stream, the French word "marmite" meaning a pot or saucepan.

NOTE 28.—DAVID B. EMMERT, born in Pennsylvania in 1837, came to Kansas in 1860 and settled at Auburn, Shawnee county, and in June of that year established a paper called the Auburn *Docket*. This paper lasted one year, when Mr. Emmert moved to Marmaton, Bourbon county. Mr. Emmert was chief clerk of the first state house of representatives in 1861. In July, 1862, he issued the first copy of the *Monitor* at Marmaton. He was chief clerk of the house of representatives of 1865. In 1865 he was elected state senator for Bourbon county to fill a vacancy. In 1866 he was elected from the fourteenth senatorial district, Bourbon and Cherokee, to the state senate for a full term. From April, 1867, to October, 1871, he served as receiver at the Humboldt land office. In 1874 he was assistant secretary of the state senate. About 1881 he moved from Kansas to Albuquerque, N. M., where he died June 11, 1884. He left a wife and four children.

stories of the lavish hospitality and good cheer of the then coming metropolis. The town is no more. The streets, alleys and prospective parks are farm lands, and the post office was long ago abandoned, Mapleton and Fulton supplying mail to the people of the neighborhood.

THE STORY OF LADORE.²⁹

The town of Ladore, in Neosho county, was located on section 27, township 30, range 19 east. It was incorporated by the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad Company, and the plat filed September 30, 1870. The first settlers were P. McGaugh, Addison Roach and Joe Haskett. About 1872 the town was practically abandoned, and it is not on the post-office list today. At one time Ladore had a population of 500 people.

In the spring of 1870 L. A. Bowes was foreman for a railroad contractor who was building the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad. The headquarters of Mr. Bowes' gang was at Fort Roach,³⁰ now Ladore, Neosho county, and Fort Roach bore the reputation of being "as tough as they make 'em."

"It was the toughest place I ever struck," says Mr. Bowes. "Whisky was sold in nearly every house in the town. Vice and immorality flourished like a green bay tree. One day about noon seven hard-looking characters came into town. They commenced to fill up on tangleleg. That evening about dusk they began operations by knocking men down and robbing them. As they were heavily armed, they soon had full possession of the town and had everything their own way during the night.

"An old man by the name of Roach kept a boarding house about a quarter of a mile south of town, close to the railroad. Twenty-five of our workmen were boarding with him. The house was a double log pen, with a stairway running up between, and the men slept up stairs. About seven o'clock that night the seven desperadoes went down to the Roach house, placed two men at the foot of the stairway with revolvers to hold the twenty-five men up stairs, while the other five took possession of the lower part of the house and captured the inmates.

"Roach, his two daughters and a hired girl were downstairs. They beat Roach over the head with their revolvers until they thought he was dead. They would have killed him, but he played dead. They captured the three girls, carried them outside and kept them out all night. During the night they quarreled over them, and the leader of the gang shot one of his own men. The ball struck the man in the center of the forehead, and he fell dead on his face. The fellow who shot him walked up to him, rolled him over on his back and remarked, 'What a fine shot that was.'

"Along towards morning the citizens began to organize for the capture of those devils. A dozen or more of the leading men of the place came down to our quarters, which were located in the timber of Labette creek, a quarter of a mile south of the Roach house, and wakened me, wanting me

NOTE 29.—This story was told by Mr. Bowes in the *Topeka Mail and Breeze*, September, 1902.

NOTE 30.—Fort Roach was named for J. N. Roach, who was an early settler of Ladore township, taking up a claim there in 1866. It was the intention of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Company to make Ladore, as the village had been renamed, a junction of the main line and the Neosho division, and to build shops there, making of the town what Parsons is to-day. But the citizens of Ladore refused to sell lands to the railroad at anything like a reasonable figure. The company therefore negotiated for a town site farther down their line of road and established the town of Parsons, leaving Ladore nothing but a railroad sidetrack.

to assist in planning the capture of the brutes. We caught two of them before daylight in a drunken sleep in one of the saloons. We captured one in the timber with one of the girls shortly after daylight. The leader of the gang and two others had left for parts unknown. We started men out on every road in every direction, and a wagon party of seven men, armed with double-barrelled shotguns loaded with buckshot, captured them on the road to the Osage mission, now St. Paul.

"We locked the men up in a log barber shop put a guard over them, took them out one by one, led them down past the Roach house, had them identified by the girls, swung them up on a large projecting limb of a hackberry tree. By eleven o'clock five men hung lifeless on that one limb.

"One of the seven, like Old Dog Tray, seemed to have been caught in bad company. The girls did not recognize him as being a party to any of the devilry indulged in by the others. One of the girls was quite young, only about twelve years old. This fellow took her away from the others and put her back in the house. A committee was appointed to investigate him, and it all depended on the report of that committee whether he should hang or be turned loose. I was on the committee. We decided to spare his life. While we were investigating him the sheriff from Iola drove in, and we turned him over to him. We had hard work to save him, as sixty determined men were waiting outside with a rope ready and too willing to send him along with his partners.

"About three o'clock, after the people of the town and surrounding country had viewed the five men hanging on one limb, the bodies were let down and laid in a row under the tree, while a large grave, calculated to hold all, was being dug. One of the hanging party, who had more to say and do in the hanging business than any one else, stole the pants and boots off one of the dead men and cleared out. Had he been caught there would have been one more ornament on the hackberry tree.

"After hanging these men Ladore became a good, moral town. Every one seemed to be on his good behavior. The 'Wild Bills,' 'Texas Jacks,' 'Buckskin Joes' and 'Alkali Ikes' left for more congenial climes, and the town settled into a quiet, peaceful village. No official of the law ever asked any questions about the hanging or in any way interfered with those engaged in it."

GREENWOOD CITY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by EDWIN WALTERS, Kansas City, Mo.

Among the "has-beens" of Kansas but few are more interesting than Greenwood City, Greenwood county. Its location was in the fertile Verdigris valley, in the eastern part of the county. Its founder was John P. Mitchell, a son of Erin. He appeared in the Verdigris valley probably in the autumn of 1858. Between the Martindale farm, four miles below Madison, and old Pleasant Grove, some twenty-five miles down the valley, Mitchell claimed not less than six quarter sections of valuable land. Some old timers insist that he claimed more than a dozen tracts, but the writer remembers six, all fertile and well timbered. Mitchell placed a foundation of four logs on each claim. This was before the homestead laws were enacted, public land being subject to the law of preëmption only. All of these tracts were later settled on and claimed by various people. Then commenced a series of lawsuits that continued for twenty years, and ended only with the life of Mitchell. He finally succeeded, however, in perfecting title to two quarter

sections. But it has been estimated that his lawsuits in these twenty years cost the people of Greenwood county \$40,000.

David Mitchell, a brother of John P., died in Leavenworth about 1868. He "willed" a tract of land on the Verdigris to a four-year-old son of John P. Mitchell. About January, 1870, John P. Mitchell had this tract surveyed into a town site, and founded Greenwood City. This town flourished for four years. At one time it had about 900 inhabitants and was the second town in size in Greenwood county. It was headquarters for cattlemen and cowboys and dozens of desperadoes. Greenwood City had a number of stores and shops, but the institutions that did most to give it a decided tendency and to shape its destiny were a brewery and a distillery.

About March, 1871, Greenwood City was incorporated. J. P. Mitchell was elected mayor. A full set of municipal officers was inaugurated. It cannot truthfully be said that Greenwood City was guilty of all kinds of vice. Dissolute women seldom entered its borders, and murders were rare; but for noise and boisterous rowdiness it was in the front rank of frontier towns. Drunken cowboys and desperadoes frequently "shot up" the town.

As before stated, the title to the land on which Greenwood City stood rested in John P. Mitchell's infant son. There had been no decree of court to sell this land, or any portion of it, yet Mitchell and wife had granted about 400 warranty deeds to town lots on this tract. However, in the autumn of 1873 someone discovered that the title under these deeds was worthless, notwithstanding Mitchell had declared again and again "The title's good." As soon as the true condition of affairs became known there was great indignation; the inhabitants were thoroughly aroused. Mitchell was placed astride a rail and carried out of town, across the Verdigris at the Gavigan ford, and dumped on the ground.

But, as Mitchell expressed it, he "landed on both fate." He camped on the tract of land where the mob left him. Later he built a house there. He claimed the land, litigated over it a number of years, won the suit and title, and lived and died on this particular tract.

After Mayor Mitchell was deposed the city government collapsed, and, in the language of Uncle Bob Whitlock, a near-by farmer, "the bubble bust!" A few months after this time Greenwood City disappeared from the map, and its location has since been known as a part of section 28, township 25 south, range 13 east.

Among the desperadoes and outlaws who used to rendezvous at Greenwood City were Kinch West, Jack Tedford, Bill Holliman, Vid Farr, "Leather Bill," "William the Innocent" and many others. While these gentlemen lingered on the classic banks of the Verdigris the Texas authorities were offering rewards for them. At that time the reward for Kinch West was \$10,000. About five years after he left the Verdigris he was killed in Fort Worth, Tex., by an officer who was trying to arrest him.

One day Bill Holliman asked the writer, "Don't you shorthorns have what you call Sunday school?"

"Yes, sometimes."

"Why don't you start one here in Greenwood City?"

"You boys would try to break it up."

"Not much we would n't. I've talked it over with them. They think it's too dam bad that there haint no place to go on Sunday. You start it and

I'll come and Kinch West will come. We'll shoot the first man that misbehaves."

"But you must leave your six-shooters at home."

"Can't do that; some marshal or detective might git the drap on us."

"Well, tell the boys to come out next Sunday afternoon at three o'clock."

"No, let's have it in the forenoon; the boys will want to git drunk in the afternoon."

So ten o'clock was settled upon, and the Sunday school was organized. The behavior was splendid. The exercises were carried out enthusiastically, especially the singing. At the first two or three meetings the school was attended by men only; later women and children ventured out. This Sunday school flourished for many years—long after the town melted away.

To revert once more to John P. Mitchell: Perhaps I have given the impression that he was a "gun-toter." No, he was not. I never knew him to shoot at any one, or even threaten to shoot. He was never the shooter, but he was what might be called a "professional shootee." More men shot at him than at any man I ever knew in civil life. And the strange thing about it was that he never sought revenge; in fact, seldom said a harsh word about any one. He was a kind neighbor. I have often thought that most of his evil deeds could be attributed to land mania, and that he was not entirely responsible.

Like all new Kansas towns, Greenwood City was a place of great expectations. It had its "Mulberry Sellers"—three or four of him. Among the other great things Greenwood City was sure to get was the "Fifth Standard Parallel Railroad." The fifth standard parallel of southern Kansas about coincides with north latitude 37° 50'. Along this parallel, or very near it, are Fort Scott, Humboldt, Yates Center, Greenwood City, Eureka, El Dorado and Wichita.

In November, 1870, Greenwood City was notified that Eureka had elected W. H. Thurber a committee to escort "Boss" Shepherd through the county. But inasmuch as Mr. Thurber did not know anything about the county, would Greenwood City add one to the committee—some one well acquainted with the topography of the county? The writer was at home—four miles north—and was selected to serve on the committee. "Mulberry Sellers" and nearly everybody else was sure that "Boss" Shepherd would commence in a few weeks to build the "Fifth Standard Parallel Railroad."

Shepherd and party, consisting of himself, Captain French, of the Texas Central, and Captain Kingsbury, a locating engineer of the Union Pacific, were met on Big Sandy, in the western part of Woodson county. Shepherd had some fourteen-year-old brandy. Thurber was very active each day until he had sampled this brandy five or six times, after which "subsequent proceedings interested him no more" for several hours.

Greenwood City was reached the first night and a meeting was held. Shepherd, Kingsbury and others spoke. Then Shepherd said, "Let's hear from some of the farmers." After much urging an old Virginian rose and said: "Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen; I reckon if this heah railroad comes it'll run right squah thew me. But I say, let huh come. I thank you fo' yo' kind attention. I've no mo' to say." This was the first railroad speech ever made by a farmer in Greenwood county.

The "Fifth Standard Parallel Railroad" was never built. Some twelve years later the St. Louis, Ft. Scott & Wichita road was built on practically

the same route, but Toronto got the railroad and Greenwood City was missed by about three miles.

There were a number of early settlers in the Greenwood City neighborhood who deserve more than a passing notice. Among them was the Brazel family, from Wisconsin, who reached the Verdigris in the spring of 1859. The head of the family was Robert Brazel, who died on the frontier of Texas about 1884. The sons were William W.—commonly called “Bug”—John, Marion and Jesse.

In August, 1862, the first county convention in Greenwood county was held in the dry bed of Slate creek, near the geographical center of the county, on the farm of William Ott. This convention, as I remember it, was nonpartisan. It nominated a set of county officers and recommended its selections to the governor for appointments. Among those selected by the convention were William W. Brazel. He emigrated to the frontier of Texas in 1877, and about 1881 moved to New Mexico, where he died in 1889. He was a typical, old-time frontiersman.

In 1862, when John Brazel was about seventeen years old, several hundred Keeche and Wichita Indians came to Greenwood county. They were refugees from the southern Indian country. They refused to join the rebel Indians in war against the United States, so fled to Kansas for safety. Like most blanket Indians, they were fond of gambling. On several occasions they won nearly everything John Brazel had. One day his luck changed, and he won two very fine horses and several ponies. One of these horses was the pride of the tribe. A few days after this John was coming home from Twin Falls, mounted on the fine horse won from the Indians. As he was riding along the prairie between Fall river and Little Walnut creek, about where the Duane Hall ranch was afterwards located, he was surprised by two Indians who rode out of the tall grass. One Indian seized the bridle and demanded the horse, while the other shot an arrow through the collar of John's coat. At the same moment John shot the first Indian, killing him instantly, and before the other could string a second arrow John shot him. This Indian lived to reach his camp, about five miles above where Greenwood City afterwards stood, told who shot him and killed his companion, and then died. The Indians swore vengeance.

This put John Brazel in a dangerous position, as there were very few white people in Greenwood county—a seventeen-year-old boy against several hundred Indians. John soon realized that he was endangering the lives of his father's family as well as risking his own by remaining, so he decided to leave the country. Late one afternoon he saddled the fine Indian horse, and, taking the divide between Brazel creek and Dry creek, started for civilization. Near the head of the east fork of Dry creek, on land afterwards owned by one Highland, he passed within about 150 yards of a skirt of timber, when his horse was shot where the spinal cord unites with the brain, and fell tumbling to the ground. John laid behind his dead horse and waited developments. In a few moments an Indian rushed out of the timber with a tomahawk in hand and started to run for his scalp. Waiting until the Indian was less than ten yards distant, John rose and shot him through the breast. Then, with much difficulty, he got the saddle and bridle off of his dead horse. He carried these back towards his father's farm, five or six miles, where he found a pony that belonged to a German

neighbor—Phillip Menges. He saddled this pony, and by daylight the next morning was in the village of Le Roy.

Later, probably in the spring of 1863, when John was eighteen, he went to Fort Leavenworth and joined the Sixth Kansas cavalry. About eighteen months afterward he died of measles and was buried in the National Cemetery at Little Rock. He was a brave and faithful soldier.

Another brother, Jesse Brazel, emigrated to New Mexico about 1881. He was accidentally killed in 1904 at the Mormon gold mine, some twenty-four miles east of Las Cruces, on a spot within a few hundred yards of the graves of his brother William and wife.

Wayne Brazel was the oldest son of Jesse Brazel, and was born at Greenwood City, Kan. In November, 1906, he killed the notorious Pat Garrett, about twelve miles northeast of Las Cruces. Wayne acted in self-defense. As is well known to western people, Garrett had killed "Billy the Kid" and a number of other men. Wayne Brazel was a quiet, peaceable young ranchman and never had trouble with anybody until his encounter with Garrett.

The first white family to settle in Greenwood county was that of Robert Clark, in the spring of 1858. A few white men strolled in earlier, but this was the first white family. The Clarks settled on the southeast quarter of section 28, township 25 south, range 13 east, on land adjoining what was afterwards Greenwood City. Robert Clark was a stonecutter and stonemason. He built the first stone house in Leavenworth. He was in the army from 1861 to 1864. On May 27, 1866, he was murdered at his cabin, near Greenwood City, by Wash Petty. Petty and three friends had ridden 800 miles on horseback from a point in Texas to commit this murder.

At the beginning of the Civil War, in the spring of 1861, Petty and Clark had trouble over politics. Petty was captain and Clark lieutenant of a skeleton company of home guards. This company was organized to protect the frontier settlement of Greenwood county from Indians. Petty favored the South, and Clark denounced him and accused him publicly of conspiring with Missourians to turn the company over to the Confederacy. Later Petty accused Clark of destroying the tombstone at the grave of Petty's wife.

After murdering Clark, Petty escaped. He was captured in Texas in 1878—twelve years after the murder—and brought back to Greenwood county for trial. Then followed the most notorious and sensational murder trial ever held in Kansas. One lawyer, T. L. Davis, received \$15,000 for defending Petty. But Petty was convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to be hung.

Mrs. Mary Ann Clark, *nee* Conner, was born in northern Illinois about 1825, and was of Irish parentage. Her father was a contractor on the Illinois canal and later on the Illinois Central railroad. In the fall of 1847 she married Robert Clark, and in 1854 they moved to Leavenworth, Kan. As before stated, she went with her husband to Greenwood county in 1858. She had at that time four children. For ten months after arriving in what is now Greenwood county she never saw a woman nor a child, except her own children. When her husband was murdered she was left with seven children and but little with which to support them. As each son reached the age of sixteen she made him take an oath that he would not kill Petty. John, her oldest son, followed Petty for years, and finally located him in Texas, where, as before stated, he was arrested.

After Petty's trial he was sent to the Penitentiary at Leavenworth. In 1883 Mrs. Clark heard that Petty had married in Texas—after murdering her husband—and had a wife and four young children in destitute circumstances. Mrs. Clark then drew up and circulated a petition to the governor of Kansas, asking that Petty be pardoned and sent to his family. She took this petition in person to the governor of Kansas and procured Petty's freedom after four years' imprisonment.³¹

This act was characteristic of this good woman, who was loved and respected throughout Greenwood county. She is now—November, 1909—about eighty-five years old. She lives in Denver, Colo. For about ten years she has been chaplain of the Women's Relief Corps, G. A. R., for the department of Colorado and Wyoming.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF COOLIDGE AND KENDALL.

Hamilton county, named for Alexander Hamilton, was created by legislative enactment of March 6, 1873, with its boundaries defined as they are at present. In 1883 the county lines were extended to embrace all of Stanton and the west half of Kearny and Grant counties, but on March 5, 1887, the boundary lines were drawn in and the county reduced to its original size. This act probably went far toward settling the long drawn-out county-seat fight, as by it Kendall was placed on the east line of the county, part of the town site being in Kearny county. For judicial purposes Hamilton county was attached, at the time of its establishment, to Ford county; in 1885 it was attached to Finney county.

As a municipal township of Ford county, Hamilton held its first election at Syracuse on May 12, 1874, electing M. P. Strall as township trustee, together with a full corps of township officers. The election expenses of this first election amounted to the munificent sum of \$13.

The three contesting towns for county-seat honors from December, 1885, to the middle of November, 1888, were Coolidge, Kendall and Syracuse. Coolidge was first called Sargent, in honor of M. L. Sargent, general freight agent of the Santa Fe. It received 486 votes for county seat at the first election, later giving its support to Kendall. In return Kendall, finding her own cause hopeless, gave to Coolidge her support at the elections of May 31, 1887, and June, 1888.

NOTE 31.—The hunting down and capture of George W. Petty for the murder of Robert Clark took twelve years. Immediately after the murder, May 27, 1866, Judge Keys, a friend of the Clarks, offered a reward of \$500 for the arrest of Petty. This caused him to be followed through Missouri, Arkansas and into the Indian Territory, where all trace of him was lost, and it was reported that he was dead.

In the fall of 1872 William Brazel went down to Texas for a herd of cattle and there saw Petty in McLennan county. In a short time Brazel returned to Greenwood county with his cattle and told John Clark, the eldest son of Robert Clark, where he had seen Petty. Young Clark then made his arrangements to follow up the murderer of his father, and early in 1873 set out for Texas. He reached McLennan county, only to find that Petty had moved, giving it out that he was going to Mexico. John remained in Texas, working as a farm hand. During 1875 he met a young man by the name of George Petty. He became impressed with the idea that this young man was the son of the man he wanted, and after a time learned that young Petty's father owned a farm some fifty miles from Austin. Shortly after this discovery Clark started down into that neighborhood, working about Austin for a little time and gradually getting closer to his prey. One day, in company with a man named Faro, he stopped at the Petty farm, seeing Petty himself and talking with him. He remained in the neighborhood a few weeks, and in the fall of the year 1877 returned to Greenwood county, Kansas. He stayed there only about six weeks, long enough to get the machinery for Petty's arrest in motion, when he returned to Texas, where he could keep an eye on the man. As soon as the necessary steps could be taken Petty was arrested and brought back to Kansas, early in 1878. He had been indicted by the grand jury of Greenwood county in 1870.

Petty was tried at Eureka during the May term of court, and on May 18, 1878, was found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced accordingly. The case was

The first paper at Coolidge was appropriately called *The Border Ruffian*, the town being only a mile and a half from the Colorado border. In the early days of 1873-'74 Coolidge had an immense merchandising and cattle trade, through the firms of Otero & Sellers, and Chick, Brown & Co. "Buffalo" (C. J.) Jones was route agent at Coolidge at one time. In 1886 the town was the end of a Santa Fe division, and it is claimed that the railroad company's improvements there represented an outlay of \$432,000. It had a floating population of from 800 to 1000, but in 1912 the number of inhabitants had decreased until there were but 145 people in the town.

Kendall, or Aubrey, as it was then called, was first but a watering station on the Santa Fe, and was named in honor of Francois X. Aubrey, the French Canadian scout and guide. It was he who found the spring of water four miles east of where Syracuse now stands. Fort Aubrey was established at this spring early in September, 1865, but was abandoned less than a year after, April 15, 1866.

The station of Aubrey was located some six or seven miles east of the old fort, and was on the line between Hamilton and Kearny counties. About 1879 a post office was established near Aubrey and called Zamora, probably from the fact that the Zamora Cattle Company had large holdings along the river east of Aubrey station. Having the station with one name and the post office with another naturally caused much confusion, and in 1885 it was decided to change the names of the post office and station and rechristen them by one and the same name. So by the consent of all parties concerned, the names Aubrey and Zamora were dropped and the name Kendall chosen, perhaps for the Kendall brothers, who were merchants in the county.

Late in the year 1885 the town site of Kendall was platted by the Arkansas Valley Town and Land Company, of Topeka, H. A. W. Corfield being the local agent, and by February 1, 1886, there were ten houses on the town site, and this number was increased to 200 by May. The first newspaper was issued on March 17, 1886, by Henry Block, and was called *The Boomer*. Kendall now has a population of only sixty people.

The earliest attempt at permanent settlement in Hamilton county was in 1872-'73, at what is now Syracuse. The whistling station, for it had not yet attained the dignity of a watering tank, was then called Hollidaysburg,

appealed on error to the supreme court and heard at the July term, 1878. The supreme court reversed the judgment of the district court on an error in receiving incompetent testimony, and awarded Petty a new trial. He was ordered returned from the Penitentiary and delivered to the jailer of Greenwood county to await the order of the district court.

Petty was tried for the second time in the Greenwood county district court at the May term, 1879, and was again found guilty of murder in the first degree, the jury being out but two hours. The *Eureka Herald* of May 22, 1879, says: "Thus, after evading the just claims of the law through thirteen years, this man is twice found guilty of the highest crime known to the law by two several juries, composed of fair-minded and unprejudiced men. It is indeed difficult to see how any twelve intelligent, law-abiding men could, under their oaths and in face of the testimony, arrive at any other conclusion."

The case was again appealed to the supreme court and argued at the July term, 1879. The claim made by Petty was that, since his offense was committed under the law of 1868, he could not be sentenced under the law of 1872. His claim was not allowed, and he was remanded to the custody of the warden of the Penitentiary by the supreme court.

On February 23, 1883, he was pardoned by Gov. George W. Glick. The note following the entry of pardon reads: "Upon petitions from nearly every citizen in Greenwood county and the governor and citizens of Texas, and it satisfactorily appearing that he was not guilty of the offense, the defendant was pardoned."

Up to the time of Petty's arrest and first trial there had been no denial made that he was the murderer of Clark. In his first trial an effort was made to prove that Mrs. Clark did not recognize Petty as the murderer of her husband, she having been present at the time of the shooting, but received the first implication of Petty's possible guilt from a neighbor arriving shortly after her husband was killed.

for Col. C. K. Holliday, the first president of the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. The name was changed to Syracuse by some New York men who had organized a party at Syracuse, N. Y., October 23, 1872, to settle in western Kansas. This party sent out a committee to select lands for the colony, and in December, 1872, they decided on a tract in the then uncreated county of Hamilton.

The following spring, March 23, 1873, the main part of the colony arrived at Hollidaysburg, or Syracuse as it was then called. The colony consisted of twenty-five families, all from the vicinity of Syracuse, N. Y., and the men were of all trades and professions, save that of agriculturist. An effort was made by them to change the name of the county also. They wished to call it Onandago, after their old home in New York. This however, the legislature refused to permit. Indian raids and herds of Texas cattle hindered the development of their claims, and their lack of knowledge in frontier ways and expedients was also a serious drawback. The town site finally dwindled to a place of but three dwellings, a depot, and a store run by the president of the colony, E. P. Barber. By 1885 only three of the New York men remained—E. P. Barber, who was postmaster for twelve years; H. N. Lester, who founded the *Syracuse Journal*, the first issue appearing on June 12, 1885; and James S. Gates.

Syracuse was intended for the county seat, and it was at the end of a Santa Fe division. In the spring of 1885 the town was platted, and between that date—May 25—and January 1, 1886, it was claimed that \$100,000 worth of town lots were sold. One firm is said to have sold \$7000 worth of town lots from election day, April 1, to noon of the next day, April 2.

In 1886 the population of the town was perhaps about 500 people; this increased to 1200 in 1888, but dropped to 324 in 1890. By 1910 it had increased again to 1126. Syracuse was the first town in Kansas to have a city government of women. This occurred in 1887.³²

Upon a petition for organization from the citizens of Hamilton county, Governor Martin, on December 29, 1885, appointed Alfred Pratt to take the census of the county. His returns showed a population of 1893, of whom 614 were householders. On January 29, 1886, the county was declared organized, with Kendall as the temporary county seat. The temporary county commissioners were Captain Leeman, of Hartland; L. W. Hardy, of Medway, and Dennis Foley, of Coolidge. Thomas Ford, of Little Bear creek, was county clerk. The commissioners set April 1 as the date for the election of county and township officers and the location of a permanent county seat, the six voting precincts being Syracuse, Kendall, Hartland, Coolidge, Veteran and Surprise City. The latter town no longer exists, and through change in county lines Veteran is now in Stanton county and has changed its name to Johnson.

There were two sets of candidates in the field, one supported by Syracuse and the other by Kendall and Coolidge. The temporary county commissioners declared that by the election Syracuse was chosen county seat and the Syracuse set of officers elected. The Kendall people at once charged fraud, and brought action in the supreme court April 21, 1886, having their first hearing May 5. They filed their petition on May 25, 1886, through their attorney, B. F. Simpson, of Topeka, asking the court to oust the alleged county officers. The court issued an order summoning the officers to appear

NOTE 32.—See this volume, p. 401.

in court June 24 and show by what right they held office. The petition sets forth that the judges and clerks of election in Syracuse township refused to tell the number of votes polled there, delaying the count; that before the election it was the plan of the county commissioners to declare in favor of Syracuse, regardless of returns, and that they delayed their count until after the Coolidge and Kendall votes were returned, and then placed in the box over 800 ballots for the Syracuse candidates and for Syracuse as county seat. They then entered a sufficient number of fictitious and mythical names on the poll books to correspond with the number of counterfeit ballots, the fraudulent vote cast being enough to overcome all competing towns for the county seat. The petition further stated that about midnight April 5, 1886, the county clerk and the county commissioners, with rifles and guns and mounted on horses, and with the genuine returns and the forged poll books from Syracuse in their possession, traveled to a place near Kendall, under a bridge crossing Sand creek; that there they threw out pickets, lighted a fire, and pretended to canvass the vote, finishing about daylight and returning to Syracuse, where they declared the result of the vote to be in favor of Syracuse, thereupon issuing certificates of election to the officers. The proceedings were brought on behalf of the candidates counted out, and they asked judgment for \$500 and \$10 per day since April 1, 1886, "holding the present incumbents to be intruders and usurpers."

P. A. Henderson was appointed by the court as commissioner to take evidence in Hamilton and Shawnee counties, and began his work in June. Syracuse lawyers secured several delays in trials appointed for June 24, July 6 and 7, and September 7. Decision was finally rendered by the supreme court on October 5, when the court ordered the county officers to remove the offices to Kendall, the temporary county seat.

From this decision the following facts are obtained. The fraudulent names used to pad the election returns of Syracuse township representing legal voters, consisted of the names of dead persons; the names of 133 voters of Silver Lake township, Shawnee county; names of residents of Topeka, including two well-known lawyers, and names of 43 voters of Mills county, Iowa, all of which were placed on the poll books, where also occurred a frequent repetition of names. Even old William Penn was made to do duty as a voter, one man openly boasting that he had voted three times, once under the name of Penn and twice besides. The editor of the *Kendall Boomer* accused the editor of the *Syracuse Journal* of thus resurrecting the dead for the benefit of Syracuse.

The court held that Syracuse could not have received more than 431 legal votes for county seat, and that therefore the canvass must be ignored. The fraudulent returns gave 1178 votes polled in the township of Syracuse alone, and this in the face of the census returns showing that the total population of Hamilton county was but 1893.

The *North Topeka Mail and Times* published a list of Shawnee county names, including that of Harry Safford and Charles Wolf, also names from Chicago, Kansas City, New Orleans, Indiana, Iowa and Dakota, all of which were forged on the Syracuse poll book.

A second election was made necessary by the fraudulent vote in Syracuse, and this was ordered held on the date of the general election in November. The following account is taken from issues of the *Topeka Capital* for November 6 and 9: The election of county officers and for the location

of a permanent county seat was held November 2. The vote was canvassed by the commissioners, who threw out the vote of Coombs township, alleging forgery of names. This gave the county seat to Syracuse, and the sheriff was ordered to remove the records to that place. When he went to Kendall he was met by armed men, who threatened to shoot the first man who attempted to remove the records. Leading men of the county reported in Topeka that there was the greatest danger of bloodshed, and a Kendall man wired to the governor for aid of the militia. The Kendall people had fortified their courthouse with baled hay, barrels of salt and flour, and all men were armed, taking turns at picket duty. It was said that Syracuse men were likewise armed and organized.

L. C. Swink and Thomas Barton, two of the county commissioners, went to Topeka to consult with Attorney-general Bradford, who advised them to make no effort to take the records by force, but to let the matter be settled by the district court of Hamilton county. The governor declined to send militia unless so requested by the county officers.

On November 8, 1886, Judge J. C. Strang, of Dodge City, issued a writ of mandamus, ordering the commissioners to canvass the vote of Coombs township or show cause why they refused to do so. The Kendall paper of November 17 says he also issued an injunction restraining the removal of records, and that two organized parties had left the rival town of Syracuse on different nights to capture the records, but had turned back. It also states that Kendall was prepared for attack, every man taking turn at picket duty. Its issue of November 24 says that on November 19 certain of the Syracuse men came to Kendall with an alternative writ of mandamus issued by Judge Strang upon false statements of Syracuse men, commanding the old county officers to remove their offices to Syracuse or show cause.

As all the new officers had already qualified except the surveyor, and all were in favor of holding their offices at Kendall except the register of deeds, Major Simpson advised allowing these two to take their records where they chose. All other records were held at Kendall. Major Simpson afterward secured a hearing before Judge Strang, who quashed the whole matter, refusing to further consider the case until the supreme court should decide the Borders case, December 7, 1886. This case was brought by Joe Borders, county treasurer elect, whose office depended upon the disposition made of the vote of Coombs precinct. The case was not decided in December, the evidence not being all in, but was put off until the January term. There was also a case against Sheriff Mills to be settled. In December a contest had been filed against Commissioner Stayton by his opponent on the ground of political disability. Stayton was declared ineligible and the office vacant the last week in December, 1886. Sheriff Mills and Commissioner Stayton, being refused certificates of election, had taken their offices without them, as did other officers also.

On December 15, 1886, M. S. Culver, who had contested the election of Alvin Campbell as county treasurer, winning his case November 4, announced himself to be the legal treasurer and ready to receive tax payments. Matters were greatly complicated; taxes remained unpaid, sales of real estate could not be recorded, the establishment of school districts was delayed, and marriage in the county was a risky business. This state of affairs continued during 1887 and 1888, there being during that time two full sets of county officers and two county seats.

Before this time the Syracuse county clerk had advertised for bids for the construction of a jail at Syracuse. An attempt was made, January 9, 1887, by Kendall men to remove some records from Syracuse, but it failed. During the first week in January evidence was taken relative to the county-seat case by a commissioner sent by the supreme court, and the *Syracuse Sentinel* said: "As W. O. McKinlay, ex-county clerk, was about to leave Kendall after testifying in the case, he was surrounded by armed men of Kendall and Coombs precinct, who threatened his life and demanded a retraction, but McKinlay was protected by other county officers and escaped on a caboose. Syracuse men are justly indignant at this dastardly outrage, and swear that if a single hair of a Syracuse man is injured, the perpetrators will meet with speedy punishment." McKinlay was one of the county officers who had for a time drawn \$10 per day damages for being ousted.

Thus the war of words went on between the two towns and their newspapers, who used such epithets as "pink-nosed galoots," "screech owls," "bamboozlers," "liars," "shysters," "chicken thief," "measley editor," etc., freely advising a resort to "hemp rope" and court of "Judge Lynch."

A memorial to the legislature praying for the reestablishment of the original county lines of Hamilton, Stanton, Kearny and Grant counties was largely signed in the four counties, but opposed, of course, by Kendall people, who objected to being placed on the line between the two counties. The representative from Hamilton county, J. T. Kirtland, was a member of the committee on county seats and county lines. On March 5, 1887, agreeable to the memorial, the four counties were reestablished, and the Syracuse paper proclaimed the news in red ink.

The *Syracuse Sentinel*, of February 4, 1887, had printed the following obituary notice:

"DIED.—Kendall, twelve miles east of this city. Funeral services will be held at the Coombs precinct and conducted by Rev. Mr. Johnson; Joe Voorers, chief mourner; Henry Block, Jim Neeland, J. M. Williams, Ed Walsh, H. G. Fulton and J. W. Merrifield, pallbearers. The remains will be interred at Coolidge.

"*Postscript.*—The corpse is a ghastly sight. It is not probable that the coffin will be opened as they pass through this city."

The cases in the supreme court were still pending, and Kendall called a meeting to devise ways and means to continue the fight against the Syracuse officers, and, it was said, asked the support of Coolidge, promising in return to vote for that place for county seat. On April 26, 1887, the Kendall county commissioners ordered a special election to be held May 31, for the location of a permanent county seat, and the Kendall sheriff, C. C. Mills, issued a proclamation accordingly.

Judge A. J. Abbott, of the newly created Twenty-seventh judicial district, in which Hamilton county had been placed, issued an order May 25th, 1887, commanding Sheriff Mills to take possession of the records of the clerk of the district court, then in possession of H. G. Fulton, at Kendall, and deliver them to W. P. Humphrey, clerk of the district court, at Syracuse. He also enjoined the officers from holding the election on May 31, called by the Kendall officers. The people of Kendall, Coombs precinct and Coolidge voted, however. Coolidge received a majority of 419 votes for county seat, Kendall voting solidly for Coolidge. The returns of this election were never canvassed.

Chief Justice Horton issued, June 1, 1887, the first writ of prohibition ever granted in Kansas. This writ was directed to Judge A. J. Abbott, of the Twenty-seventh judicial district, commanding him to refrain from assuming the right or jurisdiction to determine the possession and custody of the county records, and to recall his order of May 25. By the writ Judge Abbott was summoned to appear before the supreme court and show cause why he was not in contempt for assuming jurisdiction in matters then pending before that court. He was reminded, also, that the Hamilton county cases being yet undecided, Kendall was still the temporary county seat.

The election of November, 1887, passed off quietly. The fight between the "New Deal" and "Anticompromise" tickets resulted in the election of some candidates on both tickets.

The Hamilton county-seat cases were continued in the supreme court until the February term, 1888, Kendall meantime remaining the temporary county seat. The decisions were not rendered until April 7, 1888, when the court held that Kendall was still the temporary county seat, and that no town had been legally chosen county seat, because of fraudulent elections. The court also rendered decisions in favor of C. C. Mills, as sheriff, and J. H. Borders, as duly elected treasurer. They reversed the judgment of Judge Abbott in the case of the State of Kansas *vs.* Neeland, a county commissioner, which was an injunction against the Kendall officers, and sent the case back to the court of the Twenty-seventh district.

On April 10 following this decision the Syracuse set of county officers resolved to move their offices to Kendall. The *Syracuse Journal* of May 18, 1888, printed two election proclamations, one above the other, one issued by Sheriff A. M. Hufmann, the other by Sheriff C. C. Mills, both issued on the same day, May 16, naming Wednesday, June 20, as the date upon which to hold a special election for the location of a permanent county seat.

The result of this election was canvassed by two boards, one at Kendall and one at Syracuse. Syracuse claimed a majority of 178, having received 698 votes according to the canvass made at Syracuse, which did not include the canvass of Coolidge, Kendall or Federal precincts. These three places were canvassed by the Kendall board, which claimed a majority of votes for Coolidge as county seat.

Coolidge now became the aggressive rival, having its own county offices in operation. Joe Borders, still claiming to be county treasurer, removed his records and funds to Coolidge. However, in July the United States land office issued a circular, recognizing Syracuse as the county seat and directing that final proofs on lands should be made there.

A petition was filed in the supreme court August 2, 1888, in the case of the State of Kansas, *ex rel.* S. B. Bradford, Attorney-general, *vs.* J. H. Borders, county treasurer of Hamilton county, for an alternative writ of mandamus, commanding him to remove his office to Syracuse, the permanent county seat, or show cause. On November 9 the court rendered a decision commanding Borders to remove all records, funds, documents, office furniture, etc., belonging to Hamilton county from Coolidge to Syracuse, and there deliver them to his "duly elected and qualified successor," W. F. Reed, who had succeeded Borders in the office of county treasurer since the commencement of the suit. This order Borders obeyed on November 16. In the body of the decision this statement was made: "It has been

determined by us that the permanent county seat of Hamilton county, Kansas, is at Syracuse."

Thus ended perhaps the longest legal war over the location of a county seat ever waged in Kansas, the contest lasting for three years. While there was no bloodshed, there prevailed for two years the most perplexing and aggravating difficulties in the administration of public and private affairs. Business was insecure and immigration was retarded, and a burden of taxation was piled up for the future, since both sets of officers issued scrip and endeavored to build county buildings. The whole trouble was personal, expensive and disastrous.

THE TRAVAIL OF CIMARRON AND INGALLS AND THE DEATH OF MONTEZUMA.

Gray county had no separate existence as a county until 1881, when it was first created. Its early incarnation was brief, however, for in 1883 it was swallowed by encroaching counties, and not until 1887 did it become a permanent name on the map of Kansas. In 1855 it formed part of Washington county; from 1860 to 1865 it was embraced in Peketon.³³ The boundaries of Marion county were extended to include Peketon in 1865, and from a portion of this territory Foote county was created in 1873. This last county covered nearly the position of the Gray county of 1881 and of to-day. Foote county disappeared from the map in 1881, and by legislative enactment, approved March 4, Gray county was created with east, west and south boundary lines identical with those of Foote county, but with the north line pushed twelve miles north of the old boundary of Foote. In 1883 Gray county, in its turn, was wiped out by changes in the boundary lines of Ford and Hodgeman counties and the creation of Finney county. In 1887 it was resurrected, however, the act being approved on March 5. The east and west boundaries of the new Gray county were the same as those of Foote in 1873 and of Gray in 1881, but the north line was located twelve miles south of the north boundary named for Gray in 1881, while the south boundary line was pushed six miles below the earlier southern boundary. The county was attached to Ford county for judicial purposes.

Organization of Gray county having been petitioned for, A. J. Evans was appointed, on April 12, 1887, to take the census of the county and register the vote on location of county seat. The registration closed June 18, 1887, with the following result: Cimarron, 746; Ingalls, 102; Montezuma, 596; the plurality for Cimarron being 150. The census returns showed 4896 inhabitants, with 912 householders. The governor proclaimed the county organized on July 20, named Cimarron the temporary county seat, and appointed the following temporary officers: County commissioners, E. S. McClellan, J. Q. Shoup and Frank V. Hull; county clerk, G. C. Pratt; sheriff, W. B. Marsh. The county was in the sixteenth judicial district, of which J. C. Strang was judge.

NOTE 33.—Little is known of the origin of this word Peketon, or of the naming of the county. S. N. Wood wrote to Ed Downer, January 15, 1878, saying that Peketon county was so named at the request of A. Beach and his son, Dr. A. J. Beach, surgeon of the Ninth Kansas. The Beaches lived at Beach Valley, on Cow creek, now in Rice county, and A. Beach was one of the first county commissioners of Peketon, serving in 1860. Both he and his son wrote Governor Medary, suggesting the name. Mr. Wood was under the impression that the name might be that of some Indian chief. John Maloy, in the Council Grove *Cosmos* of June 4, 1886, stated that Peketon was a name coined by Judge A. I. Baker from the Sac language, and that it meant flat or low land. Another supposition is that the word was derived from Pekitanoui, the name given to the Missouri river by Marquette, or Pekatonica, a branch of the Rock river.

Until the advent of the Santa Fe railroad in 1872-'73 there had been no settlements in the county outside of cattle or hay camps, or the camps of buffalo hunters. Bob Wright and A. J. Anthony had a hay ranch in the county, some twenty-five miles west of Fort Dodge, in 1866-'68, and from the region around Rath and Wright had shipped 200,000 buffalo hides after the opening of the railroad. While the railroad was building, in July, 1872, the president, T. J. Peters, asked the governor to ship 200 guns with which to arm the track men against attacks of Indians. The crossing of the Arkansas river near Cimarron had long been a favorite camping ground on the Santa Fe trail, and a part of Long's expedition, returning from the Rocky Mountains in August, 1820, passed along here, following the river. The crossing was in common use in 1825 by traders, soldiers, hunters, Mexican freighters and Indians.

As stated, the three towns contesting for the county seat were Ingalls, Cimarron and Montezuma. The first two were on the Santa Fe railroad and much more centrally located than Montezuma, which was a new town. Ingalls was about six miles west of Cimarron by the railroad. The post office there had been called Soule, in honor of A. T. Soule, of New York, who financed the "Eureka Irrigation Canal Company," but was eventually changed to conform to the name of the railway station. It is said that when Soule located the intake of his ditch he decided he ought to have a town there, so he laid out one, planned it for the county seat, and named it for Senator Ingalls. In 1888 the population of the town was 200, in 1891 it had dropped to 120, and the census of 1912 gives it a population of 150. Notwithstanding the lack of population in his town, Mr. Soule started in on a campaign to secure the county seat for Ingalls. Should he fail in that, his plan was to throw the county seat to Montezuma, and with this in view he used money in every direction to injure the chances of Cimarron. If Ingalls was successful in the contest Soule planned to spend \$100,000 on public improvements. He talked of a project to establish a sugar factory there, and also announced the purchase of machinery and the selection of an expert to bore wells for artesian water, for coal and for gas. In the "People's Convention" at Ingalls, held about the middle of September, 1887, Soule promised a railroad to Montezuma if in return that town would vote for Ingalls for county seat. Montezuma "delivered the goods," and Soule built a railroad from Dodge City to Montezuma, calling it the Dodge City, Montezuma & Trinidad Railroad. This road was to form a part of the Arkansas, Kansas & Colorado Railroad, then under construction, which was to be leased and operated by the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific. To draw votes and investments from Cimarron, Soule began to boom Dodge City. He bought the waterworks plant, the First National bank, and 640 acres of land north of town, which he laid out in town lots.

On a forty-acre tract north of Dodge City Soule built a college and dormitory costing \$50,000. This he turned over to the Presbyterian Church, with an additional gift of \$10,000 as an endowment. The church was not successful in its management of the college and the property reverted to Soule. After his death, in 1893, his heirs gave the campus and buildings to the Methodist Church, which organization has since maintained it.

The Gilberts, J. W. and G. G., of Dodge City, were responsible for the advent of Asa T. Soule on the stage of Gray county affairs. They were brothers, formerly from Rochester, N. Y., and they conceived the idea of

interesting their old fellow citizen in a land and irrigation scheme which they were promoting in Kansas. Soule had money to invest, having made his millions, some eight or ten of them, out of a patent medicine known as "Hop Bitters."

Upon the showing of the Gilberts he became interested in the Eureka Irrigating Canal Company. This company was incorporated three times in 1883, and each time Spearville was named as the place of business. The source of supply for the canal was the Arkansas river at Ingalls, and its lower end was Coon creek, some forty-five miles east of Spearville. To divert the water into the canal a wing dam of piles was built into the river, extending up stream 2000 feet. This cost about \$30,000. The canal at its head was forty-eight feet wide and six feet deep, gradually decreasing to a width of forty-five feet and a depth of five feet, with a fall of about two feet to the mile. Its total length was ninety-six miles, and it was built along the top of a ridge north of the river and the A. T. & S. F. railroad track.

The company issued stock to the amount of \$1,000,000, and Soule took it all, furnishing the money for the construction of the ditch, which cost in the neighborhood of \$250,000. He bonded it for a million and sold the bonds in London at par, having secured water contracts enough to make a good showing. It was claimed that the only time the ditch was full of water was while he was working off this deal. Soule cleared up a cool half million in profit out of the "investment." In a local paper there appeared, under a cartoon of a somewhat cantankerous looking elephant, this legend in bold type: "Ole Soule has unloaded a large elephant," and there followed an account of the transfer of the Eureka Irrigating Canal Company by mortgage to the Mercantile Trust Company of New York, dated July 1, 1887.

The ditch has since been bought, through Eugene F. Ware, who represented the English bondholders, by the Gilberts, who never lost faith in its usefulness. This transfer occurred in 1909.

In the meantime the struggle for the county seat was on in earnest. The temporary county commissioners, who were in favor of Cimarron, appointed an election to be held Monday, October 31, 1887, for the location of a permanent county seat and the election of county officers, the date set being only eight days before the regular or general election day, which fell that year on November 8. On November 4 the commissioners met to canvass the vote, but were served with an injunction issued by Judge Strang restraining them. Ingalls claimed a majority of 236 for the county seat and Cimarron a majority of 43.

On November 7 the supreme court issued a writ of mandamus requiring the commissioners to canvass the vote on November 12, which they did. The canvass resulted in the election of the Cimarron ticket of county officers, and Cimarron as county seat by a majority of 43. Meanwhile the regular election was held November 8, and on November 23 Judge Strang held that the November election was the regular election and that Ingalls was the county seat. Following this decision the county records were gradually removed to Ingalls, the last being taken over on February 21, 1888.

By an alternative writ of the supreme court issued March 14, 1888, the county offices were ordered taken back to Cimarron, but action on this was

postponed. On September 8 the county clerk's office and records were moved to Cimarron, the town then having the board of county commissioners and the county surveyor.

After a good deal of altercation between the two towns, Ingalls decided to go after what county records Cimarron was holding. With this end in view, a bunch of "bad men" from Dodge City was pressed into service by the Ingallites, and on Saturday, January 12, 1889, a sortie was made on Cimarron. The men were armed with Winchesters and six-shooters and swooped down on Cimarron about ten o'clock in the morning. They rushed the building where the records were kept, seized them and placed them in a waiting wagon, and the driver knowing his part of the business dashed away towards Ingalls at a break-neck speed. By this time the Cimarron men had gathered and shooting had begun. One Cimarron man, J. W. English, was killed and two others severely wounded. After the fight the invading party made off to Ingalls, three of their number being slightly wounded. Following this exhibition of warlike spirit, Governor Martin ordered two companies of militia to the scene of battle to keep the peace.

The county-seat contest dragged through two years of litigation in district and supreme courts, the final decision being handed down on October 5, 1889, in favor of Ingalls, and the town remained the county seat until 1892. The record of this county-seat case contained over 3000 pages, and in the decision rendered in October Chief Justice Horton dissented from the opinion of the court and delivered a scathing rebuke to A. T. Soule, also denouncing the corrupt methods employed by Cimarron men to offset "the unparalleled iniquity of Soule and his agents." From the testimony it appears that Montezuma held the balance of power, which Soule bought up by his railroad scheme. His checks for various sums, from \$100 upward, were freely distributed, and he imported armed men from Dodge City to intimidate voters at Cimarron.

It was also shown that a secret society had been formed in Foote precinct prior to the election, called the "Equalization Society." It was composed of seventy-two men, whose object, as shown by the constitution and by-laws, was to sell the solid vote of the society to the highest bidder, the proceeds to be divided equally among the members. They were bound by oath to vote solid, and the penalty for violation of this oath was death. T. H. Reeve, one of the Cimarron managers, bought this vote for \$10,000, giving this society a bond for the amount, signed by fifteen of the prominent men of Cimarron. Seventy-one votes were delivered and cast for Cimarron, men from that town having been delegated to stand by the polls all election day and see that the vote was cast as paid for. After the election the Equalization Society appointed a committee to go to Cimarron and cash the bond. They were promptly told to get to a warmer region, that the bond was a forgery, and that, anyway Cimarron had the vote.

The sheriff was a Cimarron man, and it was told of him that he swore in some 140 deputies, all interested in Cimarron, besides employing "toughs" from Ravanna and Dodge City as deputies, all armed and at the polls on election day. Soule was charged with having spent about \$30,000. He attended the election himself, and it was claimed that his agents offered a bribe to one of the commissioners if he would refuse to canvass the returns. During all this strife both sides were amply armed. No wonder that Chief Justice Horton said that the election was "a travesty on justice and a burlesque on elections."

As for the town of Montezuma, the railroad was completed and a depot built, two large hotels and a large number of business houses were erected, but after a while, there being no business, the Rock Island ceased operating the railroad. Two townships through which the road ran had voted bonds to the amount of \$70,000 to the road, and naturally felt aggrieved at this abandonment. A mandamus suit was brought in the supreme court to force the road to resume operations, but the court held that the road could not be compelled to operate at a loss. The farmers were therefore helpless; Soule was dead, and there was no one to fall back upon. They raged in vain when the rails were taken up and sold to a Gould line in Texas. Then, to compensate themselves, they decided to take a hand. By night they carried off the ties, the stations and the bridges; not even a stick of lumber was left; nothing but the railroad grade remained to tell the story of the Dodge City, Montezuma & Trinidad Railroad.

In 1895 the town site was vacated. It had been beautifully platted, with four avenues running at right angles from the twelve central blocks, and four boulevards on the limits, and the streets running north and south were named for the states. The following men were members of the town-site company: Gen. T. T. Taylor, Hutchinson, president; L. B. Hamlin, Chicago, vice president; J. R. Graham, Emporia, secretary, and Dr. T. J. Wheeler, resident member. Montezuma was twenty-two miles south of Cimarron and about six miles from the south line of the county. The first paper was the *Montezuma Chief*, edited by J. E. Hebard, who was also postmaster. The only evidences of a town now to be found on the old town site are shallow holes in the ground, cellars where buildings once stood.

But Montezuma has been resurrected. The Santa Fe, on its Colmor cut-off, laid out, in May, 1912, a new town just a mile and a half from the old town site, naming it Montezuma for its predecessor. A station, a hotel, two general stores, two elevators and two lumber yards were planned for immediate construction; and its life, while perhaps not so spectacular, promises to be longer and more useful than the life of the old town.

REMINISCENCES OF RUNNYMEDE.³⁴

In reading lately about a search for lost towns in Kansas, I grew reminiscent, and I thought of that once booming English town of Runnymede, in Harper county, and wondered whether there was even a stone left of that ludicrous attempt to live on hope and foolish promises. Runnymede, you must know, was a combination of British inexperience, credulity, some money, considerable cockneyism, but withal a jolly lot of men and women transported to a bold Kansas prairie, where the immigrants expected to grow rich in a day and a night and then return to England, where they would live ever afterwards on champagne and venison. Two years wore off the varnish, broke the bank and turned out the lights. But Rome howled in the interval.

Runnymede was created by a North-of-Ireland agitator named Turnley, who had lost considerable money in the cotton business in the United States. His son, Edward Turnley, bought 1700 acres of land, at \$1.50 an acre, in Harper county, and began advertising in England that he was lord of a

NOTE 34.—This is the story of the lost town of Runnymede, written by Capt. Charles Seton for the *Kansas City Star*. Captain Seton has a long record of service in India with the British army. The present town of Runnymede is some two miles south of the old town site.

western paradise, where golden birds sang in the trees and silver rivers ran tinkling to the sea. For \$500 a year he engaged to teach the sons of English gentlemen the mysteries of successful farming and stock raising, provide for their physical needs and administer such educational tonics as would enable them to hold the winning hand wherever they might be. After several years' indenture he would help them to buy a farm and establish themselves.

Runnymede, twelve miles northwest of Harper, in the middle of a boundless prairie, with only one tree in sight, was founded as the center of this enterprise, and at Runnymede congregated the good souls who listened to Turnley's tinted tales. Runnymede was to be the great commercial depot of the West. It was with glowing hearts that my party of sixteen men and women sailed from England, May 29, 1889, in the *Britannic* of the Red Star line, for the New World. Flags waved our departure from Houston station. So anxious was I to find agreeable quarters at the end of my journey that, with fearful extravagance, I sent a long cablegram to Turnley to build me a house forthwith and have it ready for me upon my arrival. When I reached Runnymede there was no house in sight, and we were glad, likewise disgusted, to find lodging at the ranch house, where we braved the terrors of corn bread and fat bacon—a new shock to our digestive apparatus—until houses were built.

Some of us had considerable money—enough to be considered poor in England but comfortable in the United States. None of us had any financial sense. While we waited for a miracle to be performed that would transform our arid home into a blooming garden, and the town of Runnymede into a vast metropolis, we feasted and danced and made merry. We enjoyed all the sports dear to English hearts and dressed in the wonderful garments we had brought from the land whose white cliffs looked across the channel to Calais. In time, money, clothes and much of the pleasure were gone.³⁵

Kansas was known as a prohibition state, and one guileless father thought that Runnymede would be the salvation of his son, who had acquired a big thirst for liquor. The lad kept the trail hot between Runnymede and Harper, and maintained an irrigation plant that would have overwhelmed the children of Israel. He always had some kind of a jag. Kansas prohi-

NOTE 35.—Some of these Englishmen remained in Kansas, or the West, and have become well-to-do and prosperous citizens, generally ranching, although a few have taken to mercantile pursuits; others went "back home." Six officers serving in the British army during the Boer war had been members of the Runnymede colony.

A story is told of a prize fight pulled off at Runnymede that showed the color of their blood. It was when Faddy Shea, of Wichita, was the champion heavyweight of Kansas. The Englishmen, lusting diversion, and always patrons of the "manly art," arranged a bout between Shea and one of their ranchers. The young fellow was no match for Shea, who knocked him out in less than five minutes. He was game, however, and a true sport, for after he had been washed up he presented Shea with his watch and a purse, accompanying the gift with this compliment: "You're a bloomin' good lad, don't you know."

There were tragedies among them, too, and an unmarked grave on the site of the old village tells the story of one. Several of the young Englishmen had been ordered back to their native heath; transportation had been sent them, and they were indulging in a final leave-taking, which took the form of a dance, to which everybody was bidden. Among those who were to return to England was the scion of a lordly house who had but just come into his property and his title. To him it was a double celebration. The dance had gone merrily on, the drinks had been too numerous to count, and this young man was so overcome by his libations and toasts that he could no longer walk. His friends, thinking to do him a kindly service, carried him over to a barn near by, and for safe-keeping stowed him away in the hay mow. The dance went on and joy was unconfined, when horror fell among them, scorching them instantly—the barn was on fire, and even then burning furiously. Most heroically they strove to rescue the young man, but in vain. When the cleared framework of the barn fell it carried with it all that was left of their friend. They dug his body out of the debris and buried it near the spot—alone—the grave unmarked.

bition was a failure in Runnymede. The good livers bought whole cargoes of the very best whisky from Chicago. One youth fell heir to \$15,000 a year, and the thermometer in Runnymede went up several degrees. What a time he had!

The men imagined they were in the very heart of the West, where the blood ran wildest and reddest. They wore cowboy outfits, and an arsenal of guns and knives rattled on them as they walked. They would not go outside the house unless armed to the teeth. They were fond of posing for their portraits in photograph galleries at Harper and Wichita, and I tremble even now at the terrible desperadoes that gaze at me from the faded pictures. Captain Faulkner was an especially fierce looking "cowboy," and was almost afraid of himself when in full regalia.

Every fortnight there was racing. Runnymede had a steeple course which afforded much amusement. The riders bedecked themselves in all the glory of Solomon. John Lobb (who could forget him?) was the beau of the steeplechase. Upon one occasion he appeared wearing a white stiff-bosomed shirt, a collar and a flowing necktie, a black alpaca coat, checked trousers that reached half way to his knees, white socks, dancing pumps, a granger hat and lavender kid gloves. He was a poor rider, could barely keep his seat, and at the finish his head was thrown back at an angle of forty-five degrees, while his legs were around his horse's neck. Dick Watinage, who affected cowboy hats and a ferocious-looking buffalo overcoat, ran this with red-and-white bunting wrapped around his legs, hatless, and wearing a black shirt.

Runnymede withered like a flower and died. Its citizens are scattered from ocean to ocean. Few returned to England. If any one should find the "lost" town of Runnymede, ask him to mark the spot with a stone bearing the words, "We had a good time while it lasted."

THE TOWN OF SIDNEY.

The town of Sidney, in Ness county,³⁶ named after Sidney, Iowa, was an ambitious aspirant about thirty-three years ago for county-seat honors, losing out through the mismanagement of friends. It was situated on the northeast quarter of section 6, township 19 south, range 23 west. It was located June 6, 1879, by the Sidney Town Company, and its incorporators were J. R. May, president; Dr. J. S. Beams, E. M. Bill, J. H. Ferguson, A. F. Gardner, D. C. Magee and R. J. McFarland. It had about 150 inhabitants, and was the second post office in the county. The town was abandoned about 1892.

NOTE 36.—The first organization of Ness county was attained through fraud. One S. G. Rodgers, M. D., brought out a colony of people from Chicago in the spring of 1873 and settled them on the prairies of the unorganized county of Ness. A fraudulent census was made up, taking the names from a Kansas City directory, which gave the county 600 inhabitants, and the governor was thereupon petitioned for organization. The petition was granted, and October 23, 1873, the county was organized, with Smallwood, named for the then secretary of state, as the temporary county seat. The following appointments were made: John Rodgers, O. H. Perry and Thomas Myers, special county commissioners; Charles McGuire, special county clerk. Dr. S. G. Rodgers, the mainspring of this organization movement, succeeded in causing school bonds to be issued and went east to sell them, disposing of them to eastern investors at a ridiculously low figure. The following letter tells something of his methods:

"CHICAGO, ILL., Nov. 18, 1873.

"Hon. W. H. Smallwood:

"DEAR FRIEND—I have sent you the vote on the amendment. I am anxious to hear whether it is *carried* or not.

"I came here to negotiate some *school bonds* which we voted for the purpose of erecting a schoolhouse in Smallwood. I will likely have to go to New York, as money is yet hard to get since the crash. If it is necessary I will refer the parties who purchase to

J. K. Barnd, editor of the *Ness County News*, says that Sidney is so dead that it takes one of the old residents to identify the spot where it once stood, the metropolis of the county. Founded about thirty-three years ago and backed by a company of energetic and determined men, and with the united support of the southern half of the county, while the people of the north were divided among three or four other would-be county seats, it seemed among the impossibilities that it should not succeed in its struggle for supremacy. And it would had it not been for the ill-starred advice that was listened to in a luckless moment, when to hesitate was to be lost. Sidney had planned to offer the voters of the county a stone building, all fitted for a courthouse, as an inducement for the location of the county seat at that place. But Ness City made an offer of a number of lots, and Sidney thought, to make assurance doubly sure, that it would go into the fight without making the proposition as contemplated, and, in case Ness City won, to contest the election on the charge of bribery. Ness City won; Sidney lost.

The courts were invoked to reverse the voice of the people, but the effort proved a signal failure, and the result was that Sidney had signed her death warrant. At the time of the election Sidney was by far the best town in the county, with the best stores, hotels and accommodations, and had the most wideawake and enterprising people behind her candidacy, and had it not been for the attempt to gain her point by a legal technicality would undoubtedly to-day be the county seat of Ness county. Had she entered the contest pitting her courthouse against Ness City's town lots, there is but little question that she would have won the election, or at least

you. Or, if you would please drop me a few lines stating what school bonds sell for in Kansas generally, so that I may use it if necessary, as I am a stranger in New York. I would like to know how the amendment has resulted, also. A reply at your earliest convenience will oblige.

Your friend truly, S. G. RODGERS."

The amendment about which he was so "anxious to hear" was one regulating the number of representatives and senators in the legislature, and contained this clause: "The house of representatives shall admit one member from each county in which at least 250 legal votes were cast at the next preceding general election." His "anxiety" was caused by the fact that he had been elected to the legislature from Ness county at the election of November 4, 1873, receiving 263 votes.

Rodgers took his seat in the house of representatives January 13, 1874, but he was not to occupy it long, for on February 3, Hon. H. J. McGaffigan, of Ellis county, at the instigation of John E. Farnsworth, a Ness county cattleman, introduced a resolution asking that a committee of three be appointed to inquire into the organization of Ness county. In the meantime Secretary Smallwood had received the following letter from John H. Edwards, dated Ellis, January 3, 1874:

"If you have not as yet forwarded the certificate of election to Doctor Rodgers, of Ness county, do not do so. The county was not properly organized and a very great fraud was perpetrated. Only twenty-six votes were cast, fourteen for Rodgers and twelve for some other party. Besides, a large amount of bonds were voted which I am given to understand were delivered to Rodgers, who is now trying to sell them."

The McGaffigan resolution was referred to the committee on elections, which on February 17 reported that the election was illegal because only twelve days had elapsed between the date of organization of the county and the election, whereas a notice of fifteen days must be given by the sheriff before the holding of any general election, and in new counties having no sheriff, in which case Ness county stood, the commissioners must give notice thirty days previous to the date set for the election. Besides this, J. E. Farnsworth took a census of Ness county on December 22 and 23, 1873, and found that all the inhabitants, men, women and children, did not exceed 140, and that at the time of the election there were but fourteen legal voters in the county. Rodgers replied to this by an affidavit, claiming that the inhabitants, since the taking of his census of 600, had removed, "some to Denver, some to Illinois, some to Massachusetts and some to other parts of Kansas, so greatly decreasing the number of *bona fide* residents there in October and November." The committee reported that, in view of all the evidence, S. G. Rodgers was "not entitled to a seat on the floor of this house," and asked to be discharged from further consideration of the case. This report was adopted, and Doctor Rodgers' term of service as representative of Ness county ceased on February 17, 1874.

It was said that if he had returned to Ness county there would have been a gathering known on the border as a "neektie party." He was wise, and vanished into thin air for a time, taking with him the money he had secured from too-easy eastern investors.

Ness county settlers petitioned the governor to disorganize the county, which he did, and some years elapsed before its reorganization and the establishment of county offices, which eventually took place April 14, 1884.

have prevented a decision by a majority vote, which would have left her in possession of the temporary county seat. But her advisors were short-sighted, and all their energy availed them nothing. They protracted the struggle several years after the courts had decided against them, but eventually the houses were sold and moved away and the stone store buildings and Masonic hall were torn down, leaving a hole here and there in the ground and a few stones to mark the spots where they once stood. Riding by the old town site one evening recently, we thought upon the busy scenes witnessed there in the early eighties, and wondered if the founders of the town—or at least those who have not yet passed over the river—would recognize the spot in which they had centered their hopes were they suddenly landed upon the once flourishing and busy but now dead streets of the quondam county seat.

EXTINCT GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS.

[This list of lost or extinct geographical locations suggests a world of interest to the student of local history. It has been compiled from all sources of the Historical Society; from manuscripts, archives, maps, emigration pamphlets, shippers' guides, directories, local histories and newspaper clippings, and does not assume to be infallible. The changes in county lines, the renaming of counties, and the indefinite descriptions given in acts of incorporation, make it impossible to locate exactly many of the towns without help from local historians. This help we earnestly solicit; with it we should be enabled hereafter to publish a complete and correct list of all lost towns of the state. Even as the list stands to-day it will be of great use to public officers as well as students.

By this term "lost towns" we do not always mean that the town no longer exists, or has ceased to hold a place on the map, but that it is no longer a post office, so far as we can ascertain, and has either succumbed to the encroachments of the farmer or is simply a crossroads trading point. In most instances, however, the town has ceased to be, has fallen, and lies buried with the hopes of the promoters.

We have had much inquiry in regard to this list, and present it at this time in reply to the solicitations of our patrons. No week goes by without requests for just the information contained in this list.—SECRETARY.]

Following is a list of incorporations by Kansas men of towns now within the boundaries of Colorado. These towns were incorporated in 1859 and 1860 and were then within the limits of Kansas Territory.

Auraria, Arapahoe co. Incorporated 1860; consolidated with Highland and Denver, 1860, as Denver; now West Denver, Colo.

Arazo, Arapahoe co. Town company incorporated 1860, by S. F. and L. N. Tappan, J. J. Ingalls, R. Sopris, S. O. Hemenway, J. B. Woodward, Wm. Rankin, W. J. King.

Bent's Fort. In 1860 Fort Wise, later name changed to Fort Lyon; on north side of Arkansas river, not far from where Las Animas, Colo., is situated.

Castio, Arapahoe co. Town company incorporated 1860, by A. Cutler, L. N. and S. F. Tappan and others.

Denver, Arapahoe co. Incorporated and established by act approved February 27, 1860.

Detroit, Arapahoe co. Incorporated 1860, by J. J. Ingalls, A. Cutler, S. F. Tappan and others.

El Paso, El Paso co. Incorporated 1859, by J. H. Turney, R. B. Willis, Wm. O'Donnall, A. W. Murphy, H. E. Hunt, W. J. Boyer, W. H. Green, J. T. Younker, J. H. Mundee, D. W. McCallen, Geo. Peck and L. J. Winchester. "Near Pike's Peak," now Colorado City.

Highland. Now North Denver. See Auraria. Jefferson, Arapahoe co. Incorporated 1860, by A. Cutler, L. N. and S. F. Tappan, W. J. King, W. A. and S. Tappan.

Montana, Arapahoe co. Incorporated 1859, by J. T. Younker, Charles Nicholls, J. Hinman, H. Hunt, J. H. Sweney, Wm. B. Parsons; abandoned same year for Auraria; located about five miles above site of Denver.

Parkville, Arapahoe co. Town company incorporated 1860, by A. Cutler, L. N. and S. F. Tappan and others.

Pennington, Arapahoe co. Town company incorporated 1860, by P. P. Elder, A. Cutler, S. F. Tappan and others.

Rochester, Arapahoe co. Town company incorporated 1860, by S. F. Tappan, John and Wm. J. King.

Rowena, Arapahoe co. Incorporated 1859, by S. O. Hemenway, G. F. Hemenway, G. F. Pentecost, C. A. Farris, E. W. Wynkoop, R. M. Nace.

St. Charles, Montana co. Incorporated 1859, by Wm. Larimer, jr., A. French, Wm. McCall, T. C. Dickson, F. M. Cobb, C. Nicholls, E. W. Wynkoop, C. Lawrence, L. Nicholls, and W. M. Hartley, jr.; now Denver.

Saratoga, Arapahoe co. Town company incorporated 1860, by S. O. Hemenway, Jos. Casto and others.

Sopris City, Arapahoe co. Town company incorporated 1860, by E. W. Wynkoop, R. M. Nace, R. Morrow, S. O. Hemenway, A. B. Sopris and others.

Following is a list of "lost" towns, post-offices, overland stations, missions, settlements and trading posts in Kansas, 1852 to 1912:

- Abram, Lincoln co. Founded 1870; abandoned 1872.
 Abrellville, Sumner co.
 Achilles, Rawlins co. Vacated 1903.
 Adair, Trego co.
 Adams Peak, Pottawatomie co.
 Adamson, Rooks co.
 Adel, Ness co.
 Adel, Sheridan co.
 Adelphi, Cowley co. One of the early names of Arkansas City.
 Adobe, Seward co.
 Advance, Sheridan co.
 Aeolia, probably Douglas co.
 Afton, Sedgwick co.
 Agnes City [Breckenridge], Lyon co. Incorporated 1857, by A. J. Baker, E. Mosier and E. M. Sewell; located at Santa Fe crossing of Rock Creek.
 Ailanthus, Ottawa co. Discontinued 1882.
 Akron, Douglas co.
 Aladdin, Douglas co.
 Alamota "Ketch," Lane co. Vacated 1895.
 Alamead, Allemead, or Cypress, Lincoln co.
 Albany, Nemaha co. Established by New Yorkers in 1859; abandoned about 1876; P. O. discontinued 1881-'82; two miles north of Sabetha.
 Alcolea, Greenwood co. Southeast of Eureka.
 Alicone, Sheridan co.
 Alembic, or Alembria, Riley co. Now Leonardsville.
 Alert, Riley co. West of Randolph.
 Alexander, Douglas co.
 Alexandria, Leavenworth co. Incorporated 1855, by A. Majors, S. D. Pitcher, A. Payne, J. M. Alexander, E. Sibley and Wm. H. Russell; located on Stranger creek.
 Alfred, Douglas co.
 Alicari, Ness co. Established 1879.
 Allen Springs, Lane co. Established 1879.
 Alliance, Chicago Junction, New Chicago and Tioga, Neosho co. All now in Chanute.
 Allington, Crawford co.
 Alma, Osage co. Vacated 1899.
 Alta, Harvey co.
 Alton, Sumner co.
 Alum Creek, Elm Creek, Ellsworth co. Now Carneiro.
 Alva, Cloud co.
 Amboy, Rooks co.
 America City, Nemaha co. Laid out June 10, 1858, by Samuel Dickson, president of the town company.
 Amity, Jewell co.
 Anderson, Pratt co. Established 1879.
 Anderson, Smith co.
 Andrew, Smith co.
 Antone, Pawnee co. Established 1879.
 Appanoose, Franklin co. P. O. in 1859; located in north part of county.
 Appin, Saline co.
 Appleton, Bourbon co.
 Appleton, Clark co.
 Appomattox, Grant co. Vacated 1893; formed by the consolidation of Cincinnati and Surprise.
 Arapahoe, Dickinson co.
 Arcola, Sumner co.
 Argyle, Sumner co.
 Arion, Cloud co.
 Arispie, Pottawatomie co.
 Arizona, or Arizona, Butler co.
 Arizona, Doniphan co. Platted 1856.
 Arkalon, Seward co. Vacated 1895.
 Arkansas River, Barton co. Station on Santa Fe trail, one-half mile west of Ellinwood.
 Arkona, S eridan co.
 Arlington, Osborne co. Discontinued 1872.
 Armstrong, Wyandotte co. Now in Kansas City, Kan.; consolidated 1886.
 Arnold, Crawford co. Now Beulah.
 Aroma, Dickinson co.
 Artesian City, Meade co. Vacated 1893.
 Arthur, Ness co.
 Artois, Meade co.
 Arvilla, Osage co. East of Burlingame.
 Arvonnia, Osage co.
 Ash Point, Nemaha co. P. O. in 1859; located by Thomas Smith at the junction of the St. Joseph trail with the military road from Fort Leavenworth.
 Ash Rock, Rooks co.
 Ashland [Davis] Riley co. P. O. in 1855; discontinued 1868; town vacated 1873; south of river, near Ogden.
 Ashland, Ness co.
 Ashmead, Ellsworth co.
 Astor, Greeley co. Vacated 1897.
 Athelstane, or Athelstone, Clay co.
 Athens, Jewell co.
 Atkin, Graham co. Vacated 1889.
 Atkinsville, Montgomery co.
 Atlanta, Montgomery co. Name changed to Rutland.
 Atlanta, Rice co. Now Lyons.
 Attica, Ellsworth co. Name changed to Bosland; now Wilson.
 Atwater, Meade co. Vacated 1899.
 Aubrey, Hamilton co. P. O. called Zamora; both changed to Kendall.
 Aubrey, or Aubry, Johnson co.
 Augustine Springs, Wichita co.
 Aurora, Jewell co. Discontinued about 1881 or 1882.
 Aurora, Coffey co. Site located 1857; abandoned 1861.
 Austin, Sumner co. Site located 1869; abandoned 1872.
 Avery, Reno co.
 Avilda, Marion co.
 Avilla, Comanche co. Vacated 1903.
 Avon, Coffey co. P. O. 1859.
 Avondale, Franklin co. Formerly Emerson; moved to Lane.
 Ayersburg, Ayersville, Ottawa co. Now Lindsey.
 "Ayr, Butler co.
 Ayresville, Marshall or Washington co. Village 1855, on Little Blue, twenty miles south of Nebraska line.
 Bachelder, [Riley] Geary co. Incorporated 1858, by B. E. Fullington, S. D. Houston M. Younkin, Abraham Barry, M. F. Conway; now Milford.
 Bachelor, McPherson co.
 Bacon, Lincoln co.
 Badger City, or Badger Creek, Lyon co.
 Baker's Ford, Nemaha co. Afterward Urbana.
 Baker's Park, Wyandotte co. See Barker's Tank.
 Ballard, Smith co.
 Baltimore, Cowley co.
 Bancroft, Coffey co. Discontinued 1882.
 Bangor, Coffey co.
 Banks, Osborne co.
 Bannock, Edwards co.
 Bannville, Comanche co.
 Bantam, Ellis co. Name changed to Hyacinth.
 Baptiste, Baptiste Springs, Franklin co. P. O. changed to Peoria; two miles southeast of Ottawa.
 Barker's Tank, Wyandotte co. Eight miles from Wyandotte.
 Barrett's Mills, Woodson co.
 Barry, Coffey co.
 Bartgestown, Rice co.
 Bartleson, Johnson co.
 Barton, Labette co. Name changed to Penfield.
 Base Line, Crawford co. Southeast of Girard.

Basham, Lincoln co.
 Bateman, Clay co.
 Bath, Woodson co. Name changed to Defiance.
 Batino, Cheyenne co.
 Battiesville, Miami co. Indian village at junction of Bull and Indian creeks.
 Battle Creek, Lincoln co.
 Battle Hill, McPherson co.
 Battle Hill, Miami co. Chartered 1858, by O. C. Brown.
 Bazaar, Chase co. Vacated 1889.
 Beach Grove, Graham co.
 Beach Trading Post, or Beach Valley, Peketon co. Near Lyons, Rice co.; incorporated 1860, by A. Beach and others.
 Bear Creek, Stanton co.
 Beaver, Cowley co.
 Beaver, Osborne co.
 Beaver, Smith co. Name changed to Reamsville.
 Beaver Creek, Cloud co.
 Beavertown, Miami co. Four miles east of Paola.
 Bed Rock, Ness co.
 Bedford, Stafford co. Vacated 1899.
 Bee, Montgomery co. Six miles from Havana.
 Beekman, Washington co.
 Beelerville, Ness co. Vacated 1901.
 Belbone, Chartered 1879.
 Belfast, Gray co.
 Belfield, Rush co.
 Belknap, Chautauqua co.
 Bell, Leavenworth co.
 Bell, Washington co.
 Bell City, Lane co. Near California.
 Bell Grove, Greenwood co. Changed to Climax.
 Belle Meade, Meade co.
 Belle Springs, Dickinson co.
 Bellegarde, Pottawatomie co.
 Bellemont, or Belmont, Doniphan co. Formerly Whitehead; incorporated 1860; vacated 1876.
 Bellemont, Greenwood co.
 Bellevue, Jackson co.
 Belmont, or Fort Belmont, Woodson co. Trading post 1856; P. O. 1859.
 Belvidere, Kiowa co. Vacated 1893.
 Beman, Morris co.
 Bemis, Morris co.
 Benjica, Douglas co. Incorporated 1855, by G. W. Johnson, A. McDonald and M. D. Winter.
 Bennetts Station, Marshall co. P. O. 1859.
 Bennettsville, Russell co.
 Ben's Ranch, Ellsworth co.; 11 miles northeast of Ellsworth.
 Berea, Franklin co.
 Berlin, Riley co.
 Bero, Cherokee co.
 Bertie, Graham co.
 Bethany, Osborne co. Now Portis.
 Bethany, Smith co.
 Bethel, Marion co.
 Beverley, Sumner co.
 Big Bend, Jewell co.
 Big Bend, Phillips co.
 Big Bend, Republic co.
 Big Blue City, Chartered 1858.
 Big Creek, Bourbon co. P. O. 1859.
 Big Creek, Ellis co.
 Big Creek Station, Saline co.
 Big Hill, or Spring Hill, Montgomery co. P. O. and Indian town.
 Big John, Morris co. On Santa Fe trail, east of Council Grove.
 Big Labette, Neosho co.
 Big Springs, Douglas co., northwest corner of the county, three miles from Kansas river.

Big Stranger, Leavenworth co. See Stranger.
 Big Timber, Ellis co., P. O. 1868.
 Big Timber, Riley co.
 Big Timbers, Wallace co.
 Big Turkey, On Santa Fe trail; P. O. 1864.
 Billingsville, Norton co.
 Bill's Creek, Davis co.
 Birch, Sedgwick co.
 Bird Nest, Pawnee co.
 Birmingham, Haskell co. Vacated 1895.
 Bishop, Jewell co.
 Bismark, Lincoln co.
 Bismark, Wabaunsee co.
 Bitter, or Bittertown, Lyon co.
 Black Bob, Johnson co., Indian village.
 Black Hawk, Osborne co.
 Black Jack, or Black Oak, Douglas co., on Santa Fe trail. P. O. 1869.
 Blacksmith, Shawnee co.
 Blaiseville, Wallace (?) co.
 Blakeman, Rawlins co. West of Atwood; town site sold 1910.
 Blake's Town See Kansas Falls.
 Blanchville, Marshall co.
 Blanton, Douglas co. P. O. established 1855, abolished 1866.
 Blendon, Sedgwick co.
 Bloomfield, Elk co.
 Bloomfield, Montgomery co.
 Blooming Grove, Linn co. Site of a Chouteau trading post.
 Bloomingdale, Barber co.
 Bloomingdale, McPherson co. Now Roxbury.
 Bloomington, Atchison co. Now Rushville.
 Bloomington, Douglas co. P. O. 1855; incorporated 1857, by H. Burson, N. Ramsey, Wm. Jesse, Jas. M. Dunn and P. F. Fowler; name changed to Clinton, 1858.
 Blue Mound, Wallace co.
 Blue Stem, Russell co.
 Bluemont, Riley co. Vacated 1869; now Agricultural College grounds.
 Bluff Creek, Harper co. Now Bluff.
 Bluff Creek Ranch, Ford co.
 Bluffton, Ottawa co.
 Bluffville, Ellsworth co.
 Bly, Clark co.
 Bolcker, Washington co.
 Boling, Franklin co. See Bowling Green.
 Bonasa, Wichita co. Changed to Leoti.
 Bonanza, Cherokee co. Now Galena; also called Empire City and Short Creek.
 Bonaville, McPherson co.
 Bond, Douglas co. Changed to Lone Star in 1903.
 Bonewitz, Barton co.
 Bonny Doon, Ness co.
 Boonville, Coffey co. At or near present Ottumwa.
 Booth, Reno co. Name changed to Fernie 1903.
 Border, Elk co.
 Bosland, Ellsworth co. Now Wilson.
 Boston, [Howard] Chautauqua co. Founded in 1871.
 Boston, Riley co. Now Manhattan.
 Boston Mills, Cherokee co.
 Bourassa's Mills, Bursaw's Mills, Wabaunsee co. Indian village near Maple Hill.
 Bovard, Crawford co.
 Bowdenville, Smith co.
 Bowling Green, Boling, Franklin co. P. O. 1855; abolished 1857. Name changed to Ohio City; now Princeton.¹
 Box City, Cowley co.
 Boyer, Rawlins co.

NOTE 1.—In a letter to the secretary, dated Okmulgee, Okla., July 3, 1912, L. de Steiguer says: "Ohio City was owned by P. D. Ridenour, Abner L. Ross, Abe Morton, Mr. Iloff, Mr. Pilcher, L. de Steiguer and some nine other Lawrence men, the names of whom I do not recall. Abner L. Ross was secretary of the town company and P. D. Ridenour president. Mr. Ross is now living in Los Angeles, Cal., is engaged actively in the real estate business, and, although eighty years old, is in good health. The location

- Boyle, Jefferson co.
 Bozarth, Doniphan co. P. O. established 1900; on old site of Charleston.
 Bradley Springs, Ellsworth co.
 Brainerd, Butler co.
 Braman Hill, Wyandotte co.
 Bramlette, Woodson co.
 Branchport, Holmwood, Jewell co.
 Brantford, Washington co.
 Bray, Sherman co.
 Brett, Norton co.
 Bridge, Saline co.
 Briggsdale, Wyandotte co.; located at Delaware Baptist Mission, 1847.
 Bridgton, Cherokee co.
 Bright, Ness county; established 1879.
 Bristol, Jefferson co. On north bank of Kansas river.
 Bristow, Osborne co.
 Britton, Butler co.
 Brittville, Mitchell co. Now Simpson.
 Broadview, Saline co.
 Brookdale, Rice co. Now Lyons.
 Brookdale, Rush co.
 Brooklyn, or Brooklyn, Linn co. Chartered 1858.
 Brooklyn, Douglas co.
 Brooklyn, Lincoln co.
 Bross, Kingman co.
 Brough, Nemaha co.
 Brown Rock, Washington co. Formerly Carter.
 Brownlow, Butler co.
 Brown's Creek, Mitchell co.
 Brown's Grove, Pawnee co.
 Brownville, Shawnee co. Incorporated 1857, by L. Farnsworth, J. W. Brown, H. Fox, M. C. Dickey; now Auburn.
 Bruce City, Dickinson co.
 Bruno, Montgomery co.
 Brush Creek, Cherokee co. Name changed to Neutral.
 Bryan, Doniphan co.; name changed to Wathena, 1856.
 Bryant, Butler co.
 Buchanan, Saline co., located near mouth of Solomon river; incorporated 1857, by Daniel Mitchell, E. M. Thurston, R. D. Mobley, T. H. Swope, N. J. Ireland, H. Butcher, J. M. Bernard, Jones & Bennett, L. J. Eastin, R. L. Kirk, Wm. P. Richardson, H. J. Strickler, D. A. N. Grover, R. S. Stevens, C. H. Grover, Wm. H. Rogers, B. F. Simmons, F. J. Marshall.
 Buckner, Hodgeman co.
 Bucks Grove, Jackson co.
 Buda, Ness co.
 Buel, Mitchell co.
 Buenna Vista, Barber co.
 Buffalo, Davis co., town association; incorporated 1857, by R. Stephens, W. H. Rogers, R. Garrett, C. H. Grover, L. S. Bowling, Major Barre, B. F. Simmons, R. Briggs.
 Buffalo, Doniphan co., near Eagle Springs.
 Buffalo, Buffalo Park, Gove co.
 Buffalo Creek, Ellsworth co.
 Buffalo Junction, Cloud co.; now Yuma.
 Buffton, Ottawa co.
 Buffton, Wilson co.; name changed to Buffville.
 Bull City, Osborne co.; now Alton.
 Bull Creek, Johnson co.; twelve miles east of Palmyra, on Santa Fe trail.
 Buncombe, Brown co.; name changed to St. Francis, November, 1871.
 Bunker Hill, Atchison co.
 Burdenville, Cowley co.; now Burden.
 Burnt Creek, Greenwood co.
 Bursaw's Mills; see Bourassa's Mills.
 Bushnell, Sumner co.
 Butler, Washington co.
 Butler City, Pottawatomie co.
 Butler's, Jefferson co. See Middletown.
 Butterfly, Kingman co.
 Byron, or Harbine, Republican co.
 Byron, Woodson co.
 Cabin Valley, Cowley co.
 Cadmus, Linn co.
 Cady, Linn co.
 Cain City, Ellsworth co.
 Calcutta, Douglas co.; six miles west of Lawrence.
 Calhoun, [Calhoun] Shawnee co., incorporated 1855, by G. P. Davis, E. H. Horton, and J. Kuykendall; located on north side of Kansas river near present Jefferson county line.
 California, Coffey co.; located in 1857; abandoned in 1859; incorporators, George Hurling, Jacob Hoover and others.
 California, Lane co. Established 1879; name changed to Lucretia.
 Callison, Graham co.
 Calmar, or Calmer, McPherson co.
 Camden, Morris co.; now Skiddy.
 Camp Alert; see Camp on Pawnee Fork.
 Camp Bateman, Leavenworth co. Temporary camp near Fort Leavenworth, 1857.
 Camp Beecher, Camp Butterfield, Camp Davidson, Sedgwick co. Located where Wichita now stands.
 Camp Center, first name of Fort Riley, 1852.
 Camp Cooke, Leavenworth co. Temporary camp near Leavenworth, July, 1857.
 Camp Crawford, Shawnee co. Recruiting camp for Nineteenth Kansas, 1868; near Topeka.
 Camp Creek, Coffey co. P. O. 1859.
 Camp Criley, Pawnee co. Railway camp near Garfield.
 Camp Jewell. (See Fort Jewell.)
 Camp Leedy, Shawnee co. Recruiting camp for Kansas troops, Spanish-American War, 1898, at Topeka.
 Camp Magruder, Leavenworth co. Temporary camp for Utah recruits, 1860, near Fort Leavenworth.
 Camp on Pawnee Fork [Peketon] Pawnee co., 1859. Name changed to Camp Alert, 1860; changed to Fort Larned, 1860; abandoned, 1878.
 Camp Pond Creek, Wallace co. Later Fort Wallace.
 Camp Sackett, Douglas co.
 Camp Sanger [Davis], Geary co. At or near Fort Riley.
 Camp Scott, Bourbon co. Changed to Fort Scott, 1843.
 Camp Thompson, Leavenworth co. Temporary camp 1858, near Fort Leavenworth.
 Campbellton, Johnson co. Near Glenwood.
 Canema, Shawnee co.
 Canola, Howard co. Founded 1871; moved to Grenola, of which town it is now part.
 Canton, Anderson co. Located in 1858.
 Canton, Riley co. At or near Manhattan.
 Cantonment Leavenworth. P. O. established May, 1828, in Clay co., Mo.; changed to Fort Leavenworth, 1832.
 Cantonment Martin, Cow Island. Military post established in October, 1818.
 Canville, Neosho co. Trading post near Shawnee in 1844.
 Capioma, Kapioma, Nemaha co.
 Capto Station, Wabaunsee co.
 Carbon, Crawford co.
 Carbon, Jackson co.

of Ohio City was not a good one, as we could not get living water on the town site. It was quite a thriving burg during the carpetbag emigration. It had a large Indian trade. P. P. Elder was one of our first citizens, but was not a member of the town company. I hauled him from Lawrence to Ohio City on May 1, 1857."

- Cariboo, Butler co.
- Carietna, Barber co.
- Carlisle, Hamilton co. East of Syracuse.
- Carlyle, [Wallace] Logan co. Changed to Cleaveland.
- Carmel, Cloud co.
- Carmen, Meade co.
- Carmi, Pratt co. Established 1879.
- Carolina, Doniphan co. Town company incorporated 1857, by Z. L. Benson, W. H. Hudson, J. W. Forman, J. R. Boyd.
- Carson, Brown co. Chartered 1858.
- Carter, Washington co. Changed to Brown Rock.
- Carter Creek, Clay co.
- Carter's Springs, Cherokee co.
- Carthage, Meade co.
- Carthage, Shawnee co. Located 1857, by W. M. Jordan, G. Bassett, C. P. Clemens, J. B. Whitaker, W. B. Stith.
- Carville, Labette co.
- Cascade, Chautauqua co.
- Cash City, Clark co. Vacated 1895.
- Castle Rock, Trego co.
- Catholic Mission, [Dorn] Neosho co. P. O. 1851. Name changed to Osage Mission, now St. Paul.
- Cave Springs, Elk co. Founded about 1880 as a health resort; formerly Montrose.
- Cayuga, Atchison co.
- Cedar, Rooks co.
- Cedar Bluff, Anderson co. One-half mile southeast of Garnett.
- Cedar Bluff, Ellsworth co. Now Wilson.
- Cedar Bluff, Rooks co.
- Cedar Creek, Cowley co.
- Cedar Falls, Marshall co. Near Waterville.
- Cedar Ford, Butler co.
- Cedar Grove, Chase co.
- Cedar Grove, [Davis] Geary co. P. O. 1859.
- Cedar Point, [Davis] Geary co. On Clark's Creek, 1858.
- Cedar Point, Neosho co.
- Cedarville, Smith co. Now Cedar.
- Cedron, Lincoln co.
- Celia, Gove co.
- Celia, Rawlins co. Buildings moved four miles west to McDonald in 1888; vacated 1889.
- Centennial, Sumner co.
- Center, Crawford co. Near Girard, 1867.
- Center Grove, Shawnee co.
- Center Mound, Republic co.
- Center Ridge, Woodson co.
- Centerville, Dickinson co.
- Centerville, Jefferson co.
- Centerville, Leavenworth co.
- Centerville, Osborne co. 1873.
- Centerville, Wilson co.
- Central City, Anderson co.
- Central City, Nemaha co. 1855.
- Centralia, Nemaha co. One and a half miles north of present town of that name; located in 1858; plat recorded May 30, 1860.
- Cerro Gordo, Jewell co. Location changed in 1879.
- Chalk, Chalk Mound, Exonville, Wabauunsee co.
- Chalk Bluffs, Gove co. On Smoky Hill river.
- Challacombe, Greenwood (?) co. Chartered 1870.
- Challacombe, Ness co.
- Challender's, Shawnee co.
- Chandler, Douglas co.
- Chandler, Rooks co.
- Chantilly, Kearny co. Located April, 1887; abandoned in 1888; houses moved to new town site of Omaha.
- Chapman's, Shawnee co. Voting precinct in 1854. See Whitfield.
- Chapman's Creek, Dickinson co. Now Chapman.
- Chapmanville, Clay co. Now Idana.
- Chard, Nemaha co.
- Charity, Clay co.
- Charleston, Doniphan co. P. O. 1859, discontinued 1868; vacated 1864. See Bozarth.
- Charleston, Greenwood co. P. O. moved to Fall River, about 1879.
- Charleston, Wabauunsee co. P. O. 1859.
- Charleston, Washington co. Chartered 1858.
- Charlotteville, Coffey co. Incorporated 1857, by D. T. Mitchell, T. C. Hughes, and H. P. Throop.
- Chaumiere, Douglas or Shawnee co. Incorporated 1857, by S. H. Woodson, W. Christman, T. N. Stinson, J. C. Anderson, and A. Comingo.
- Chautauqua Springs, Chautauqua co. Vacated 1895.
- Checo, or Chico, Cherokee co.
- Cheeseman, Norton co. Discontinued 1882.
- Cheever, Dickinson co.
- Chelsea, Butler co. P. O. 1868.
- Chemung, Franklin co. East of Princeton.
- Cherokee, Wise co. Incorporated 1857, by M. D. Hickman, A. Rodrique, W. A. M. Vaughn, E. T. Hickman.
- Cherokee City, Cherokee co. P. O. 1868.
- Cherry Creek, Anderson co. P. O. 1868.
- Cherry Creek, Woodson co.
- Cherry Mound, Anderson co.
- Cherryville, Labette co. Chartered 1869.
- Chester, Jefferson co.
- Chetola, or Chetolah [Davis] Geary co., 1855. North of Wreford, at mouth of Lyons creek.
- Cheyenne, Osborne co.
- Cheyenne Bend, Barton co.
- Chicago, Sheridan co.
- Chicago Heights, Shawnee co.; north of Topeka.
- Chicago Junction, Neosho co.; now part of Chanute.
- Chickasaw, Coffey co.
- Chickaskia, Sumner co.
- Chico, Cherokee co.; see Checo.
- Chico, Saline co.; located December 1885, abandoned in 1888; vacated 1895.
- Chillicothe, Phillips co.; name changed to Big Bend.
- Chouteau, Johnson co.
- Chouteau Island, Arkansas river; station on the Santa Fe trail.
- Christian, McPherson co.
- Christiana, Greenwood co.
- Churchill, Ottawa co.
- Cincinnati, Leavenworth co.; 1857; near Ft. Leavenworth.
- Cincinnati, Doniphan co., Iowa township.
- Cincinnati, Grant co.; name changed to Apomattox.
- City Point, Pottawatomie co.
- Clarence, Barton co.
- Clarinda, Ness co.
- Clarion, Sedgwick co.
- Clark, Wilson co., now Ward.
- Clarksville, Johnson co.
- Clawson, Hodgeman co.
- Claymore, Clymore, or Tally Springs, Montgomery co., 1867. P. O. 1868.
- Claytonville, or Clayton, Brown co. Incorporated 1857, by A. Heed, J. Plowman, Geo. E. Clayton and E. Kenper.
- Clear Creek, Marion co. P. O. 1868.
- Clear Creek, Pottawatomie co. P. O. 1859.
- Clearwater, Sedgwick co. Located April 15, 1872; abandoned 1874; near the old Chisholm trail.
- Cleaveland, Wallace co. Formerly Carlyle, Logan co.
- Clementville, Leavenworth co.
- Cleveland, Butler co.
- Cleveland, Kingman co. Name changed to Carvil in 1903.
- Clifford, Smith co.
- Clifton, Woodson co.
- Cloud, Cherokee co. Name changed to Bero.
- Cloud, Cloud co. Discontinued 1882.
- Clymore, see Claymore.

- Coahoma, town company. Incorporated 1857, by S. H. Woodson R. P. Doak, W. Shannon, B. F. Simmons, A. B. Earle.
- Coal Center, Linn co.
- Coal Creek, Atchison co. P. O. 1858.
- Coal Creek, Ottawa co.
- Coal Siding, Franklin co.
- Coal Switch, Bourbon co.
- Coalfield, Cherokee co. See Sandfordville.
- Coalville, or Coleville, Harper co. Name changed to Danville.
- Cobb, Wabauensee co.
- Coburn, Franklin co.
- Cofachiqui, Allen co. Incorporated 1855, by D. Woodson, C. Passmore, J. S. Barbee, Wm. Barbee, Samuel A. Williams and Jos. C. Anderson.
- Coffeyville, Montgomery co. Old town, 1869; abandoned 1871, for new site one mile north.
- Cokedale, Cherokee co.
- Cold Spring, Allen co. P. O. 1868.
- Coleville, Harper co. See Coalville.
- Colfax, McPherson co. Name changed to Roxbury.
- Colfax, Wilson co.
- College Green, Sedgwick co.
- Collins, Greenwood co.
- Colokan, Greeley co. Vacated 1897.
- Coloma, Woodson co.
- Colorado, Lincoln co. Now Beverly.
- Columbia, [Breckinridge] Lyon co. Incorporated 1855, by T. S. Huffaker, C. H. Withington, Wm. D. Harris. On the river three miles below Emporia.
- Columbia, Ellsworth co. Vacated 1901.
- Columbia, Miami co. Now Hillsdale.
- Columbus, Doniphan co. Discontinued 1868-9.
- Comanche City, Comanche co. Vacated 1905.
- Comet, Brown co.
- Concord, Ottawa co.; P. O. 1868.
- Condeley, Riley co.
- Conductor, Grant co.; vacated 1893.
- Conductor, Haskell co.
- Coneburg, Marion co.; became North Peabody, 1871.
- Connersville, Decatur co.
- Connor's, Convers, Wyandotte co.
- Conquest, Wichita co.
- Conrotin, Davis co.
- Constant, Cowley co.; now Hackney.
- Conway, Linn co., near Sugar Mound.
- Cook's Ford, Cook's Fork, Jefferson co.; P. O. 1868.
- Cool, Cloud co.
- Coopersburg, Rice co.
- Cope, Jackson co.
- Corinth, Osborne co.; on the South Solomon river.
- Cornhill, Butler co.
- Cornwall, Cherokee co.
- Corona, Coffey co.
- Coronado, Sedgwick co.
- Coronado, Wichita co. Town moved three miles to Leoti.
- Cortez, Graham co. Discontinued 1882.
- Corvallis, Smith co. Located in 1875, abandoned 1888.
- Corydon, Wise co. Chartered 1858.
- Costello, Montgomery co.
- Cottage Grove, Allen co. Voting precinct in 1858.
- Cottonwood, Chase co. Across the river from Cottonwood Falls.
- Cottonwood, Lyon co.
- Cottonwood Creek, or Crossing, Marion co. On Santa Fe Trail near Durham, twelve miles west of Lost Springs.
- Cottonwood Grove, Reno co. Now Turon.
- Cottonwood Grove, Shawnee co. Now Pauline.
- Cottonwood Station, Marshall co. Fifteen miles west of Marysville.
- Council, [Wise] Morris co. Now Council Grove.
- Council City, Osage co. Now Burlingame.
- Coursen's Grove, Mitchell co.
- Covington, Smith co.
- Cow Creek, Rice co. Station on Santa Fe Trail.
- Cow Creek, Ellsworth co. Now Black Wolf.
- Cowskin Grove, Sedgwick co. Indian village, now Waco.
- Cox Creek, Crawford co. Now Arcadia.
- Coxes Creek, Bourbon co.
- Coyote, Phillips co.
- Coyote, Trego co. Near Collyer.
- Coy's, Wilson co. Now Coyville.
- Coyville, Cloud co.
- Crainville, Republic co.
- Cransdale, Cloud co.
- Crawford, Lyon co.
- Crawfordville, Crawford co. Near Girard; established in 1867; abandoned 1869; named for Gov. S. J. Crawford.
- Cremona, Neosho co.
- Cresco, Anderson co. Chartered 1858; abandoned 1860.
- Cresco, Elk co.
- Cresson, Rooks co. Vacated 1893.
- Creswell, Cowley co. Now Arkansas City. See Delphi and Walnut City.
- Creswell, Marion co.
- Crittenden, Butler co. Founded 1861; abandoned 1865.
- Croco, Norton co.
- Crooked Creek, Ford co.
- Crooked Creek, Jefferson co. P. O. 1868.
- Crooked Creek, McPherson co.
- Cromwell, Washington co.
- Cross, Lyon co. Now Neosho Rapids.
- Cross Creek [Jackson], Shawnee co. Trading post 1853; now Rossville.
- Crouse, Labette co.
- Crow, Phillips co.
- Crozier Station, Johnson co.
- Crystal Plains, Smith co.
- Cuba, Republic co. Site three miles from present Cuba.
- Cumberland, Thomas co.
- Cundiff, Morton co. Vacated 1895.
- Custer, Smith co.
- Cypress, Lincoln co. (See Alamead.)
- Cyrus, Trego co.
- Daisy, Leavenworth co.
- Dalby, Atchison co.
- Dallas, Norton co.
- Dalrymple, Mitchell co. Discontinued 1882.
- Damorris, Morris co.
- Danube, Rawlins co. Now Ludell.
- Danville, Mitchell co.
- Darien, Cowley co.
- Darlington, Harvey co.
- Darwin, Doniphan co.
- Davis, Douglas co. Established February 26, 1855; name changed to Willow Springs July 23, 1861; to Akron, May 9, 1870; to Willow Springs June 13, 1870.
- Dayton, Bourbon co.
- Dayton, Douglas co.
- Dayton, Daytonville, Labette co.
- Dayton, Shawnee co.
- Dean, Reno co.
- Deanolia, Brown co.
- Deanville, Nemaha co. North of Souther.
- Debolt, Labette co.
- Deborah, Morris co. Now Dunlap.
- Decatur, Decatur co. Platted in June 1879; abandoned in 1881.
- Decorrah, Morris co.
- Deep Creek, Clay co.
- Deep Hole, Comanche co.
- Deerton, Labette co. Now Valeda.
- Defiance, Woodson co. Now Yates Center.
- Delano, Sedgwick co. P.O. across the river from Wichita.
- Delavan, Clay co.

- Delaware, Wyandotte co. P. O. established 1849; changed to Secondine, 1856; abolished 1859; on Kansas river, ten miles from mouth.
- Delaware City, Leavenworth co. Incorporated 1855; P. O. on Missouri river 4 miles south of Leavenworth.
- Delaware City, Shawnee co. Name changed to Rochester.
- Delhi, Osborne co.
- Della, Clay co. Now Morganville.
- Delmont, Anderson co.
- Delmore, McPherson co.
- Delphi, Cowley co. Now Arkansas City. See Creswell and Walnut City.
- Delphoe, Cloud co.
- Delta, Jewell co.
- Dema, Atchison co.
- Deep Hole, Clark or Comanche co.
- Dermot, Stevens co. Vacated 1893; now Dermot, Morton Co.
- Derry, Elk co.
- Desire, Reno co.
- Dewitt, Washington co.
- Diamond Springs, Morris co. Overland station five miles north of present Diamond Springs.
- Diana, Sedgwick co.
- Dickeyville, Phillips co.
- Dimon, Leavenworth co. North of Stanwood; located in 1868 by Dimon I. Pearson and E. P. Wickersham.
- Discord, Brown co.
- Divide, Anderson co. Name changed to Colony.
- Dixon, Butler co.
- Doane, Washington co. Northwest corner of county.
- Donald, Washington co.
- Donmeyer, Saline co. Now New Cambria.
- Donner Station, Saline co. P. O. 1868.
- Dora, Labette co.
- Dorcas, Nemaha co. Discontinued 1882.
- Doster, Sumner co.
- Douglas, Douglas co. Incorporated 1855, by J. W. Reid, G. M. Clark, C. E. Kearney, E. C. McCarty, P. Ellison, M. W. McGee. On the river ten miles above Lawrence.
- Douglas, Linn co.
- Downer Station, Ft. Downer, Trego co. Overland station; burned 1867.
- Downing, Morris co.
- Doyle, Marion co.
- Dragoon Creek, Osage co. On Santa Fe trail, west of Burlingame.
- Dry Creek, Cherokee co.
- Dry Creek, Sedgwick co. Now Greenwich.
- Dudley, Osborne co.
- Dunnire, Saline co.
- Dutch Henry's Crossing, or Shermanville, Franklin co. Now Lane.
- Eagle, Pottawatomie co.
- Eagle Bend, Clay co.
- Eagle City, Madison co.
- Eagle Creek, Lyon co.
- Eagle Creek, Rooks co.
- Eagle Rapids, Smith co.
- Eagle Springs, Doniphan co.
- Eagle Tail, Wallace co. Now Sharon Springs.
- Earnest, Rooks co.
- Easdale, Ellis co.
- East Haddam, Washington co. Now Haddam.
- East Norway, Doniphan co.
- East Wolf, Russell co.
- Eastwood, Bourbon co.
- Eaton, Logan co.
- Eaton, Ottawa co.
- Eaton, Riley co.
- Eclipse, Coffey co.
- Economy, Rush co. P. O. 1861; abandoned 1862.
- Eden, Sumner co.
- Eden Prairie, McPherson co.
- Edgecomb, Butler co. Discontinued 1882.
- Edonia, Allen co.
- Edwin, Crawford co. Now Litchfield.
- Edwin, Stanton co. Moved to Veteran City; now Johnson.
- Elba, Anderson co. Town company organized January 23, 1858; abandoned soon after.
- Elbon, Russell co. Named changed to Lucas, 1903.
- Eldon, Pottawatomie co. P. O. 1859.
- Eldora, Bourbon co. Name changed to Mapleton in 1857.
- Eldred, Barber co.
- Eldridge, Sedgwick co.
- Elen, Osage co.
- Elgo, Republic co. Now Norway.
- Eli, Stanton co.
- Elinor, Chase co.
- Elivon, McPherson co.
- Elizabeth, Marshall co.
- Elizabeth, Wallace co.
- Elizabethtown, ———, Chartered by J. H. Shimmers and others, 1858.
- Elizabethtown, Anderson co. 1859; vacated 1899.
- Elizabethtown, Johnson co. 1858.
- Elk City, Jackson co.
- Elk Creek [Shirley], Cloud co. Now Clyde.
- Elk Creek, Osage co.
- Elk Horn, Lincoln co.
- Elk River, Elk co.
- Elkado, Logan co.
- Elkhart, McPherson co.
- Elm, Allen co.
- Elm Creek [Shirley], Cloud co.
- Elm Creek, Ellsworth co. (See Alum Creek.)
- Elm Creek, Marshall co.
- Elm Grove, Johnson co. Station on Santa Fe Trail, thirty miles from Westport.
- Elm Grove, Rooks co.
- Elm Grove, Washington co.
- Elm Valley, Rush co. Established 1879.
- Elma, Republic co.
- Elmandaro [Madison], Greenwood co.
- Elmira, Mitchell co.
- El Paso, Sedgwick co. Name changed to Derby.
- Elrick, Graham co.
- Elsinore, Allen co. Now Elsmore.
- Elston, Labette co.
- Emerald, Anderson co.
- Emerson, Franklin co. Name changed to Avondale.
- Em'ley City, Osborne co. Established 1872.
- Empire, McPherson co.
- Empire City, Cherokee co. See Bonanza.
- Emville, Phillips co.
- Enne, Rawlins co.
- Ennisville, Montgomery co. One mile south of Caney.
- Equity, Anderson co.
- Erin, Washington co.
- Essex, Garfield co. Vacated 1893.
- Essex, Shawnee co.
- Eugene [Calhoun], Shawnee co. Now North Topeka.
- Eujatah, on Arkansas river, end of Government road in 1855; an Indian village.
- Eunice, Kingman co.
- Eureka, Osage co. East of Burlingame.
- Eustis, Sherman co. Absorbed by Goodland, 1888.
- Evansville, Comanche co.
- Evansville, Doniphan co.
- Eve, Bourbon co.
- Everett, Woodson co.
- Everton, Brown co. Name changed to Everest.
- Ewell, Sumner co.
- Example, Haskell co. Vacated 1893.
- Excelsior, Douglas co. Later Lawrence.
- Excelsior, Mitchell co.
- Exonville, Wabaunsee co. (See Chalk.)
- Express City, Linn co. Stage station between Osawatimie and Paris.

- Fagan, Graham co. Vacated 1895.
 Fairfax, Osage co.
 Fairfield, Russell co.
 Fairfield, Wabaunsee co. Partly vacated 1889.
 Fairhaven, Norton co.
 Fairland, Marshall co.
 Fairpoint, Rice co.
 Fairview, Anderson co. 1857.
 Fairview, Doniphan co.
 Fall Leaf, Leavenworth co. Now Fall.
 Fannie, Cloud co.
 Far West, Morris co.
 Fargo, Graham co.
 Fargo Springs, Seward co. Vacated 1897.
 Farland, McPherson co.
 Farmer, Rice co.
 Farmer, Wyandotte co.
 Farmer City, Wichita co.
 Farmersburg, Chautauqua co.
 Farmersville, Osage co.
 Farmington, Nemaha co. Six miles north of Seneca where the California trail from St. Joseph crossed the Nemaha; town plat certified to August 23, 1858, by Barney H. York, president town company.
 Farmridge, Montgomery co.
 Farms, Harvey co.
 Favor, Cherokee co.
 Fawn Creek, Fawn Valley, Montgomery co.
 Fayette, Sedgwick co.
 Fayetteville, Clay co.
 Felix, Gray co.
 Fenwick, Republic co.
 Ferguson, Franklin co.
 Fernandino, Harvey co. At junction of Little Arkansas river and Sand creek.
 Ferris, Sedgwick co.
 Fiat, Elk co.
 Fillmore, Lane co. Vacated 1903.
 Findlay City, Crawford co.
 Finlay, Finley, Sedgwick co.
 Fishkill, Labette co.
 Flat Ridge, Greenwood co.
 Flat Rock, Neosho co.
 Flavius, Rush co.
 Flint Ridge, Greenwood co.
 Float, Pottawatomie co.
 Florence, Allen co.
 Floreyville, Rooks co.
 Fly Creek, Cherokee co.
 Fonda, Ford co. Vacated 1895.
 Fontanelle, Butler co.
 Fontzville, Miami co. See Tontzville.
 Fordham, Hodgeman co.
 Forest Grove, Montgomery co.
 Forest Hill, [Breckinridge] Lyons co. Inc. 1859.
 Forest Hill, Morris co.
 Forest Hill, Wallace co.
 Forest Home, Franklin co.
 Forest Mills, Linn co. See Blooming Grove.
 Forrester, Ness co. Established 1879.
 Forsyth's Creek, Russell co. Overland station, near Ellis co. line.
 Fort Atkinson, Ford co. Established 1850, abandoned 1854; P. O. abolished 1857; six miles west of Dodge City.
 Fort Aubrey, Hamilton co. Established 1864, abandoned 1866; four miles east of Syracuse.
 Fort Belmont. See Belmont, Woodson co.
 Fort Dodge, [Peketon] Ford co. Two miles east of Dodge City; established 1864, abandoned 1882.
 Fort Downer, Downer's Station, Trego co. Post established 1867, abandoned 1868.
 Fort Ellsworth, Ellsworth co. 1864. Changed to Fort Harker 1866.
 Fort Fletcher, Ellis co. See Fort Hays.
 Fort Harker, Ellsworth co. Four miles east of Ellsworth; established as Fort Ellsworth 1864, changed to Fort Harker 1866; site changed 1867; abandoned 1873.
 Fort Jewell, Camp Jewell, Jewell co. Now Jewell City.
 Fort Hays, Ellis co. Established as Fort Fletcher 1865, name changed to Fort Hays 1866; location changed 1867; abandoned 1889.
 Fort Kirwin, Phillips co. Now Kirwin.
 Fort Larned, [Peketon] Pawnee co. See Camp on Pawnee Fork.
 Fort Lincoln, Bourbon co. Twelve miles north of Fort Scott, on Osage river, near Fulton; established 1861, abandoned 1864.
 Fort Macky, Ford co. Near site of Fort Mann, a little west of Fort Atkinson; abandoned 1850.
 Fort Mann, Ford co., 1845. See Fort Macky.
 Fort Montgomery, Greenwood co. On site of Eureka.
 Fort Parks, Trego co., near WaKeeney. See Parks Fort.
 Fort Roach, Neosho co. Now Ladore.
 Fort Row, Wilson co., near Coynville. Established 1861 by Capt. J. R. Row.
 Fort Saunders, Douglas co. Twelve miles southwest of Lawrence.
 Fort Scott, Bourbon co. Post established 1842, abandoned 1865.
 Fort Sibley, Lake Sibley, Cloud co. A militia station 1867.
 Fort Sumner, Ford co. Early name of Fort Atkinson.
 Fort Titus, Douglas co.
 Fort Wallace, Wallace co. Two miles south of Wallace. See Camp Pond Creek.
 Fort Zarah [Peketon], Barton co. Established 1864, abandoned 1869. Five miles east of Great Bend.
 Fossil Creek, Fossil station, Russell co. Now Russell.
 Fountain, Anderson co.
 Four Mile, Rice co.
 Fourth Creek, Mitchell co.
 Fox Creek, Chase co.
 Francella, Sheridan co.
 Franklin, Douglas co. P. O. 1855; incorporated 1857 by John M. Wallace, Jeremiah Church, and others.
 Franks Ford, Marshall co. Now Frankfort.
 Frankton, Rooks co.
 Fredericksburg, Phillips co.
 Fredericktown, or Frederickstown, Coffey co.
 Free Mount, McPherson co. Vacated 1895.
 Free Point, Cherokee co. Incorporated 1860.
 Free Will, Osborne co. Established 1873.
 Freeman, Pratt co.
 Fremont, Linn co.
 Fremont, Lyon co.
 Fremont, Osage co. Two miles south of Burlingame.
 Fremont, Shawnee co. Site located 1855, on Kansas river, west of and adjoining Topeka.
 French Valley, Wabaunsee co. Seven miles south of Eskridge.
 Fringer, Meade co.
 Frinkville, Brown co.
 Frisco, Morton co. Vacated 1895.
 Fritchey City, Osborne co. Near mouth of Twin creek.
 Frog Town, Laramie Creek, Nemaha co. Overland station, 12 miles west of Seneca.
 Fruit Land, Cherokee co.
 Fukeway, Funkeway, Funkleman, Allen co. See Fuqua's.
 Fulda, Chautauqua co.
 Fulda, Lincoln co.
 Fuller's Ranch, or Big Turkey Ranch, McPherson co. On the Santa Fe trail.
 Fullerton, Greenwood co.
 Fuqua's, Geneva township, Allen co. Voting precinct, 1855, south of Leroy (Scott township) Coffey co. Various spellings.
 Gable's, Osage co. Now Scranton.
 Galesville, Gatesville, Clay co.
 Gallileo, Sheridan co. Discontinued 1882.
 Gandy, Sherman co.
 Garly, Garby, Gurley, Cloud co.

Gaula, Greenwood co.
 Gazette, Cowley co. See Lazette.
 Geddesburg, Wilson co. Now Altoona.
 Geographical Center, Wilson co.
 George, Pawnee co.
 Georgetown [Shawnee], Osage co. Two miles south of Ridgeway; located in 1857; abandoned 1860; a stage station on the road from Lawrence to Emporia.
 Georgia City, Crawford co. Established 1869; abandoned 1872; named for A. J. Georgia, of Pittsburg.
 Gerardy, Washington co. Now Hanover.
 Gere, Barber co.
 Germania, Sedgwick co.
 Germantown, Pottawatomie co. On Big Vermillion creek, near Louisville.
 Germantown, Smith co. Was the center of an early settlement of Germans; located in 1872; abandoned in 1885.
 Gertrude, Marshall co. Founded January 2, 1861; vacated 1864.
 Gettysburg, Graham co.
 Gibson, Trego co.
 Glead, Johnson co. Now Corliss.
 Glen, Butler co.
 Glen Burn, Douglas co.
 Glen Park, Wyandotte co.
 Glen Sharrold, Rice co.
 Glendale, Douglas co.
 Glendale, Leavenworth co.
 Glenn, Johnson co.
 Glenora, Jewell co.
 Glenross, Wabaunsee co.
 Glenwood, Crawford co.
 Glenwood, Johnson co.
 Golden, Grant co. Vacated 1893.
 Golden Belt, Lincoln co.
 Golden City, Rice co.
 Golden Gate, Chautauqua co.
 Gomeria, Republic co.
 Good Intent, Atchison co.
 Good River, Sedgwick co. Discontinued 1882.
 Goose City, Wallace co.
 Gopher, Trego co.
 Gorham, Labette co.
 Gould City, Greenwood co. Name changed to Severy.
 Gourock, Sumner co.
 Gove City, Jefferson co.
 Government Siding, Pawnee co. Near Camp Criley.
 Graham, Graham co. Name changed to Whitfield.
 Grand Bluff, Granite Bluff, Phillips co.
 Grand Center, Osborne co. Established 1872.
 Grand Center, Russell co.
 Grand Haven, Osage co.
 Grand Prairie, Brown co.
 Grand View, Morris co.
 Grand View, Morton co.
 Grange, Linn co.
 Grange, Pottawatomie co.
 Granite Falls, Marshall co. Established in 1858.
 Grannell Springs, Grannell Springs, Gove co.
 Gransville, Comanche co.
 Granville, Washington co. Name changed to Peach Creek.
 Grant, Davis co.
 Grant, Wabaunsee co.
 Grass, Montgomery co. In Rutland township.
 Grasshopper Creek, Jefferson co. Seventeen miles from Kickapoo.
 Grasshopper Falls, Jefferson co. Established 1855; incorporated 1859; name changed to Sautrell Falls 1863; back to Grasshopper Falls 1864; changed to Valley Falls 1875.
 Great Nemaha Agency, Doniphan co. See Nemaha Agency.
 Great Spirit Springs, Mitchell co. Now Wacanda Springs.
 Greeley Center, Greeley co. Vacated 1897.
 Green Elm, Crawford co.
 Green Ridge, Pawnee co.

Green Springs, Johnson co.
 Green Top, Doniphan co.
 Green Valley, Ellsworth co. Name changed to Cain.
 Greenfield, Elk co. Founded in 1871.
 Greensward, Meade co. Vacated 1899.
 Greenvale, Russell co.
 Greenwood, Brown co. Incorporated 1857, by W. R. Brewster, Wm. Barnes, M. P. Rively, and A. G. Otis.
 Greenwood, Franklin co.
 Greenwood City, Greenwood co.
 Greenville, Jewell co.
 Gregory, Cherokee co.
 Gregory, Jewell co.
 Greystone, Wilson co.
 Grimm, Wabaunsee co.
 Grinter, Wyandotte co. Nine miles west of Kansas City, Kan.
 Groton, [St. John] Wallace co. Discontinued 1882.
 Grouse Creek, Cowley co.
 Grove, Ottawa co.
 Grover, Ottawa co.
 Grunnell Springs, See Grannell Springs.
 Guild City, Greenwood co.
 Gum Springs, Johnson co. Now Shawnee.
 Gurley, See Garly.
 Hackberry Mills, Gove co. Now Hackberry.
 Halcyon, Wichita co. Vacated 1893.
 Hale, Chautauqua co.
 Hallet, Shawnee co. Name changed to Silver Lake 1855.
 Halton, Ellis co.
 Hamer Creek, Greenwood co.
 Hamilton, Crawford co.
 Hamilton, Riley co. Incorporated 1857, by Robert Wilson and Charles Reynolds.
 Hampden, Coffey co. Located in 1855; abandoned in 1866.
 Hampton, Rush co.
 Handin City, Brown co.
 Handy, Osborne co.
 Hanover, Osage co.
 Hanson, Pottawatomie co.
 Haphazard, Dickinson co.
 Happy Hollow, Graham co.
 Harbine, Republic co. See Byron.
 Hardilee, Smith co.
 Hardtville, Hickory Point, Jefferson co.
 Harmonia, Linn co. Near Missouri line.
 Harold, Ness co. Vacated 1905.
 Harrisburg, Ottawa co.
 Harrison, Jewell co.
 Harrison, Pottawatomie co.
 Harrisonville, Montgomery co.
 Harsbarger, Lincoln co.
 Hart's Mill, Chautauqua co.
 Harvey, Anderson co.
 Harvey, Riley co.
 Hastings, Graham co. Vacated 1895.
 Hatfield, Finney co. Vacated 1897.
 Havana, Osage co. Four miles west of Burlingame.
 Hawkeye, Decatur co. Vacated 1895.
 Hawkswing, Linn co.
 Haynesville, Pratt co.
 Haysville, Johnson co.
 Hazlewood, Ford co.
 Hazlettville, Woodson co.
 Heasleyville, Marshall co.
 Hebron, Clay co.
 Hebron, Saline co.
 Hedgewood, Norton co.
 Heights, Finney co. Vacated 1893.
 Helen, Sedgwick co.
 Helena, Atchison co.
 Hendricks, Allen co.
 Hendricks, Finney co. Vacated 1893.
 Henry, Dickinson co.
 Henryville, Pottawatomie co. P. O. 1859.
 Henshaw Creek, Logan co.

- Herald, Sedgwick co. Established 1879; discontinued 1882.
- Herman, Lincoln co.
- Hersey's Station, Dickinson co. Near Abilene, on Mud creek.
- Hesperia, Madison co. Voting place, 1858.
- Hessville, Sumner co.
- Hibbard, Johnson co. 1855; changed to Lanesfield 1856; changed to Martinsburg 1870; and to Edgerton 1871.
- Hickory, Butler co.
- Hickory Creek, Franklin co.
- Hickory Grove, Franklin co.
- Hickory Point, Douglas co. 10 miles south of Lawrence.
- Hickory Point, Jefferson co. Incorporated 1859.
- Hicks Station, Russell co.
- Hico, McPherson co.
- High Prairie, Leavenworth co. Changed to Bowling.
- Hill Grove, Gove co.
- Hill Spring, Morris co.
- Hillsborough, Linn co.
- Hillsdale or Hillside Farm, Harvey co.
- Hobart, Rooks co.
- Hog Back Station, Ellis co. Now Yocemento.
- Hoge, Leavenworth co.
- Hohneck, Honek, Saline co. Near Bavaria.
- Holden, Butler co.
- Holidaysburg, Hamilton co. Now Syracuse.
- Hollywood, Ellsworth co. Now Holyrood.
- Holmwood, Jewell co. See Branchport.
- Holt Station, Clay co.
- Holy Cross, Pottawatomie co.
- Holyoke, Ellsworth co. Discontinued 1882.
- Home, White's Quarry, Washington co.
- Homer, Russell co.
- Homer Creek, Greenwood co.
- Honek, Saline co. See Hohneck.
- Hooker, Decatur co. Formerly St. John.
- Hopfield, Crawford co.
- Hopewell, Pratt co.
- Hopper, Washington co.
- Horner, Grant co. Vacated 1893.
- Horton, Lyon co.
- Hortonville, Sheridan co.
- Hoskins, Rooks co.
- Houck, Saline co.
- Houston, Graham co.
- Houston, Riley co.
- Howe, Rush co.
- Hukle, Sedgwick co.
- Humbolt, Davis co. Located 1857, near site of Millard or Junction City.
- Hunts, Chase co.
- Huntsville, Reno co.
- Huron, Jewell co. Name changed to Omio 1879.
- Hurst Crossing, Sumner co.
- Hurt, Greeley co.
- Huson, Atchison co.
- Hutton, Rush co.
- Hyatt, Anderson co. Established by Thaddeus Hyatt, in 1857; abandoned 1860.
- Iago, Igo, Rooks co.
- Iantha or Iantke, Anderson co. Laid out in 1856; was the first town laid out in the county; the name was changed to Kansas City, and the town site abandoned in 1858.
- Ibaton, Jewell co.
- Ida, Harper co. Near Albia.
- Ida, Republic co. Located 1872; abandoned 1882; named for Miss Ida Williams, daughter of a pioneer settler.
- Independence Crossing, Marshall co. Trading post six miles south of Marysville, 1848.
- Independence Spring, Atchison (?) co. P. O. 1855.
- Indian City, Linn co. Two miles west Prescott.
- Indian Creek, Elk co. Discontinued 1882.
- Indian Creek, Linn co. P. O. 1868.
- Indiana City, Osage co. Now Scranton.
- Indianapolis [Lykins], Miami co. P. O. 1859.
- Indianola, Butler co.
- Indianola, [Calhoun] Shawnee co. Incorporated 1855, by Wm. Alley, E. S. Sibley, J. S. Baker, Geo. H. Perrin, B. T. Card, H. D. McMeekin and R. T. Drum; vacated 1889. (See this volume, p. 353.)
- Industry, Dickinson co.
- Inez, Sherman co.
- Ingalls, Lincoln co.
- Ingleton, Crawford co.
- Ingo, Barber co.
- Inman, Pratt co. Established 1879.
- Inver, Atchison co.
- Inyo, Harper co.
- Iola, Doniphan co.
- Iowa, Ness co.
- Iowa City, Iowa Creek, Crawford co.
- Island City, Davis co. 1855.
- Italia, Florence, [Madison] Lyon co. Now Neosho Rapids.
- Ivanhoe, Haskell co. Vacated 1903.
- Ives, Montgomery co.
- Ivy, Lyon co.
- Iwacura, Clay co.
- Jackson, Linn co.
- Jackson's Mills, Wilson co.
- Jacksonville, on corner of four counties, Cherokee, Crawford, Labette and Neosho.
- Jacksonville, Jefferson co.
- Jacksonville, Smith co.
- Jamaica, Greenwood co.
- James Crossing, Jackson co. Post village in 1864.
- Jamesburg, Sedgwick co.
- Janesville, Greenwood co.
- Jarvis View, Jarvis Creek, Rice co. East of Lyons on Santa Fe trail.
- Jay Eu, Republic co.
- Jay Hawk, Chautauqua co. Name changed to Matanzas.
- Jeddo, Allen co.
- Jefferson, Jefferson co.
- Jefferson, Republic co.
- Jeffersonville, Cowley co. See Lazette.
- Jerome, Anderson co. Name changed to Central City.
- Jerome, Atchison co.
- Jewell Center, Jewell co. Now Mankato.
- Jimtown, Phillips co. Seven miles north of Phillipsburg.
- Johnny Cake, Johny Cake, Jonny Cake. See Journeycake.
- Johnson, Crawford co. Now Drywood.
- Johnson City, Stanton co. Now Johnson. See Edwin and Veteran City.
- Johnsonville, Jewell co.
- Jonestown, Allen co. Nine miles east of Iola.
- Jordon Springs, Reno co. Thirty miles southwest of Hutchinson.
- Journeycake, [Wyandotte] Leavenworth co. Indian village, stage station and P. O. Now Linwood.
- Joy, Lyon co.
- Joy Creek, Washington co.
- Judson, Smith co.
- Julian, Montgomery co. A paper town.
- Junction, Leavenworth co. On the Missouri river.
- Juniata, Dyers' town, Pottawatomie co. P. O. 1855; on east side of the Blue; changed to Tauromee, on west side of the Blue, 1856; abolished in 1858.
- Jurett, Wilson co.
- Kalamazo, —.
- Kalida, Woodson co. Now Yates Center.
- Kalida, Clifton, Wilson co.
- Kalloch, Montgomery co. Vacated 1901.
- Kanawha, Kannaka, Douglas co.
- Kansapolis, Shawnee co. A little east of Indianola.

- Kansas Center, Rice co. Incorporated by A. Beach and others in 1858. Near Golden City.
- Kansas City, Anderson co. See Iantha.
- Kansas Falls, [Riley] Geary co. Incorporated 1858, by F. N. Blake, E. P. Burgess, and John Harvie.
- Kapioma, Nemaha co. See Capioma.
- Kaw Valley, Jefferson co. North of Lake View.
- Kaw City, Jefferson co.
- Kaw Valley, Wyandotte co. Nine miles south of Wyandotte.
- Kebar, Graham co.
- Kedron, Osage co.
- Keefer, Decatur co.
- Kee-i-tone, or Kleitone, Labette co. See Little Town.
- Keene, Wabaunsee co.
- Keever, Ellsworth co.
- Kegerville, Douglas co.
- Keimfield, Rush co.
- Kellogg, Cowley co. Vacated 1895.
- Kelly's Station, Leavenworth co. Near Fairmount.
- Kelso, Norton co.
- Kelso City, Rawlins co. Deserted 1879.
- Kenamo or Kenemo, Shawnee co. Laid out by Joseph Allen, 1856.
- Kenilworth, [Riley] Geary co. On east bank Republican river, 15 miles above mouth. Probably a name proposed for the town of Milford.
- Kenilworth, Stafford co.
- Kennebec, Atchison co.
- Kennebec, Russell co.
- Kennedy, Dickinson co.
- Kenneth, Rooks co.
- Kenneth, Sheridan co. Located in 1877; abandoned 1886; vacated 1901.
- Kent, [Davis] Geary co.
- Kent, Reno co. Vacated 1889.
- Kenton, [Davis] Geary co. Near mouth of Humboldt.
- Kenton, Greenwood co.
- Keokuk, Linn co.
- Kepferle, Cheyenne co.
- Kepple, Wichita co.
- Key, Cloud co.
- Key West, Coffey co.
- Keystone, Dickinson co.
- Keysville, Pawnee co.
- Kickapoo Mission, Atchison co.
- Kildare, Phillips co.
- Kimball, Atchison co. Name changed to Larkin.
- King City, McPherson co. P. O. in 1872.
- Kingston, Labette co.
- Kinney's Station, Osage co. Near Ridgeway.
- Kirkfield, Edwards co.
- Kitley, Sumner co.
- Knauston, Finney co. Vacated 1893.
- Knowles, Washington co. Name changed to Haddam, 1835.
- Koloko, Washington co.
- Kosciusko, Riley co. Projected town six miles east of Manhattan.
- Kossuth, Butler co. Chartered 1858.
- Kossuth, Linn co.
- Kossuth, Pottawatomie co.
- Laban, Labon, Mitchell co. Discontinued 1882.
- Labette, Labette co. Five miles north of Chetopa, 1887; moved to Chetopa.
- La Blanche, Sherman co. Vacated 1905.
- Lacona, Woodson co.
- Lacoy, Crawford co. See Strongtown.
- Ladore, Neosho co. 1870.
- Lafayette, Doniphan co.
- Laing, Rawlins co. A settlement in 1879.
- Lake Creek, Labette co.
- Lake Fork, —. P. O. 1859.
- Lake Sibley, Cloud co. Four miles north Concordia, same as Fort Sibley and Sibley, located in 1868; abandoned early in the '70's.
- Lake View, McPherson co.
- Lake Village, McPherson co.
- Lamasco, Graham co.
- Lamb's Point or Lamb's Station, Dickinson Now Detroit.
- Lamont, Sedgwick co.
- La Mont's Hill, Greenwood co. Now Lamont.
- Lanark, Pawnee co.
- Landondale, Mount Vernon, Doniphan co.
- Landrum, Clark co.
- Lane, —. P. O. established March 3, 1855, A. F. Powell, postmaster; abolished 1856. [Not Lane in Franklin co.]
- Lanesburg, Marshall co.
- Lanesfield, Johnson co. Now Edgerton.
- La Ness, on line of Lane and Ness cos. 1887.
- Lanno, Clark co.
- La Paz, Elk co.
- La Port, Grant co. P. O. at Shockeyville, 1887.
- La Porte, Doniphan co. P. O. 1859; incorporated 1860; vacated 1864; formerly Smithton.
- Lappin, Nemaha co. P. O. 1876; now Oneida.
- Larimore, Franklin co.
- Larkin, Atchison co.
- Lattaville, Leavenworth co.
- Laura, McPherson co.
- Laurence, Leavenworth co.
- Lavisia. Town company incorporated 1855, by W. O. Yager, J. Hollingsworth, J. Martin, B. Newson, B. F. Simmons, H. J. Strickler and J. W. Johnston.
- Lawndale, Jackson co. Discontinued 1882.
- Lawrence, Butler co.
- Lawrence No. 2, Doniphan co. Near the river.
- Lawrenceburg, Cloud co. Located in 1879.
- Layton, Elk co.
- Lazette, Cowley co. Founded in 1871 as Gazette; partly vacated 1889.
- Leath's Town, Marshall co.
- Lee, Norton co.
- Leedsville, Cherokee co. Changed to Galena.
- Leffel, Ness co.
- Leghorn, Pottawatomie co.
- Le Grand, Osborne co. See New Arcadia.
- Leland, Morris co. Discontinued 1882.
- Lena Valley, Greenwood co.
- Leon, Clay co. Town company incorporated 1860.
- Leonard, Sherman co.
- Leopaa, Pottawatomie co. Four miles north Fancy Creek; discontinued 1882.
- Leota, Norton co.
- Leroy, Doniphan co.
- Leslie, Reno co.
- Lesterville, Saline co.
- Letitia, Clark co.
- Letitia, Thomas co.
- Levy, Sumner co.
- Lewiston, Cherokee co.
- Lewiston, Doniphan co.
- Lexington, Brown co. 1856.
- Lexington, Johnson co. Incorporated 1857, by Wm. Alley, J. S. Lumpkins D. Grover, and R. S. Merchant; vacated 1864. Fifteen miles east of Lawrence.
- Lexington, Osage co.
- Liberty, Montgomery co. Moved to the L. L. & G. R. R.
- Lida, Cha-e co.
- Lieblidorp, Rush co. German name for Pleasant Dale, which see.
- Lilly, McPherson co.
- Lima, Allen co.
- Lima, Clay co.
- Lima, Elk co.
- Limestone, Washington co.
- Lincoln, Clay co. Incorporated 1860.
- Lincoln, Nemaha co. Named for Abraham Lincoln, located August 15, 1860, abandoned about 1866; Joseph E. Hacker, proprietor of the town site.
- Lincoln City, Greenwood co.
- Lindale, Osage co. See Fairfax.
- Lindon, Nemaha co.

- Line, Lyon co.
 Linnville, Linn co. Once the county seat.
 Linton, Linn co.
 Lionstone, Crawford co.
 Lisbon, Howard co.
 Little Arkansas, Rice co. Station on Santa Fe trail, about 36 miles east of Ellinwood.
 Little Dutch, Cowley co. Now Akron.
 Little Santa Fe, Johnson co.
 Little Stranger, Leavenworth co. Two miles south of Penitentiary station.
 Little Town, or Little Osage town, Labette co. Now part of Oswego. See Kee-i-tone, the Indian name.
 Little Valley, McPherson co.
 Little Walnut, Butler co. Established 1870; now Leon.
 Littleton, Sumner co.
 Liverpool, Grant co.
 Liverpool, Stanton co. Vacated 1895.
 Livingston, Cherokee co.
 Livingston, Stafford co.
 Lockport, Gray co. Vacated 1893.
 Lockport, Haskell co. Vacated 1903.
 Loco, Haskell co. Vacated 1891.
 Loco, Seward co.
 Locust Grove, Atchison co.
 Lodi, Barber co.
 Lodianna, Rice co.
 Loette, Kingman co.
 Log Chain, Nemaha co. Overland station, 1868.
 Lois, Sherman co.
 Lola, Barber co.
 London, Sumner co.
 London Falls, Dickinson co.
 Lone Elm, Chautauqua co.
 Lone Oak, Crawford co.
 Lone Star, Sumner co.
 Lone Tree, Cherokee co.
 Lone Tree, Sumner co. See Darien.
 Lone Walnut, Lincoln co.
 Long Branch, Norton co.
 Lookout, Clay co.
 Lookout Station, Lookout Hollow, Ellis co. Overland Station; six miles south of Hays.
 Loraine, Lorraine, Nemaha co.
 Lorena, Butler co. See Smithfield.
 Lorenz, Garfield co. Vacated 1893.
 Lorette, Kingman co.
 Loring, Shawnee co. See Indianola.
 Lost Creek, Linn co.
 Lostine, Cherokee co.
 Lott, Barton co.
 Louisa Springs, ———. Overland station.
 Louisburg, Montgomery co.
 Louise, Sedgwick co.
 Louisiana, Douglas co. A paper town, later Salem, incorporated 1855, by Daniel Jones, John M. Banks, F. M. Coleman, Joseph Fager, Thomas Emery, Zachariah Johnson, Richard Young, B. F. Bounds, William Cummins, Joshua Cummins, Jonah Wagoner, J. F. Bennet, Thomas Hopkins, Jacob Buckley, H. W. Younger and Andrew J. Isaacs; two miles northwest of Baldwin.
 Lovejoy, Clay co.
 Lowell, Rooks co.
 Loyal, Garfield co. Vacated 1893.
 Lucas, Pawnee co.
 Lucerne, Rooks co.
 Lucretia, Lane co. See California.
 Luella, Bourbon co. Chartered 1858.
 Lulie, Gove co.
 Lulu, Mitchell co.
 Lulu Valley, Pratt co.
 Lura, Russell co.
 Luzerne, Sheridan co.
 Lyna, Davis co. Founded in 1854.
 Lynn Creek, Shawnee co.
 Lyon, Miami co.
 Lyona, Dickinson co.
 McCamish, Johnson co. P. O. on the Santa Fe road.
 McClains, Sedgwick co.
 Mace, Russell co.
 McGee's, Osage co. On 110 creek, Santa Fe trail.
 McHale, Rooks co.
 McKinney, Douglas co.
 Macon, Wallace co. Name changed to Dinas.
 Macyville, Cloud co.
 Madison, [Riley] Geary co. At junction of Madison creek and Republican river at or near Bachelder, now Milford.
 Madura, Clay co. Two miles south of Wakefield.
 Magic, Riley co.
 Magnolia, Allen co. See Sheron.
 Magnolia, Atchison co.
 Magnolia, Bourbon co.
 Magnolia, Sedgwick co.
 Mairestown, or Mairsville, Shawnee co. Located by Thomas W. Mairs, 1855.
 Mall Creek, Clay co.
 Malta, Cloud co.
 Malvern, Osage co.
 Mandova, or Mandovi, Anderson co. Laid out in 1858, abandoned in 1860; consisted of three log cabins but had the finest lithographed map of any town in Kansas.
 Mann's Fort, Ford co. Established 1845.
 Mansan, Allen co.
 Mansfield, Linn co.
 Mansion, Morris co.
 Manville, Brown co.
 Maple Grove, Pottawatomie co.
 Marak, Brown co. Named for first postmaster, Franz Marak.
 Marble Falls, Marshall co. Chartered 1858.
 Marburg, Leavenworth co. Eight miles west of Kickapoo.
 Mareno, Hodgeman co.
 Marengo, Sumner co.
 Margaret, Lincoln co.
 Margaretta, Chase co. Incorporated 1860.
 Maria, Leavenworth co.
 Marietta, Reno co.
 Marietta, Saline co.
 Marion, Douglas co. P. O. 1859; name changed to Globe 1881.
 Mariposa, Saline co. First town in Saline co.; founded by Plumb, Hunter and Pierce. 1856, on south side of Saline river, near the mouth.
 Markleys Mill, Ottawa co.
 Marmaton, Bourbon co. Incorporated February 6, 1858; abandoned.
 Marmiton, Bourbon co. Incorporated February 11, 1858; three miles west of Marmaton, which it soon absorbed; town site moved in 1882 three-quarters of a mile south; now Marmaton.
 Marsh Valley, Jewell co.
 Marshall, Douglas co. Incorporated by Thos. H. Doyle, Geo. B. Brown, Jerome Kunkle, R. M. Nace, Chas. A. Faris, Wm. McDonald, G. H. Brown, C. N. Michie; on California road south of Lecompton.
 Marshall, Saline co.
 Marshall, Sedgwick co.
 Martin, Ellis co.
 Martindale, Coffey co.
 Martinsburg, Atchison co.
 Martinsburg, Johnson co.
 Marvin, Phillips co.
 Mary, Chase co. See Bazaar.
 Marysville, Miami co. See St. Marysville.
 Masmer, Ellsworth co.
 Mason, [Buffalo] Gray co.
 Massasoit, Shawnee co. On Mission creek, near Dover.
 Matanzas, Chautauqua co.
 Matteson, Phillips co.
 Maud, Kingman co.
 May, Atchison co.
 Mayline, Hamilton co. Name changed to Carlisle.

- Maynard, Doniphan co. Now Troy Junction.
 Mayton, Washington co.
 Meade's Ranch, Butler co. Now Towanda.
 Meade's Trading Post, Sedgwick co. Site of Wichita.
 Meadow Brook, Johnson co.
 Media, Douglas co.
 Medina, Jefferson co.
 Melior, Barber co.
 Mellville, Ottawa co.
 Melon Springs, Clay co.
 Melrose, Cherokee co.
 Memphis, Bourbon co.
 Mendota, Decatur co.
 Mendota, Labette co. Now Parsons.
 Mendota, Neosho co.
 Meredith, Cloud co.
 Meridian, Sumner co.
 Merrimac, Marshall co. Located May 30, 1858; plat filed July 9, 1858; vacated 1864.
 Mertilla, Meade co. Vacated 1893.
 Metz, Chautauqua co.
 Miami, Lyon co.
 Miami Junction, Linn Co.
 Miami Village, Miami co. P. O. 1859. One mile north New Lancaster.
 Middle Branch, Hodgeman co.
 Middle Creek, Chase co. Now Elmdale.
 Middletown, Butler's, Jefferson co. 1858. Midway between Lecompton and Leavenworth.
 Midlothian, Harper co.
 Mids'n, Franklin co.
 Midway Dickinson co.
 Midway, Jewell co. Paper town, candidate for county seat.
 Midway, Johnson co. Incorporated 1857, by L. F. Hollingsworth, John Quarles, L. A. Maclean, W. Christison, W. D. Bonnell, W. E. Brown, A. H. Ingram, A. Sturges, T. C. Hughes, J. McCracken, T. H. Doyle, R. C. Foster, jr., B. F., J. H., and V. C. Hollingsworth.
 Midway, [Lykins] Miami co.
 Milberger, Russell co.
 Mill Creek, Bourbon co.
 Millard, [Davis] Geary co. Site of present Junction City.
 Millbrook, Graham co. Vacated 1895.
 Miller, Douglas (?) co. P. O. 1855; abolished 1856.
 Miller's Creek, Dickinson co.
 Miller's Grove, Woodson co.
 Miller's Springs, Millersburg, Douglas co. On California road.
 Millersburg, Cherokee co.
 Millersburg, Lyon co.
 Milligan, Sheridan co.
 Millwood, Leavenworth co.
 Milton, Kingman co.
 Milton, Marion co.
 Milwaukee, Butler co. See New Milwaukee.
 Milwaukee, [Stafford] Barton co.
 Mimosa, Republic co.
 Mineral Point, Anderson co. Name changed to Amiot, 1903.
 Minersville, Republic co.
 Minerva, Labette co.
 Ninety, Rooks co.
 Mingona, Barber co. Vacated 1901.
 Minneha, Butler co.
 Minneola, Franklin co. See this volume p.—.
 Mission Center, Brown co. Name changed to Willis.
 Mission Creek, Wabaunsee co.
 Missouri City, Johnson co. Incorporated 1857 by H. Oconer, B. Dotson, D. Dotson, J. M. Bernard, R. McCamish, H. Butcher, and J. P. Robinson.
 Missouri Farm, Doniphan co.
 Mitchellville, Stanton co. Vacated 1895.
 Mo'ell, Norton co.
 Modena, Butler co.
 Modoc, Jewell co.
 Mohon, Bourbon co.
 Mole Hill, Dickinson co.
 Mon Fort, ———, chartered 1879.
 Moneka, Linn co. Chartered 1858. 2 miles east Mound City. See this volume, p. 429.
 Money Creek, Jefferson (?) co.
 Monique, [Calhoun] Shawnee co. Incorporated 1857 by Wm. Alley, Geo. Young, H. J. Strickler and W. O. Yager.
 Monmouth, Shawnee co.
 Monotony, Wallace co.
 Monroe, Lincoln co.
 Montana, Crawford co.
 Mont Cenis, Dickinson co.
 Monterey, Riley co.
 Montezuma, Gray co. See this volume p.—.
 Montgomery, Dickinson co. Twenty miles west of Fort Riley.
 Montgomery, Linn co.
 Montgomery, Montgomery co.
 Monticello, Johnson co.
 Montrose, Elk co. See Cave Springs.
 Monument Station, Jefferson co.
 Mooney, Leavenworth or Jefferson co.
 Moorehead, Labette co.
 Moore's Summit, Leavenworth co.
 Moore's Ranch, Marion co. On Santa Fe trail; P. O. 1861; discontinued 1870.
 Moorestown, Nemaha co. See Urbana.
 Moravian Mission, Leavenworth co. 1839. On Missouri river between Delaware City and Leavenworth.
 Morena, Clay co. Now Broughton.
 Morgan City, Clay co. Now Morganville.
 Morgan City or Morgantown, Montgomery co.
 Mornie, Labette co.
 Mormon Grove, Atchison co. A Mormon camp, 1855, four miles west of Atchison.
 Mormon Springs, Washington co. On Ash Creek, three miles south of Washington.
 Morris, Johnson co.
 Morton, Chase co.
 Morton City, Hodgeman co.
 Mortonville, Kearny co. Platted in 1888; named for Governor Morton of Indiana.
 Moscow, Cowley co.
 Moseley's Trading Post, Sedgwick co.
 Moss Springs, Davis co.
 Motor, Rooks co.
 Mound, Phillips co.
 Mound Hill, Labette co. Now Mound Valley.
 Mound Spring, Wilson co.
 Mount Airy, Woodson co.
 Mount Aubrey, Kearny co.
 Mount Auburn, Johnson co. Name changed to Stillwell 1889.
 Mount Aurora, ———, Incorporated 1855, by R. R. Rees, J. S. McAber, S. D. Pitcher, J. M. Alexander, A. Payne and H. Long.
 Mount Ayer, Ayre, Ayre, Osborne co. Established 1873.
 Mount Carmel, Crawford co.
 Mount Clifton, Washington co. Now Clifton.
 Mount Florence, Jefferson co. P. O. 1857; now Meriden.
 Mount Gilead, Anderson co. Now Greeley; see Pottawatomie City.
 Mount Hope, Douglas co. California road, five miles from Lawrence.
 Mount Liberty, Reno co.
 Mount Nebo, Pratt co.
 Mount Nebo, Miami co.
 Mount Pleasant, Atchison co. 1855; changed to Locust Grove, 1862.
 Mount Roy, Brown co.
 Mount Sterling, Bourbon co.
 Mount Tabor, Republic co.
 Mount Union, Pottawatomie co.
 Mount Vernon, Doniphan co. Incorporated 1855, by Patrick Cooper, Wm. Christison and Wm. Fox; vacated 1864.
 Mount Vernon, Chautauqua co.
 Mount Vernon, Franklin co.
 Mount Zion, Phillips co. See Sedan.
 Mud or Muddy Creek, Marion co.

- Muddy Creek, Shawnee co.
 Mulberry, Clay co.
 Mulberry, Saline co.
 Mulberry Grove, Butler co.
 Mulberry Grove, Crawford co. Now Mulberry.
 Mule Creek, Ellsworth co. Overland station, sixteen miles east Ellsworth.
 Munson, Morris co. See Mansion.
 Murdock, Butler co. Two towns, one in the northwest and the other in the southeast corner of the county.
 Museum, Sherman co.
 Musma, Sheridan co.
 Myers Valley, Pottawatomie co.
 Myra, Graham co.
- Nance, Phillips co.
 Nancy, Pottawatomie co.
 Naomi, Mitchell co.
 Narrows, [Shawnee]. Osage co. Station on Santa Fe Trail.
 Nashville, Coffey co. Located in March, 1858; abandoned 1860.
 Natroma, Pratt co. Discontinued 1888.
 Nearmon's Station, Nearman, Wyandotte co.
 Neighborville, Norton co.
 Neilsburg, Republic co.
 Nellans, Butler co.
 Nelson, Cloud co.
 Nemaha Agency, Great Nemaha Agency, Doniphan co. Now Highland.
 Neola, Labette co. Incorporated 1867; moved to Labette.
 Neoma, town company, incorporated 1857, by S. H. Woodson, S. J. Jones, L. A. McLean, G. W. Clarke, A. G. Boone, M. Gill, W. S. Stone.
 Neosho City, Coffey co. Junction of Big Creek and Neosho, west of Leroy; located in 1856; abandoned about 1860.
 Neosho, Neosho co.
 Neptawah, Sumner co. Name changed to Oxford 1871.
 Nescatunga, Comanche co. Vacated 1897.
 Netherlands, Netherlands, Reno co.
 Nettleton, Edwards co.
 Neutral City, Cherokee co. Discontinued 1882.
 Neva, Republic co.
 Nevada, Douglas co.
 Nevada, Ness co. Established 1879; abandoned 1882.
 New Albia, Graham co.
 New Almelo, Norton co.
 New Arcadia, Osborne co.
 New Basel, New Basil, Dickinson co.
 New Boston, Douglas co. Now Lawrence.
 New Brighton, Jackson co. Now Circleville.
 New Buffalo, Gray co.
 New Canton, Cowley co.
 New Chicago, Mitchell co. Name changed to Springfield.
 New Chicago, Neosho county. Now Chanute.
 New Chillicothe, Dickinson co.
 New Cincinnati, Rice co.
 New Dayton, Marshall co.
 New Elam, New Elm, Norton co.
 New Eureka [Calhoun], Jackson co.
 New Excelsior, Butler co.
 New Falls, Washington co.
 New Gottland, McPherson co.
 New Haven, Reno co.
 New Lexington, Wabaunsee co. Vacated 1905.
 New Liberty, Republic co.
 New London, Reno co.
 New Memphis, Cherokee co.
 New Miami, — co.
 New Milwaukee, Butler co. Founded in 1870; abandoned 1880.
 New Murdock, Kingman co. Now Murdock.
 New Pittsburg, Crawford co. Now Pittsburg.
 New Tabor, Republic co. Located in March, 1871; abandoned in 1882; a Bohemian settlement and named for Tabor, a city of Bohemia.
- New St. Louis, Miami co.
 New Scandinavia, Republic co. Now Scandia.
 Newark, Wilson co.
 Newbern, Dickinson co.
 Newberry, Newbury, Wabaunsee co. Now Newbury.
 Newby, Ness co. Established 1879; name changed to Buda.
 Newcastile, — co. Incorporated 1857, by Richard Rose and A. M. Mitchell.
 Newport, Dickinson co. Moved to Abilene in 1862.
 Newport, Neosho co.
 Nicaragua, Woodson co. Incorporated 1857, by J. N. Jefferson, J. L. Caldwell, and D. T. Mitchell.
 Nichols Jefferson co.
 Nimrod, Lincoln co.
 Ninnescah, Cowley co.
 Ninnescah, Kingman co. Vacated 1901.
 Nintnesk, Butler co.
 Nirwana, Meade co. Vacated 1891.
 Nixon, Pawnee co.
 Noble, Rice co. Chartered 1879.
 Nonchalanta, Ness co. Vacated 1905.
 Nonpareil, Reno co.
 Norman, Phillips co.
 Normanville, Doniphan co.
 North Elk, Republic co.
 Northward, Northwood, Greenwood co.
 Norwalk, Kingman co.
 Nottingham, Marshall co. Located in 1857; changed to Frankfort in 1868.
 Nuato, P. O. 1855; abolished 1855.
 Nyack, Crawford co. Now Midway.
 Nyra, Rooks co.
- Oak City, Seward co. Vacated 1897.
 Oak Grove, Pottawatomie co.
 Oakdale, Reno co. Located January 22, 1889.
 Oakland, Jewell co.
 Oakland, Montgomery co. A paper town.
 Oakridge, Elk co. Discontinued 1882.
 Oasis, Saline co.
 Ocena, Atkinson co. Name changed to Pardee, 1855.
 Ocoee, Reno co. Established 1879.
 Odee, Kingman co.
 Odell, Harper co.
 Odell, Sheridan co.
 Odessa, Jewell co.
 Og, Reno co.
 Ohio, Smith co.
 Ohio Center, Sedgwick co.
 Ohio City, Edwards co. Vacated 1897.
 Ohio City, Franklin co. See Bowling Green.
 Ohio City, Marshall co. Established 1855.
 Ohio Grove, Ottawa co.
 Oil City, Butler co.
 Olanthe, Johnson co. Incorporated 1857 by J. T. Barton, A. G. Boone, C. A. Osgood, R. B. Finley, Wm. Fisher, Jr., and H. W. Jones.
 Olanthus, Norton co.
 Olcott, Reno co. Vacated 1903.
 "Old" Ogallah, Trego co. See Park's Fort.
 Ole, Jefferson co.
 Olene, Graham co.
 Olney, Rush co.
 Omaha, Kearny co. Located about 1888.
 Omio, Jewell co. Vacated 1897.
 Omnia, Cloud co.
 110 Station, Osage co. Name changed to Richardson.
 Onion Creek, Osage co.
 Orbitello, Lincoln co.
 Ord, Neosho co.
 Oread, Coffey co.
 Oregon, Jefferson co.
 Orel, All n co.
 Orie, Sumner co.
 Orino, Jewell co.
 Oriole, Smith co.
 Orion, Cloud co. Same as Arion.
 Orleans, Lyon co.

- Oro, Butler co.
 Orworth, Lincoln co.
 Osage, Osage City, Bourbon co. Name changed to Fulton.
 Osage, Miami co.
 Osage Center, Osage co. Now Lyndon.
 Osage Mission, Neosho co. Now St. Paul. See Catholic Mission.
 Osawkie, Jefferson co. Now Ozawkie.
 Osborn, Neosho co.
 Oswell, Rush co.
 Otter Creek, Clay co.
 Otter Lake, Pottawatomie co.
 Otterborn, Otterbound, Sheridan co.
 Otto, Marshall co. Chartered 1858.
 Our Carter, [Pratt] Stafford co.
 Overton, Butler co.
 Oxford, Johnson co.
 Oyer, Rooks co.
 Ozark, Anderson co.
 Ozro, Osrow Falls, Chautauqua co.
 Ozro Falls, Jefferson co.
- Pacific City, Douglas co.
 Pacific City, Nemaha co.
 Pageton, Trego co.
 Paint Creek, Bourbon co.
 Painted Post, Barber co.
 Painter-hood, Howard co.
 Palatine, Ellis co.
 Palermo, Doniphan co. Incorporated 1857 by Wm. Palmer, Wm. J. Palmer, J. Stairwalt, Reuben Middleton, L. D. Bird, F. J. Marshall, and F. M. Mahan.
 Palestine, Sumner co.
 Palmetto, Marshall co. Adjacent to Marysville, incorporated 1857 by W. H. Jenkins, J. R. Alston, W. S. Brewster, C. B. Buist, W. H. Gierson, J. P. Miller, R. T. Shibley.
 Palmyra, Douglas co. Now Baldwin.
 Palo Alto, Neosho co.
 Pansy, Gray co. Name changed to Loyal.
 Parallel, Riley co.
 Paris, Linn co. Incorporated 1857, by J. P. Fox, J. H. Tate, P. T. Glover, L. Grimes.
 Park City, Sedgwick co.
 Parker, Montgomery co. Established 1869, discontinued 1882.
 Parker's, Morris co. Now Skiddy.
 Parker's Grove, Hodgeman co. See Clawson.
 Parker-burg, Montgomery co.
 Park's Fort, or Old Ogallah, Trego co. Moved to site of Trego about 1870; name changed to Trego in 1876; moved to WaKeeney in 1878.
 Pasadena, Garfield co. Vacated 1893.
 Patenville, Gray co.
 Patty's Mill, Lyon co.
 Pawnee City, [Davis] Geary co. Incorporated 1855, by Col. W. R. Montgomery, W. A. Hammond, C. S. Lovall, Ed. Johnson, Nathaniel Lyon, M. T. Pope, R. F. Hunter, E. A. Ogden, M. Mills, G. M. R. Hudson, James Simons, D. H. Vinton, Alden Sargent, J. T. Shaaff, H. Rich, W. S. Murphy, Robert Wilson, J. N. Dyer, R. C. Miller, A. H. Reeder, A. J. Isaacks, I. B. Dona son, Rush Elmore and L. W. Johnson; see this volume p. 331.
 Pawnee Fork, Fort Larned, Pawnee co.
 Pawnee Fork, [Peketon] Pawnee co.
 Pawnee Station, Bourbon co. Changed to Anna in 1903.
 Pawnee Valley, Hodgeman co.
 Paupaw, Paw-Paw, Howard co.
 Pavilion, Wabunsee co.
 Peace, Rice co. Now Sterling.
 Peace Creek, Barton co.
 Peace Creek, Washington co.
 Peach Grove, Clay co.
 Pearllet, Meade co. Established 1889.
 Pendell, Butler co.
 Penfield, Labette co.
 Penfield, Osage co.
 Penitentiary, Leavenworth co. Now Lansing.
 Penn, Osborne co. Changed to Osborne 1873.
- Penseneau, Leavenworth co. On Fort Leavenworth and Oregon road.
 Pentheka, Rawlins co. Name changed to Oak Ranch, 1903.
 Peoria Village, Miami co. Name changed to Paola, 1856.
 Peotone, Sedgwick co.
 Perris, Howard co.
 Peru, Osborne co. Name changed to Osborne. See Penn.
 Peters, Petersburg, Edwards co. Now Kinsley.
 Petersburg, Doniphan co. Located by Peter Cadue; vacated 1864.
 Petersburg, Leavenworth co. See Penitentiary.
 Petersburg, Cherokee co. Name changed to Lostine.
 Petosi. See Potosi.
 Petrea, town company incorporated 1857, by B. Little, B. Brantley, S. A. Williams, D. F. Greenwood, J. Christian and R. Rees.
 Peytonville, Brown co.
 Phil Sheridan, Wallace co. See Sheridan, Logan co.
 Pierce, Anderson co. Incorporated 1857, by W. P. Fain, G. Wilson, T. Totten, G. W. Clark and W. Shannon.
 Pierce, Br wn co. Vacated 1891.
 Pine Grove, Butler co.
 Pinon, Lincoln co.
 Pipe Creek, — co. Overland station.
 Pipe Creek, Ottawa co.
 Pittsburg, Mitchell co. Now Tipton.
 Pittsburg, Doniphan co.
 Pittsville, Cherokee co.
 Plainfield, Cloud co.
 Pleasant Dale, Rush co. A Russian settlement; located about 1877; abandoned about 1881 or 1882.
 Pleasant Grove, Greenwood co.
 Pleasant Hill, Osborne co.
 Pleasant Ridge, Leavenworth co.
 Pleasant Run, Pottawatomie co.
 Pleasant Valley, Coffey co. Chartered 1858.
 Pleasant Valley, Lincoln co.
 Pleasant View, Cherokee co. County seat in 1866.
 Pliny, Saline co.
 Ploughboy, Plow Boy, Shawnee co. Name changed to Redpath 1881.
 Plum Buttes, Rice co. On Santa Fe trail.
 Plum Creek, Jefferson co.
 Plum Grove, Butler co.
 Plumb, Lyon co.
 Plumb Creek, Phillips co.
 Plumb Station, Jackson co.
 Plymouth, Brown co. On south bank of Pony creek.
 Plympton, Dickinson co.
 Poheta, Saline co.
 Poland, Chase co.
 Poleska, Poliska, Riley co. Located 1854; now part of Manhattan.
 Polo, Cowley co.
 Pond City, Pond Creek, Wallace co. Later Fort Wall ce. See Camp Pond Creek.
 Poney Creek, Brown co.
 Ponsino. See Pensineau.
 Pop Corn, Osage co.
 Poplar Hill, Dickinson co.
 Port Byron, Sheridan co.
 Port Landis, Morton co.
 Port Williams, Atchison co. Incorporated 1855, by W. C. Remington, J. G. Spratt, H. D. Bard, J. M. Brady, H. H. D. Herndon, W. B. Almurd; second incorporation 1858.
 Portage, Rooks co.
 Porter's Ranch, Smith co.
 Potosi, Linn co. Incorporated 1857, by J. P. Fox, B. Hogan, J. H. Tate; second incorporation by R. B. Mitchell and others; two miles east of Pleasanton.

- Pottawatomie City, Anderson co. Located in 1857; changed to Mt. Gilead, now Greeley.
- Pottersburgh, Lincoln co. Located by A. S. Potter.
- Powellsburgh, Clay co.
- Prairie City, Douglas co. Incorporated 1857, by S. R. Hieronymous, P. L. Doane, A. Brisvalder, J. Gilchrist and R. Lester; second incorporation 1859; surveyed by Searl & Whitman.
- Prairie City, Osage county. On Santa Fe trail.
- Prairie du Chien, Ness co. Plat filed in 1869.
- Prairie Grove, Republic co.
- Prairie Home, Republic co.
- Prairie Plain, Republic co.
- Prairie View, Jefferson co.
- Prescott, Osage co. Located 1860.
- Pride, Barton co.
- Princeville, Cloud co.
- Prospect, Republic co.
- Prosper, Ellsworth co.
- Proston, Pawnee co.
- Purity, Reno co.
- Putnam, Barton co.
- Quaker Point, Jewell co.
- Quakerville, Cherokee co.
- Queen City, Coffey co.
- Queen City, Reno co.
- Quindaro, Wyandotte co. Incorporated 1858; vacated 1871-'72.
- Quito, Butler co.
- Raceburgh, Rooks co.
- Radical, Radical City, Montgomery co.
- Rawlins Center, Norton co.
- Rays, or Raysville, Bourbon co.
- Rayville, Bourbon co.
- Reagle, Norton co.
- Reamer Creek, Marshall co. Now Herkimer.
- Redbud, Cowley co.
- Red Creek, Barber co.
- Red Rock, Lincoln co. See Rocky Hill.
- Red Stone, Cloud co.
- Redd n Butler co.
- Redes, Brown co.
- Redmond Leavenworth co.
- Redoubt, Clark co. On Bear creek.
- Redoubt, Clark co. On Cimaron river.
- Redpath, Shawnee co. Near Auburn.
- Redwood, Dickinson co.
- Reeder, Dickinson co. Near Solomon City.
- Reeder, Kiowa co. Vacated 1903.
- Reedsville, or Reedville, Marshall co.
- Reedtown, Norton co.
- Reesville, Clark co.
- Reid City, Greeley co. Vacated 1897.
- Reiter, Washington co.
- Remanto, Sumner co. See Salt City.
- Reno, Scott co.
- Reno Center, Reno co.
- Republic City, Republican City, Clay co. Vacated 1877.
- Retreat, Hodgeman co. Established 1879.
- Reubens, Jewell Co.
- Rievire, Woodson co. Now Toronto.
- Rex, Sumner co.
- Rhodes, Anderson co.
- Rhodes, Dickinson co.
- Rich, Anderson co.
- Richards, Chase co.
- Richardson, McGee's [Shawnee], Osage co. Abolished 1874. At or near 110 Station on the Santa Fe Trail.
- Richardson, Pottawatomie co.
- Richeyville, Greenwood co.
- Richland, Miami co. Now We'llsville.
- Richmond, Nemaha co. Located about 1854 or 1855; first town in the county and county seat until 1858.
- Ridge, Linn co.
- Ridge Farm, Doniphan co.
- Riley Center, Riley co. Now Riley.
- Riley City, [Davis] Geary co. Opposite Fort Riley; established 1854; called also West Point and Whiskey Point.
- Ripan, or Ripon, Labette co.
- Rising Sun, Jefferson co. Incorporated 1857, by W. B. Almond, W. J. Norris, H. C. Cockerill, Thomas Cockerill, and Wm. G. Mathias; opposite Lecompton.
- Risley, Marion co.
- River View, Rice co.
- Riverdale, Clay co.
- Rivere, Woodson co. Now Toronto.
- Riverton, Reno co.
- Riverview, Wyandotte co. Now in Kansas City.
- Rochester, Anderson co.
- Rochester, [Calhoun] Shawnee co. First called Delaware City, then Whitfield, then Kansopolis, afterward changed to Rochester. See this volume, p. 353.
- Rock Castle, Nemaha co. Now Seneca.
- Rock Creek, Lyon co.
- Rock Creek, Rock City, Pottawatomie co. On military road between Rock Creek and Vermilion.
- Rock Creek Crossing, Morris co. On Santa Fe trail near Agnes City.
- Rock Hill, Lincoln co.
- Rock Island, Grant co. Vacated 1908.
- Rock Spring, Rock Stream, Ellsworth co.
- Rockford, Rocky Ford, Pottawatomie co.
- Rocklow, Allen co.
- Rockton, Wabaunsee co.
- Rockville, Rockwell, Miami co.
- Rockville, Saline co.
- Rockwell, Cherokee co.
- Rocky Ford, Wabaunsee co.
- Rocky Hill, Lincoln co.
- Roger's Mills, Neosho co.
- Rogersville, Doniphan co. North of Troy.
- Rogersville, Ness co.
- Rogersville, Rodgersville, Washington co.
- Roland, Rush co.
- Rolling Green, Sumner co.
- Rolling Prairie, Lane co. Discontinued 1882.
- Romance, Johnson co.
- Rome, Ellis co. Abandoned 1868.
- Rome, Franklin co.
- Rooks Center, Rooks co.
- Rosalind, Republic co.
- Roscoe, Graham co. Vacated 1895.
- Rose City, Ross City, Chautauqua co.
- Rose Hill, Neosho co.
- Rose Valley, Pratt co.
- Rosebank, Dickinson co.
- Roseport, Doniphan co. Now Elwood; incorporated 1855, by Richard Rose, A. M. Mitchell, J. M. Bassett, J. Wilson, J. Palee, B. Hansen, J. A. Inslee, W. H. Edgar, S. Kemper, West & McAshan, J. B. Jennings, P. Kirschne, J. B. Lutzbacher, J. A. Millam, R. M. Stewart, J. Stewart, C. Schreiber, J. Leverence, W. B. Thompson, J. Howard, J. F. Forman and F. W. Smith.
- Rosevale, Clay co. Name changed to Morena, then Springfield, then Broughton.
- Ross, Cherokee co.
- Rossville, Crawford co.
- Rosyvale, Brown co.
- Rotterdam, Osborne co. Established 1871.
- Round Grove, Johnson co. On Santa Fe trail 35 miles west of Independence.
- Round Grover, Washington co. See Hopper.
- Round Springs, Mitchell co.
- Roundup, Barber co.
- Rovella, Linn co.
- Royville, ———, Incorporated 1860.
- Ruby, Sedgwick co.
- Runnymede, Harper co.
- Rural, Jefferson co. Now Williamstown.
- Rural Springs, Kingman co.
- Rurdon, Sheridan co.
- Rushville, Ford co. Vacated 1895 and 1897.
- Rusk, Cowley co.

Rutland, Montgomery co.
Ryan's, Atchison co.
Ryansville, Ford co. Vacated 1895.

Sabia, Sabra, Saline co.
Sac & Fox Agency, Franklin co. P. O. in 1855.
Sac Branch, Franklin co.
St. Benedict, Doniphan co.
St. Bernard, Franklin co. Incorporated 1857,
by J. M. Bernard, David Lykins, J. G. Ham-
ilton and Wm. R. Bernard.
St. Cloud, Dickinson co. Now Solomon.
St. Francis, Brown co. See Buncombe.
St. John, Allen co. Incorporated 1860, by N. B.
Blanton, J. H. Signor and others.
St. John, Decatur co. Founded in 1879; named
for Gov. J. P. St. John; name changed to
Hooker.
St. Joseph, Cloud co. Discontinued 1882.
St. Julian, Clay co. On the Republican river.
St. Leander, Johnson co. Incorporated 1855;
at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri
rivers.
St. Louis, Miami co. Now Louisburg.
St. Mary's Mission, Linn co.
St. Mary's Mission, Pottawatomie co. Name
changed to St. Mary's, 1878.
St. Marysville, Miami co. Changed to Lyon,
1866.
St. Nicholas, Atchison co.
St. Paul, Montgomery co.
St. Paul, Sheridan co.
St. Sophia, Ness co.
Salamanca, Cherokee co.
Salem, Douglas co. On Santa F road. See
Louisiana.
Saline City, Saline co. See Hebron.
Salsbury, [McGee] Bourbon co.
Salt City, Sumner co. See Remanto.
Salt Creek, Leavenworth co. Trading post of
Robert Wilson, 1854.
Salt Creek, Reno co.
Salt Marsh, Republic co. See Seapo.
Salt Marsh, Washington co.
Salt Spring, Greenwood co.
Salt Springs, Saline co.
Saltville, Mitchell co.
Samaria, Montgomery co. A paper town near
Walker Mound.
Sand Spring, Dickinson co.
Sanford, Sedgwick co.
Sandfordville, Cherokee co. See Coalfield.
Santa Fe, Haskell co. Moved south and name
changed to Satanta, 1912.
Sappa City, Decatur co. Now Oberlin.
Saratoga, Pratt co. Just east of Pratt.
Sargent, Hamilton co. Name changed to
Coolidge.
Sautrell Falls, Jefferson co. Established as
Grasshopper Falls 1855, now Valley Falls.
Savannah, Pottawatomie co.
Saw Qaw (Osawkie?) Jefferson co.
Scammonville, Cherokee co. Now Scammon.
Schley, McPherson co.
Shockey, Shockey, Mitchell co.
Schoharie, Ness co.
Scipio, Anderson co.
Scotch Plains, Republic co.
Scotland, Scott, Jefferson co.
Scottstown, Coffey co. Near Le Roy.
Seapo, Republic co. Located in 1862; aban-
doned 1885; first known as Salt Marsh.
Seaver, Doniphan co. Now Highland Station.
Sebastian, Wyandotte co. Incorporated 1857,
by Geo. Blue-Jacket, G. W. Clarke, Chas.
Kearney, S. H. Woodson, John Calhoun, W.
H. Sebastian and L. A. MacLean.
Secundine, Secundine, Wyandotte co. Was
Delaware; near Edwardsville.
Section, Coffey co.
Sedan, Phillips co.
Sewanee, Franklin co. Now Lane.
Sexton, Barber co.
Seymour, Franklin co.

Shannon, Anderson co. Located 1857; aban-
doned in 1859; county seat until 1859; named
in honor of Governor Shannon.
Shannon, Riley or Pottawatomie co. Discon-
tinued 1858; located between the Vermillion
river and the old town of Pawnee.
Sharp's Creek, McPherson co.
Sharlow, Bourbon co.
Sharon, Crawford co.
Shawnee Mission, Johnson co. Located on S.
3, T. 12, R. 25.
Sheldon, Harvey co.
Shell Rock Falls, Greenwood co.
Shenandoah, Madison co. Incorporated 1855;
second incorporation 1857.
Sheridan, Logan co.
Sheridan, Lyon co.
Sheridan, Rooks co.
Sherlock, [Sequoyah] Finney co. Founded
1879.
Sherman, Johnson co. Now Lenexa.
Sherman, Kingman co. Now Kingman.
Sherman City, Labette co.
Sherman's, Shermansville, Dutch Henry's
Crossing, Franklin co. Name changed to
Lane, 1863.
Sheron, Allen co.
Shield, Jefferson co.
Shiloh, Ness co. Established 1879.
Shinn, Graham co. Discontinued 1882.
Shipton, Saline co.
Shiretown, Osage co.
Shirley, Cloud co.
Shockeyville, Shockey, [Hamilton] Grant co.
See La Port.
Shockey, Mitchell co. See Shockey.
Shoo Fly, Sumner co.
Short Creek, Cherokee co. Now Galena. See
also Empire City and Bonanza.
Shreader, Trego co.
Sibley, Cloud co.
Sidney, Coffey co. Now Strawn.
Sidney, Ness co. First located in 1874; relo-
cated two miles west on June 6, 1879; aban-
doned about 1892.
Sigel, Douglas co.
Silkville, Franklin co. Formerly Valetton.
Silver Creek, Chase county. See Hunts.
Silver Spring, Nemaha co.
Silverton, Stafford co.
Sing Sing, Sumner co.
Six Mile, Wyandotte Grove, Wyandotte co.
Site of Chouteau's Trading Post.
Six Mile Creek, Morris co.
Slab City, Decatur co.
Smallwood, Smallwood City, Ness co. Named
for W. H. Smallwood, secretary of state.
Smithfield, Butler co. See Lorena.
Smithfield, Doniphan co.
Smithland, Jackson co.
Smithton, Doniphan co., 1855. Name changed
to La Porte; vacated 1864.
Smithville, Clay co.
Smithville, Smith co. Name changed to Val-
ley Forge.
Smoky Hill, Dickinson co. Now Detroit.
Smoky Hill, McPherson co.
Smoky Hill Spring, Logan co.
Smoky Hill Station, Ellis co.
Smythville, Trego co., 1879.
Snokomo, Wabunsee co.
Snow Hill, Labette co.
Soldier, Republic co.
Soldier Creek, Comanche co.
Somerville, Leavenworth co. See Sumnerville.
Sonora, [Breckinridge] Lyon co. Town asso-
ciation incorporated 1857, by C. H. Grover,
L. J. Eastin, Wm. T. Sherrard, T. S. Huffaker,
A. J. Baker and Geo. H. Reese.
Sonora, Harper co.
Sonora, Nemaha co.
Soreco, Labette co. Now Labette.
Sother, Nemaha co.
Soule, Gray co. Now Ingalls.

- South Side, Osborne co.
 Southerland, Pratt co.
 Sparta, McPherson co.
 Spartanburg Town Company, ———, Incorporated 1857, by M. L. Brown, H. B. McMaster, D. G. Fleming, and W. H. Rogers.
 Spencerville, Shawnee co. Now Spencer.
 Sprattsville, Bourbon co. Incorporated 1857, by W. W. Spratt, S. Farris, C. B. Houston, H. Miller, E. Kopley, and J. H. Little.
 Spring, Brown co.
 Spring Branch, Butler co. See Cariboo.
 Spring City, [McGee] Bourbon co.
 Spring Creek, Pritchards, ———, Overland station, 15 miles west of Salina.
 Spring Hill, Montgomery co. See Big Hill.
 Spring Lake, Spring Side, Pottawatomie co.
 Spring River Falls, Cherokee co.
 Spring Vale, Decatur co.
 Spring Valley, Leavenworth co.
 Spring Valley, McPherson co.
 Springdale, Pottawatomie co.
 Springdale, Pratt co.
 Springfield, Anderson co.
 Springfield, Brown co. Town company incorporated 1857, by T. W. Waterson, H. C. Murdock, T. J. Drummond, Cyrus Do man.
 Springfield, Clay co. Now Broughton.
 Springfield, Mitchell co.
 Springfield, Sedgwick co.
 Springfield, Seward co. Vacated 1897.
 Springfield, Washington co. Chartered 1868.
 Squiresville, Johnson co. Near Olathe.
 Stanford, Kingman co. Now Waterloo.
 Stanley's, Leavenworth co.
 Stanton, Riley co. Now May Day.
 Stanwood, Leavenworth co. Six miles from Tonganoxie.
 Star, Graham co.
 Star Valley, Cherokee co.
 State Center, Barton co.
 State Line, Crawford co. Now Opolis.
 Sternerton, Montgomery co.
 Steuben, Jewell co. Discontinued 1882.
 Stevens, Labette co.
 Steventown, Crawford co. Founded in 1866; on road from Fort Scott to Baxter Springs.
 Stewart, Smith co.
 Stillville, Reno co.
 Stilson, Cherokee co.
 Stinson's, Shawnee co. Now Tecumseh.
 Stockrange, Ellis co.
 Stocktown, Rocks co. Now Stockton.
 Stolzenbach, Marshall co.
 Stone Corral, Rice co. Fort and breastworks on Santa Fe trail.
 Stone Mound, Smith co.
 Stover, Labette co.
 Stranger, Leavenworth co. Now Linwood. See Journey Cake.
 Strawberry, Washington co.
 Strongtown, Crawford co. Founded in 1873; abandoned in 1874.
 Sugar Loaf, Rocks co.
 Sugar Mound, Linn co. Changed to Mound City 1859.
 Sugar Valley, Sugarvale, Anderson co.
 Sulphur Springs, Cloud co.
 Summerset, Miami co.
 Summit, Leavenworth co. See Moore's Summit.
 Summit, Osage co.
 Summit Siding, Ellsworth co.
 Summit Spring, Ellsworth co.
 Sumner, Atchison co. Incorporated 1858, by C. F. Carrier, S. Harsh, J. W. Morris, I. G. Losse, J. P. Wheeler.
 Sumner, Sumner co.
 Summerville, Leavenworth co. Across Stranger creek from Easton.
 Sumnerville, Ottawa co.
 Sunflower, Mitchell co.
 Sunny Side, Butler co.
 Sunny Side, Montgomery co.
 Sunny Slope, Sumner co.
 Sunset, Republic co.
 Superior, McPherson co.
 Superior, [Shawnee] Osage co. Chartered 1858; vacated 1864. South of Burlingame.
 Surprise, Grant co. Platted in 1885; name changed to Appomattox; vacated 1893.
 Survey, Rocks co.
 Sutphen's Mill, Dickinson co.
 Swan River, Osage co.
 Swansea, Osage co.
 Sweddal, McPherson co. Discontinued in 1871.
 Swedonia, Swedonia, Sumner co.
 Sweed Creek, Swede Creek, Marshall co.
 Sweedland, Morris co. Now White City.
 Sweet Home, Smith co. 1879.
 Switzer's Creek or Crossing, Osage co. On Santa Fe trail, near Burlingame.
 Sycamore, Chautauqua co.
 Sylvan, Marshall co. Now Winifred. Located in 1838; abandoned in 1860.
 Sylvan Dale, Labette co. Discontinued 1882.
 Syracuse, Doniphan co.
 Syracuse, Wilson co.
 Syria, Lincoln co.
 Table Rock, Pawnee co.
 Tabor, Clay co.
 Taccoah, Greenwood co. Incorporated 1857, by G. B. Houston, B. F. Brantley, W. O. Yager, and J. Boyd.
 Tally Springs. See Claymore, Montgomery co.
 Talmage, Republic co. Discontinued 1882.
 Talmage, Woodson co. Now Vernon.
 Tarrome, Taurome, Riley co. Formerly Juniata.
 Tarry, Saline co.
 Tate, Linn co. Voting place 1858.
 Tatomka, Ellsworth co.
 Ten Mile, Cloud co.
 Ten Mile, Miami co. Now Hillsdale.
 Terrapin, Kingman co.
 Thomas, Barton co. Discontinued 1882.
 Thomasville, Cowley co.
 Thompson, Smith co.
 Tiago, Republic co.
 Tiblow, Wyar dotte co. Now Bonner Springs.
 Tilden, Osborne co. Now Bloomington.
 Timber City, Pottawatomie co.
 Timber Creek, Riley co. Now Bala.
 Timber Hill, Labette co.
 Time, Crawford co.
 Tioga, Neosho co. Now Chanute.
 Tippinville, Jackson co. Moved to Denison.
 Tipton, Montgomery co.
 Tiptonville, Jackson co.
 Tisdale, Cowley co. Established in 1871; named for Henry Tisdale of Lawrence. The present Tisdale is some two miles from the old town site.
 Titus. Near Lecompton; voting precinct 1854 and 1855.
 Tolle, Butler co. Vacated 1901.
 Tonsa, Wilson co.
 Tontzville, or Toutsville, Miami co.
 Topsy, Lincoln co.
 Torry, Saline co.
 Touzlin, Meade co.
 Tower Springs, Lincoln co.
 Townsend's Point, [Shirley] Cloud co.
 Trading Post, Linn co. Established 1834. See Blooming Grove.
 Trail, Lyon co.
 Trasey, Republic co. Discontinued 1882.
 Trego Tank, Trego co. See Park's Fort.
 Tregola, Trego co. Vacated 1893.
 Trenton, Labette co.
 Trenton, Miami co. Now Mound Creek.
 Trenton, Saline co. Vacated 1905.
 Trivoli, Ellsworth co.
 Troy, Anderson co. Town site located 1857, near Garnett.
 Truesdell, Phillips co.
 Truman, Montgomery co.

Tucket, Norton co.
 Tuell, Wichita co. Vacated 1889.
 Turkey creek, Bourbon co., 1856.
 Turkey Creek, McPherson co. Station on the Santa Fe trail.
 Twelve Mile, Smith co.
 Twin Creek, Republic co.
 Twin Falls, Greenwood co.
 Twin Mounds, Wilson co. Now Fredonia.
 Twin Springs, Linn co. Vacated 1877.
 T-Wrench, Cheyenne co.
 Tyler Place, Douglas co. Vacated 1895.
 Tylers, Brown co.

Ulysses, Grant co. Site moved about 1899; now New Ulysses. This town was to be moved to a new location on the Colmor cut-off, A. T. & S. F. R. R., in the summer of 1912.

Ulysses, Mitchell co.
 Unadilla, Pottawatomie co. P. O. in 1859.
 Union, Chase co.
 Union, Riley co.
 Union, Smith co.
 Union Center, [Howard] Elk co. Founded in 1871; vacated 1877.
 Union City, Dickinson co. On Turkey creek, south side of the Smoky Hill.
 Union City, Rice co.
 Union City, Sumner co. Located 1870; name changed to Eminence.
 Union Valley, Lincoln co.
 Union Valley, Republic co.
 Uniondale, Clay co.
 Uniontown, Shawnee co. Established 1848; abandoned 1856; one mile south of the river, opposite present Rossville.
 Ununda, Brown co. Discontinued 1871.
 Upland, Dickinson co.
 Upper Haddam, Washington co.
 Upton, Miami co.
 Urbana, Moorestown, Nemaha co. A paper town at Baker's ford of the Nemaha river, 9 miles from Seneca.

Valdor, Graham co. 1879.
 Valetton, Franklin co. Name changed to Silkvile.
 Valley, Greenwood co.
 Valley Brook, Osage co.
 Valley City, Anderson co. Town platted 1857.
 Valley City, Neosho co.
 Valley Forge, Smith co. See Smithville.
 Valley Point, Morris co. Two miles northwest of Dunlap.
 Vallonia, Decatur co.
 Vanburen, Graham co.
 Vega, Wallace co. Vacated 1895.
 Verbena, Labette co. Chartered 1869.
 Verdi, Wilson co.
 Verdigris City, Montgomery co. East side of the river below Independence.
 Verdigris Falls, Greenwood co.
 Vermillion, Marshall co. Located in 1857 on the Vermillion river near where it empties into the Big Blue; abandoned in 1859.
 Vermillion, Osage co.
 Vernon, Cowley co.
 Vernon, Ness co.
 Versailles, [Shawnee] Osage co. Incorporated 1857, by H. P. Throop, D. T. Mitchell and J. C. Thompson; located April 15, 1857.
 Vesta, Clark co.
 Veteran, Veteran City [Hamilton], Stanton co. Now Johnson City.
 Vicksburg, Jewell co.
 Vienna, Pottawatomie co.
 Vietsburg, Neosho co.
 Villota, Edwards co. Established 1879.
 Vinton, Riley co.
 Virginia, Town company incorporated 1857, by I. Parish, Paris Ellison, E. Ransom, Wm. B. Almond, R. Elmore, J. W. Buford, Wm. Strong and J. K. Starr.

Viola, Elk co.
 Violet, Osborne co. Name changed to Downs.
 Viroqua, Morton co.
 Voorhees, Stevens co. Vacated 1893.
 Vossburgh, Pratt co.

Waca, Sedgwick co.
 Waconda, Mitchell co. Platted by James W. Terry prior to March, 1871; abandoned 1873; now Wconda Springs.
 Wade, Wade's Branch, Miami co.
 Wadson, Woodson, Marshall or Nemaha co.
 Wah-Wah-Suk, Shawnee co. Sixteen miles west of Topeka.
 Wagnerville, Phillips co.
 Wagon Bed Springs, Grant co. Santa Fe trail.
 Wakansa, Douglas co.
 Wakarusa, Douglas co. Afterwards Lawrence.
 Wakeman, Norton co.
 Walker, Anderson co. Name changed to Mt. Gilead; now Greeley.
 Wall Street, Linn co.
 Walnut, Butler co.
 Walnut City, Cowley co. See Creswell and Delphi, former names of Arkansas City.
 Walnut City, Rush co.
 Walnut Creek, Barton co. Station on Santa Fe trail, 1863.
 Walnut Creek, [Irving] Butler co.
 Walnut Creek, Saline co.
 Walnut Grove, Doniphan co.
 Walnut Grove, Mitchell co.
 Walnut Hill, Bourbon co.
 Walton, [Shawnee] Osage co.
 Wanamaker, Shawnee co. Name changed to Bishop in 1903.
 Wano, Cheyenne co. Vacated 1893.
 Wano, Decatur co.
 Wanshara, Wausshara, [Breckinridge] Lyon co.
 Wanzoppa, Miami co. Town company incorporated 1857, by W. H. Heiskill, J. T. Bradford, David Lykins.
 Waponsa, Waubonsa and Waupausa, Wabaunsee co. Now Wabaunsee.
 Warren, Cloud co.
 Warrendale, Grant co.
 Warrenton, Bourbon co.
 Waseca, Waseca, Waseca, Johnson co.
 Washburn, Bourbon co. Changed to Edwards in 1903.
 Washburne, Wichita co. Vacated 1897.
 Washington, Douglas co. Incorporated 1855, by F. P. McGee, George M. Redman, and M. W. McGee; near Big Springs on California road.
 Washington, Osage co. Santa Fe trail crossing of 110 creek.
 Washington, Shawnee co. Located by Capt. E. Allen, and others.
 Waterloo, Lyon co. Vacated 1864.
 Watertown, Anderson co.
 Watertown, Smith co. Located 1884.
 Waterville, Riley co. Now Randolph.
 Wepeahu, town company incorporated 1857, by A. R. Wright, and John Boyd.
 Waupego, [Wise] Morris co. Incorporated 1858.
 Wausshara. See Wanshara.
 Way, [Davis] Geary co. Discontinued in 1882.
 Way Side, Rice co. Discontinued 1882.
 Waynesburg, Greenwood co.
 Wea Baptist Mission, Miami co. One mile east of Paola.
 Wealthy City, Allen co.
 Weaver, Douglas co.
 Webster City, Butler co. Established 1873.
 Webster City, Pottawatomie co.
 Wegrant, Dickinson co. Name changed to Hope.
 Weirs, Johnson co.
 Wells, Marshall co.
 Wendell, Edwards co. Vacated 1895.
 West Ashler, Mitchell co.
 West Cedar, Phillips co.

- West Creek, Republic co.
 West Haven, Stanton co. Vacated 1895.
 West Hope, Jewell co.
 West Humboldt, Woodson co.
 West Line, Miami co.
 West Paradise, Osborne co.
 West Point, Whiskey Point, Riley City. [Davis] Geary co.
 West Point, Rush co.
 West Union, Norton co.
 West Union, Washington co.
 West Wichita, Sedgwick co.
 Westfield, Decatur co.
 Westfield, McPherson co.
 Westfield, Muncie, Wyandotte co.
 Westhope, Jewell.
 Westminster, Reno co.
 Westola, Norton co. Vacated 1895.
 Weston, Norton co. Name changed to Leota, 1876.
 Westopolis, [Davis] Geary co. Chartered 1858.
 Westralia, Montgomery co. Town site abandoned for Parker.
 Wewoka, town company incorporated 1857, by A. W. Jones, A. J. Isaacks, G. W. Clarke, Alex. Majors, and Wm. Doak.
 Wheatland, McPherson co. See Bachelor.
 Wheatland, Nemaha co. A paper town located at the geographical center of the county.
 Whiskey Point, West Point, Riley City, Geary co.
 White Cloud, Dickinson co.
 White Hair's Village, Labette co. Name changed to Little Town, 1865. Five miles south of Oswego.
 White Mound, Jewell co.
 White Post, Montgomery co.
 White Rock, Republic co. Located in March, 1871; abandoned in 1885.
 White Rock, Trego co.
 White Rose, Cloud co. See Garly.
 White Water, Butler co. Located in 1858. Name changed to Ovo, 1882, now White Water.
 Whitehead, Doniphan co. Trading post 1852. Incorporated 1855 by J. H. Whitehead, J. R. Whitehead, W. R. Penick, J. B. Atool, I. G. Weld, Jesse Brown, W. P. Hesse, and Oliver Turner. Changed to Bellemont, 1860, which see.
 White's Quarry, Marshall co.
 Whitfield, Graham co. Formerly Graham.
 Whitfield, Shawnee co. See this volume, p. 354.
 Wichita Heights, Sedgwick co.
 Wichita Indian Camp, Sedgwick co. On site of Wichita.
 Wilber, Republic co.
 Wilburn, Ford co. Vacated 1895.
 Wilcox, Wilcox Roost, Trego co.
 Wild Cat, Riley co.
 Wild Horse, Graham co. 1879.
 Wild Range, Ottawa co.
 Wild Rover, Cloud co.
 Wilda, Anderson co. Now Welda.
 Wildwood, Rice co.
 Williamsport, Pratt co. Vacated 1901.
 Williamsport, Port Williams, Atchison co., above Kickapoo.
 Williamsport, Shawnee co. Organized in 1857; located one mile east of Wakarusa.
 Williamsville, Jefferson co. Now Williams-town.
 Willow Creek, Wallace co.
 Willow Springs, Douglas co. Established as Davis, 1855; changed to Willow Springs, then to Akron, then back to Willow Springs.
 Willow Springs, Franklin co.
 Willow Springs, Mitchell co. Now Beloit.
 Willow Valley, Greenwood co.
 Wilson Creek, Ellsworth co. Now Wilson.
 Wilson's, Pottawatomie co. Now Louisville.
 Wilson's Springs, Douglas co. Probably Willow Springs.
 Wilson's Trading Post, Leavenworth co. See Salt Creek.
 Wilsonville, Bourbon co.
 Wilton, Greenwood co.
 Wilton, Phillips co.
 Wingate, Butler co.
 Winkler's Mills, Riley co. Now Winkler.
 Winnesheik, McPherson co.
 Winona, Doniphan co.
 Winsor, Cowley co.
 Winsor, Ottawa co.
 Wirtonia, Cherokee co. Vacated 1870.
 Woburn, Jackson co.
 Wolf River, Doniphan co.
 Woodbury, Woodberry, Reno co.
 Woodey, Woody, Lincoln co.
 Woodhull, Chase co.
 Woodsdale, Stevens co. Located June 6, 1857, abandoned in 1893; named in honor of S. N. Wood, who was the chief founder. This site is to be used on the Colmor cut off of the Santa Fe.
 Woodson, Marshall or Nemaha co. Incorporated 1857, by H. Adams, W. J. Brewster, M. P. Rively, T. J. B. Cramer and Powell Clayton; located on the Vermillion branch of the Big Blue.
 Woodstock, Jefferson co.
 Wray's, Allen co. Voting precinct, 1858.
 Wyandotte, Wyandotte co. Name changed to Kansas City, Kan., 1886.
 Wyola, [Breckinridge] Lyon co. Incorporated 1857, by Wm. Grimsley, E. Goddard, D. Elliott, G. D. Humphrey, R. Abraham, E. M. Sewell.
 Wyoming, [Jackson] Shawnee co. On road from Leavenworth to Ft. Riley.
 Wyoming Valley, Clay co.
 Yale, Ottawa co.
 Yankeetown, Douglas co. Later Lawrence.
 Yordy, Ellsworth co.
 York, Saline co. Vacated 1903.
 Young America, Osage co. Town located 1857.
 Yuma, Cloud co.
 Zahnsville, Cloud co. Name changed to Miltonvale.
 Zamora, Hamilton co. Name changed to Kendall.
 Zamore, Gray co.
 Zarah, Barton co. Near Ft. Zarah, five miles east of Great Bend.
 Zebo, Coffey co.
 Zella, Stevens co. Vacated 1893.
 Zion Valley, [Barton] Stafford co. Now St. John.
 Zionville, Grant co. Vacated 1893.

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